00023087

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 001.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

HOLBEJN AND HIS TIME.

HANS AND AMBROSIUS HOLBEIN.

Drawn by Hans Holbein the Younger and Exhibited in the Cabinet of Engravings of the Berlin Museum

HOLBEIN AND HIS TIME.

BY

DR. ALFRED WOLTMANN.

TRANSLATED BY F. E. BUNNETT.

XX-K-i

WITH SIXTY ILLUSTRATIONS.

23087

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON.
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1872.

LONDON:
R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL.

PREFACE.

THE history of the art of the Middle Ages and of modern times demands special investigation. An outline is drawn round modern science; it is filled up by degrees as time progresses. An attempt to do this as regards art is the especial object of this work. Contemporaries and posterity have eagerly occupied themselves with Albert Dürer; but the records transmitted to us of Hans Holbein, the second great painter of his country, are more scanty. Up to the most recent period, his history was veiled in complete obscurity. Ulrich Hegner's work on Holbein, which appeared in 1827, corresponds with the stage at which the history of art at that time stood. It is an excellent guide to the study of the material existing in Basle, yet we must not forget that the author is neither a critical historian nor an experienced judge in artistic matters. Since Hegner's work, the master has been utterly neglected by art-investigators. Almost the only notice of permanent value respecting him is that contained in the works of G. F. Waagen, who never made it his special task to pursue historical investigations regarding an artist, but clearly recognized and pointed out all that was peculiar and essential in his creations. Not till late years has this state of things been altered. In England, owing to W. H. Black's archival researches, the discovery was made of the year of Holbein's death, and this was followed by the investigations of Mr. A. W. Franks and Mr. G. Scharf. At the same time I myself began my studies preparatory to a larger work on Holbein, many of which I published in Journals, in a dissertation on the painter, and in a Holbein-Album

issued in Berlin by G. Schauer. Induced by interest in my work, Herr His-Heusler resumed with double energy his former archival studies, so that in a short period our knowledge of the life and works of the master became essentially enlarged. And when my task had reached so far that the first part of my book had been given to the public, I heard that a work upon Holbein was about to appear by an English art-scholar, Mr. Wornum, Director of the National Gallery in London.

A work of this kind, if it is to possess any value, must be based on the study of authentic sources. Every art-scholar knows how scanty are the literary notices with regard to old German and Netherland painting. Art finds no place in contemporary literature. The first attempts at artist biography—those of Mander, Sandrart, and Patin—belong to the seventeenth century. We have long felt their perfectly unreliable character; we have long perceived that nothing in these writings is based on evidence, and that though perhaps here and there we cannot avoid paying attention to their statements, we can never rest upon them. Three kinds of material yet lie open to us. In the first place, that which may be obtained from personal examination of the works of art themselves. This is similar to documental statements in other branches of historical investigation, even apart from the fact that frequently works of art have become documents from the inscriptions they bear. In the second place, there is the material afforded by archival investigations. In the third place, it is necessary to pay regard to that which we may indirectly learn with respect to an artist, just because directly we know so little concerning him. We must take into account the general historical circumstances under which he lived, both as regards time and place, and which must have affected him also. We shall thus be afforded means of realizing as far as possible all that we know concerning him, and of finding the just position in which the master stood to the mental current and to the culture and art of his time. While I have called my book "HOLBEIN AND HIS TIME," I have, in no wise, intended to write a history of the whole period, placing Holbein as its artistic centre.

I must especially mention the kind assistance afforded me by the two men to whom the German copy of my work is dedicated: Herr Waagen, from whose writings I not only acquired much information, but who met me in every respect with advice and assistance; and Herr His-Heusler, who helped me with his continued researches in the Basle archives, and was never weary of replying to my numerous inquiries. I must also mention Herr Herberger at Augsburg, who placed at my disposal much original material; also Herr Greiff, Herr Steichele, Herr Eigner, Herr Sesar, and Herr v. Huber, in the same city; Herr von Stürler and Dr. Hidber at Berne; and Colonel Meyer-Büelmann and his son at Lucerne. The permission to make use of unpublished works in the illustrations was given me by Her Royal Highness Princess Charles of Hesse, by the Director of the Royal Museum at Berlin, and by the Director of the Basle Museum.

I have also to thank His Grace the Duke of Devonshire and the Director of the British Museum for their permission to publish works of Holbein that have not before appeared. Thanks are also due to Professor Bürkner in Dresden, who placed engravings of his excellent copies of the pictures of the Old Testament at the disposal of my publisher. A similar kindness was shown me by a noble and genuine promoter of artistic effort, now no longer among the living, Herr Rudolf Weigel.

THE AUTHOR.

BERLIN, *26th November*, 1867.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Holbein and the present time.—Historical revolution in Italy and Germany.—Renaissance and Reformation.—Decline of the Gothic.—Painting the leading art.—Gothic idealism supplanted by realism.—Hubert van Eyck the pioneer of a new epoch.—Development of German, especially of Swabian, painting.—Martin Schongauer and Fritz Herlen.—The schools of Ulm and Augsburg . . . . . *Page* 1

CHAPTER II.

Augsburg at that period and at the present day.—The city of German Renaissance and the painter of German Renaissance.—Position and character of the city.—Democratic reform of the Commonwealth.—Augsburg reflecting in miniature the movements that agitated all Germany.—Outward insecurity.—Hereditary hostility with Bavaria.—War, suffering, and calamity of every kind.—Increase of religious oppression and quarrel with the clergy.—Bias to reform and to humanistic literature.—Emperor Max.—The citizens in festivity and work.—Trade and commerce.—General innovations.—Intercourse with Italy.—Stimulant to artists . . . . . *Page* 22

CHAPTER III.

Hans Holbein the father.—Appearance of the name Holbein in different places.—The Holbein family in Augsburg.—Authentic documents.—The supposed "grandfather Hans Holbein."—Course of training experienced by Hans Holbein the father.—His works.—A picture at Basle.—Madonna in the Moritz capell'.—Pictures in Augsburg Cathedral.—Works of 1499.—The master abroad.—Altar at Frankfort.—Altar at Kaisheim.—Sketch-book.—Pictures for the monastery of St. Catherine.—Basilica of St. Paul.—Portraits of the artist and his sons.—Accounts of St. Moritz.—Drawings.—Later works.—Portraits.—Position and influence of the artist . . . . . *Page* 34

CHAPTER IV.

Hans Holbein the younger.—The year of his birth.—The Augsburg inscription.—Opposing statements.—Portrait of him at Berlin when fourteen years old.—Portrait and age of Ambrosius Holbein.—Sketch-book of the young Holbein.—His father's share in it.—Portraits of the artist's family.—The Emperor and his court.—The Fugger family.—Citizens and artisans.—The monks of St. Ulrich.—Unknown portraits.—Sketches of another kind . . . . . *Page* 60

CHAPTER V.

Youthful pictures executed in Augsburg.—Connection with his father.—Very early works at Augsburg and Basle.—Altar-panels of 1512.—Burgkmair's influence.—Madonna with the Lily of the Valley.—Portraits.—Votive tablet of the Schwartz family.—St. Catherine at Annaberg.—Altar of St. Sebastian . . . . . *Page* 83

CHAPTER VI.

Removal to Basle.—Period at which this took place.—Sigmund Holbein at Berne.—His works.—His will.—Ambrosius Holbein and his works.—Hans Holbein admitted into the freedom of the city of Basle.—What Basle could offer him.—Position of Basle and character of its inhabitants.—The University and its teachers.—Book-printing. *Page* 104

CHAPTER VII.

Holbein in Basle and Lucerne.—The schoolmaster's signboard.—Portraits of the Meier couple.—Portrait of Herbster.—Traces of Holbein in other parts of Switzerland.—The lost table in Zürich.—Painting of the house of Hertenstein at Lucerne.—Historical representations, and subjects chosen from antiquity.—A journey to Upper Italy doubtful.—Influence of Mantegna and Leonardo.—The Last Supper at Basle.—A doubtful work: the Fountain of Life at Lisbon. . . . . *Page* 113

CHAPTER VIII.

Church paintings of the Basle period.—The series from the Passion.—Historical representation of sacred subjects and great freedom of style.—Sketches from the history of the Passion.—The picture of a deceased Christ in the year 1521.—Double picture of the Man of Sorrows and the Mother of Sorrows.—The organ-doors in the Minster.—Paintings at Freiburg and Carlsruhe.—Sketches for paintings.—Drawings for glass-paintings.—Studies from military life and costumes.—Two drawings in Dresden and London . . *Page* 127

CHAPTER IX.

The Solothurn and the Meier Madonnas.—The newly-discovered work: the Virgin between St. Martin and St. Ursus.—Holbein's wife and child probably served as models.—The Madonna of the Burgomaster Meier.—The picture at Darmstadt the original, not that at Dresden.—History of the two paintings.—Their differences.—The fate of the donator.—The picture perhaps an epitaph.—Erroneous interpretations, and true purport of the representation . . . . . *Page* 141

CHAPTER X.

Works of wall-painting.—Façade paintings.—The house "zum Tanz."—The painting of the great Town-hall.—Holbein's paintings at Basle.—Original documents.—Pictures of Justice and citizen Virtue.—Subjects from antiquity.—Interruption of the work.—The cause for this in the circumstances of the time.—Commencement of the Reformation in Basle . . . . . *Page* 160

CHAPTER XI.

The portraits of this period, and the circle of Erasmus.—Existing and lost portraits.—Froben.—Bonifacius Amerbach.—The Amerbach Collection.—Erasmus in Basle.—His relations to Holbein.—The different portraits of Erasmus.—Holbein's marginal drawings on the "Praise of Folly."—Holbein's character and habits.—His own portrait . . *Page* 176

CHAPTER XII.

Holbein's designs for wood-engraving.—German wood-engraving in an artistic and historical aspect.—Relation between painter and engraver.—Hans Lützelburger.—T. Froben as metal engraver.—Designs for title-pages.—Wood-engraving in its relations with humanistic literature.—Subjects from Lucian, treated by Ambrosius Holbein.—The panel of Cebes.—Illustrations of the Utopia of Thomas More.—Designs from the legends and history of antiquity.—Illustrations of the power of women, by Hans and Ambrosius Holbein.—Illustrations for geographical and astronomical works.—The arms and the patron saints of Freiburg.—Moral pictures and illustrations from popular life.—Peasants' dance and fox-hunt.—Children's dances.—Alphabet, with peasants' and children's games.—Initials of every kind.—Signets of the printers . . . . . *Page* 198

CHAPTER XIII.

Holbein and the Reformation.—Woodcut illustrations for Luther's translations of the Holy Scriptures.—Two editions of the New Testament by Adam Petri.—Th. Wolff's New Testament.—The title-page, with Lützelburger's device.—The pictures from the Revelation.—Holbein's position with regard to Dürer's compositions.—Petri's Old Testament.—Other woodcuts of a Biblical purport.—Christ under the burden of the Cross.—The pictures of the Old Testament.—Their origin and appearance.—Holbein and Lyons.—Bourbon's verses.—Relation of the pictures to the religious state of things.—The sheets in an artistic point of view.—Initials from the Old Testament.—Satirical sheets of the time of the Reformation.—The trade in Indulgences.—Christ the True Light.—A sketch at Erlangen . . . . . *Page* 222

CHAPTER XIV.

Pictures of Death and Dances of Death.—Sandrart's report of Holbein's Pictures of Death, and of Rubens' opinion of them.—The antique and mediæval conception of Death.—The ascetic conception of the Middle Ages increased by the circumstances of the time.—Pictures in churches of the transitoriness of life.—"The three dead and the three living," both in poetry and painting.—Triumph of Death at Pisa and at Clusone.—Death as a demon snatching away and casting down men.—Ironical conceptions find a place by the side of simple and serious ideas.—Dying represented by games and festivity.—The Dance of Death.—The originally milder element which here prevailed, supplanted afterwards by one of irony.—The Dance of Death originally in the Drama.—Various monuments of the two Dances of Death at Basle.—The freer form given to such subjects by the arts of Painting and Sculpture.—Various pictures of Death by Dürer, Manuel, Burgkmair, and others.—The comic element in pictures of Death.—Humour and satire.—Death as an equalizer.—Satire in political and ecclesiastical matters.—The Dance of Death at Berne.—Manuel and Holbein . . . . . *Page* 245

CHAPTER XV.

Holbein's Pictures of Death.—Death variously represented by him.—The end of the Righteous and the Godless.—The Dance of Death on the Scabbard.—The woodcut series of the Pictures of Death.—Relation to the views of the Middle Ages, and influence of other kinds.—Death as a skeleton.—Want of anatomical knowledge.—Period at which the pictures were executed.—Editions of Basle and Lyons.—Preface to the edition of 1538, its author, and its enigmatical passage.—Intentionally anonymous appearance.—Characterization of the separate pictures.—Exposition and further course of the Drama.—Compositions added subsequently.—The two concluding sheets.—The group of children.—Initials with pictures of Death.—The pictures in relation with their age.—Ecclesiastical and Political Satires.—Holbein and Shakespeare.—Influence and dissemination of the work.—Its reception at home and abroad . . . . . *Page* 262

CHAPTER XVI.

Holbein's departure from Basle.—Progress of the Reformation.—Disorders in Basle.—Stagnation of art.—The Lais picture of 1526, and its corresponding piece.—Milanese influence.—Conjectures regarding the subject.—A document of 1526.—Holbein's plan to go to England.—Previous introduction, through Erasmus, to Sir Thomas More.—Departure in August 1526.—Letter of recommendation to T. Ægidius in Antwerp . . . *Page* 287

CHAPTER XVII.

First Journey to England.—Travel in the sixteenth century.—Holbein's route.—Passage across, and arrival in London at that time.—The impression made by the city and country upon German travellers of the sixteenth century.—London and Westminster.—Hampton Court.—Characters and customs of the English.—Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey.—Love of splendour and taste for art and science in the upper circles.—Native and foreign artists in England in Holbein's time.—The spurious and genuine works of the master in England.—The Windsor Castle collection of sketches . . . . . *Page* 297

CHAPTER XVIII.

The house of More.—The family life at Chelsea.—Sir Thomas More and the King.—His domestic life.—Portraits of More, and portraits which erroneously bear his name.—Portrait of Sir Henry Wyat.—Works belonging to the years from 1527 to 1529.—Portraits of Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher of Rochester.—Sir Henry Guildford.—Nicolaus Kratzer.—The Godsalves.—Sir Bryan Tuke.—Some sketches.—The picture of More's family.—Original sketch in Basle, and studies at Windsor.—Copy in the possession of the Winn family . . . . . *Page* 307

CHAPTER XIX.

Return to Basle.—Holbein brings Erasmus the sketch of the painting of More's family.—Erasmus in Freiburg.—Events in Basle ; the iconoclastic storm.—Unfavourable condition for artists.—The picture of Holbein's wife and children.—Authentic notices of Holbein's son, Philip.—Information respecting Holbein's daughter.—Continuation of the Town-

hall paintings.—Rehoboam.—Samuel and Saul.—The circumstances of the time reflected in the pictures.—Hard times in his native country, and happy turn of affairs in England.—Second departure for London.—The Town Council seeks in vain to retain Holbein . . . . . *Page* 322

CHAPTER XX.

The Steel-yard.—Sir Thomas More resigns.—Warham's death.—Holbein employed by the merchants of the German Hanseatic League.—Portrait of Gysins.—Hans von Antwerp, in Windsor Castle.—Hans von Zurich.—Derich Born, in Windsor and Munich.—Small circular pictures.—Portraits at Brunswick, Vienna, and Petworth.—"The Wheel of Fortune" in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.—The divorce of Henry VIII. and the coronation of Anna Boleyn.—Splendid entrance of the Queen.—Pageant of the merchants of the Steel-yard, after Holbein's design.—Paintings for the Guildhall of the German Hanseatic League.—Fate of the original.—Sketches in the Louvre: copies.—The "Triumph of Riches" and the "Triumph of Poverty."—Their intellectual value and their artistic style.—Study of Mantegna and affinity with Raffaelle.—Utmost freedom in the forms of the cinquecento.—Sketch of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. *Page* 338

CHAPTER XXI.

Work in Protestant circles.—Several portraits from the year 1532 to 1535.—The great picture in Longford Castle.—Sir Thomas Wyat.—His head in drawings and in woodcuts.—John Leland, the antiquary.—Thomas Cromwell and his portraits.—The Poyns family.—Simon George and Reskymer of Cornwall.—Nicolaus Bourbon de Vandœuvre comes to England.—His portrait in drawing and woodcut.—Personal relation of the poet to Holbein.—Bourbon's poems on the artist.—Holbein as miniature painter.—The sons of the Duke of Suffolk . . . . . *Page* 358

CHAPTER XXII.

Woodcuts and Reformation pictures belonging to the English period.—The title-page to Coverdale's translation of the Bible.—A title-page with St. Peter and St. Paul.—Visitation of the monasteries by Cromwell.—The satirical Passion-scenes.—Ridicule of monachism.—Cranmer's Catechism and its woodcuts.—The Unfaithful Shepherd.—Reaction in ecclesiastical matters and delayed appearance of these pictures.—Holbein's merit with regard to stamp-cutting in England.—Small woodcuts in the works printed by R. Wolfe.—"Ingratitude of the World."—Erasmus "in Ghüs."—Woodcut in "Hall's Chronicle:" King Henry VIII. in the Council.—When was the painter admitted into the King's service?—Alleged and actual portraits of Anna Boleyn.—Whether Holbein ever painted her?—More's end.—Fall and execution of Queen Anna.—Marriage of Henry with Jane Seymour . . . . . *Page* 373

CHAPTER XXIII.

In the King's service.—Position and duties of the Court-painter.—Portrait-painting at courts.—Predilection of the English for portraiture.—Holbein from henceforth is essentially limited to this branch of art.—Wall-painting at Whitehall.—The cartoon.—The sketch at Munich.—Portraits of Henry VIII. from this model, both before and after Holbein's time.—His head in the possession of the Earl of Spencer.—Portrait of Jane Seymour at

Vienna.—Various female portraits.—Lord and Lady Vaux.—Sir Richard Southwell at Florence.—Lady Rich.—John Russell.—Various portraits in the Windsor Collection; statesmen, country gentlemen, courtiers.—Sir Nicholas Carew.—Morett's portrait at Dresden . . . . . *Page* 388

CHAPTER XXIV.

Holbein's activity as regards art-industry.—Beginning of Renaissance taste in Germany.—Holbein's earliest productions in this sphere of art.—Title-pages and glass-paintings; architecture in paintings.—Designs for armourers and goldsmiths.—Dagger-sheaths.—Works of this kind at the English court.—Sketch-books in London and Basle.—Medals and implements.—Tankards, bowls, and splendid vessels.—Jane Seymour's drinking-cup.—Sketch for a clock.—Architectural works.—The chimney-piece.—Artistic feeling in German Renaissance . . . . . *Page* 406

CHAPTER XXV.

Holbein's journeys by royal order.—The birth of the Prince of Wales and the death of Queen Jane Seymour.—New wooing.—Holbein sent to Brussels to paint the bride.—The portrait of Christina, duchess of Milan.—Holbein appears in the "Expenses of the Household."—His visit to Basle.—Appointment from the Council.—Portraits of the Prince of Wales.—Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves.—Holbein's portrait of the Princess. *Page* 422

CHAPTER XXVI.

Last years.—Generosity of the King towards the painter.—Henry's divorce from Anne, and Cromwell's fall.—Marriage of the King with Catherine Howard.—Portraits of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey.—Portraits of the new Queen.—End of Catherine Howard.—Henry's last marriage.—Works for citizens.—The painting of the Barbers' and Surgeons' Guild.—Portraits of Dr. Butts and his wife.—Dr. Chamber.—Holbein as portrait-painter.—His own portrait in his last years . . . . . *Page* 439

CHAPTER XXVII.

Holbein's end.—The Plague in London.—The master's will.—Dürer's death and that of Holbein.—Comparison between Holbein and Dürer.—Alleged and true followers of Holbein.—Christopher Amberger.—Condition of German art at Holbein's death.—Further course of the Renaissance in Germany.—Conclusion . . . . . *Page* 451

INDEX . . . . . *Page* 465

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
Hans and Ambrosius Holbein	*Frontispiece.*	
Holbein, the Father, with his two youngest Sons		54
Sigmund Holbein		70
Kunz von der Rosen		72
Jacob Fugger		74
Herr Heinrich Grün		80
Herr Lienhard Wagner		81
Madonna with the Lily of the Valley	*to face*	89
Death of St. Sebastian	*to face*	95
St. Barbara and St. Elizabeth	*to face*	99
The Annunciation	*to face*	101
The Burgomaster Jacob Meier zum Hasen	*to face*	114
Wife of the Burgomaster Meier		115
Pilate washing his hands	*to face*	131
Christ on the Cross	*to face*	132
Organ-doors of Basle Minster—Right Panel	*to face*	134
Organ-doors of Basle Minster—Left Panel		
Two Soldiers	*to face*	138
Study of Costume	*to face*	139
Madonna of the Burgomaster Meier	*to face*	149
Ground-plan of Council Hall		166
Froben	*to face*	177
Bonifacius Amerbach		178
Erasmus		187
The Ass attempting to sing		191
Folly lecturing		193
Women before Madonna Picture		194
Nymphs and Silenus		194
Nicolaus de Lyra		195
Holbein's Portrait		197
The Fox stealing a Goose		217
A, B, L, V, Initials—Peasant's Alphabet		218
Δ Initial—Bacchus		219
Abraham's offering		238
Hannah and Elkanah		238
Nathan and David		239
Solomon in the Temple		240

		PAGE
Sale of Indulgences	*to face*	242
Christ the True Light	*to face*	243
Adam tilling the Ground and Death		273
The Chevalier and Death		277
The Trader (Death's Dance)		278
X, O, Initials—Death's Alphabet		283
Archbishop Warham of Canterbury	*to face*	312
Holbein's Wife and Children		328
Rehoboam	*to face*	332
Samuel and Saul	*to face*	333
Triumph of Riches	*to face*	349
Sir T. Wyat		362
S, Initial		373
Title-page	*to face*	374
Healing of the Possessed		378
The Good and the Bad Shepherd		379
The Printer's Device of Reinhold Wolfe		381
I, Initial—Children in Winter		388
Henry VIII. and his Father	*to face*	394
Scabbard	*to face*	410
Clock for Henry VIII.	*to face*	418
Ornament for the Clock of Henry VIII.		
The Prince of Wales		433

HOLBEIN, AND HIS WORKS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Holbein and the present time.—Historical revolution in Italy and Germany.—Renaissance and Reformation.—Decline of the Gothic.—Painting the leading art.—Gothic idealism supplanted by realism.—Hubert van Eyck the pioneer of a new epoch.—Development of German, especially of Swabian, painting.—Martin Schongauer and Fritz Herlen.—The schools of Ulm and Augsburg.

WITH the artists and art productions of her own early ages, even the German nation is but little acquainted. We may regret it, but we can easily understand it: at the period when, in happy Italy, Leonardo, Raphael, and Michael Angelo reached the highest point of perfection, the art of Germany was still in a state of struggle and beginning; in all that it at that time produced, the modern eye has much to surmount before it can comprehend and enjoy. At the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, the Italian people, almost as the Greeks of old, were the true people of art. To produce great works of art was the historical vocation of the nation. That historical revolution, which belonged to this epoch, was accomplished by Italy in the sphere of the beautiful, while the German nation consummated it in matters of a moral and religious nature. The latter accomplished in the Reformation that great historical fact, upon which, up to the present day, the further progress of mankind depends. Thus art could not in Germany occupy the central point of the national interests, it could not engross all the highest powers of man, as on the other side of the Alps; even the artists themselves were so completely filled and carried away with the universal impulse which animated their people, that even to them the beautiful did not absolutely occupy the first place.

However difficult this may have made their path, impelling them into a direction possessing little attraction for modern taste; still, on the other hand, it is just this which renders the art of Germany at that time especially

valuable, and brings it near to ourselves. Throughout it the same spirit breathes which called forth the Reformation. It is this spirit which fills its longing and its striving, its desires and powers, which decides indeed its boundaries, but also its greatness. In the Reformation, the German character manifested itself in all its peculiarity, and thus also art never so truly speaks our mother tongue as in the German works of that period. If we contemplate these works from this point of view, we find the true basis of their power and strength, and we become reconciled with the imperfections they possess; but the beautiful, where they have really attained to it, stands before us magnified in its grandeur, because we know the difficulties and the struggles through which alone it was to be obtained. Using thus the standard of history, the right understanding of these artistic productions opens before us, and not only so, but on their side they become to us documents, from which, as clearly as though they were written, the spirit and history of the age speak to us.

If we would attempt in the present day, by an examination of this kind, to gain a more accurate idea of the German art of that period, we cannot enter upon such an attempt better than with Holbein. He possessed the great qualities of his nation, without sharing her weaknesses; he was wholly imbued with the spirit which was actuating her, but at the same time he pressed forward unfettered to that highest idea of the beautiful, elsewhere unattainable to her; and in his outward fate as well as in his artistic position, he became at once an *international* artist. Joachim von Sandrart, the old biographer of painters, boasted that his works throughout evidence a *modern* style. Holbein is modern in the best sense of the word, modern as the great masters of Italy were so, and as no German has ever been, not even Albert Dürer. However grandly Dürer stands forth, however undeniably precedence is due to him in other respects, the only man in German art who has reached true perfection of form, is Holbein, and Holbein alone. And thus we can say of him, as we cannot say of Dürer, that the feeling of the present day reveals a path to the direct understanding of his productions.

That advance of art, at the height of which Holbein stands, has its root and its foundation in the decline of the Middle Ages. This decline was brought about by the endeavours to reconcile Christian ideas with the antique, that is, to reconcile mankind with that earlier stage of culture, from which they had become more and more alienated by the spirit of Christianity, developed during the Middle Ages.

Men cast off the fundamental principle of the time, which urged the subjection and denial of nature; the harmony of mind and nature, which in antiquity had formed the basis of thought and life, became anew their aim. Nature was again to assert her rights: this was the impulse pervading all the feelings, the deeds, and the events, which established a new age,

pervading all its great inventions and discoveries; this was the point in question, when the powers of nature were investigated, when mechanical views were recognized, and new worlds discovered. And while man acquires distinct ideas of nature, and comprehends his position with regard to her, this acquisition reacts upon himself, and from nature he perceives his own being and his own rights. Man is no longer regarded, as in the Middle Ages, merely according to position, corporation, and family, but as an independent, self-authorized individual. For such a position to be enjoyed either by nature or by man, there was no scope, so long as the power which ruled the world during the Middle Ages, namely the Church, existed. The contest, therefore, must be kindled against the Church, the more the new impulse made its way.[1]

The manner, the tendency, and the course of this contest were wholly diverse on this side and on the other side of the Alps. Italy was the soil on which the new ideas had first taken root. Here it became most natural to look back, beyond the one-sided civilization of the Middle Ages, to the former grand culture of the ancient world. Here, whither the world-ruling nation of antiquity had migrated, the traces of it had never wholly vanished. Remembrances of classic past ages emerged here and there amidst the deepest barbarism, and increased with every advance in national development. But in the fourteenth century, in the generation that listened to Dante and Petrarca, things had already assumed a wholly different appearance. Throughout Italy, from henceforth, the interest in antiquity had become universal, and a true revival and resuscitation of antiquity, not the use and accumulation and piecemeal imitation of separate antique elements, was the end and endeavour of the nation. This tendency had at last reached a decisive issue, when in the middle of the fifteenth century, from the destruction of the Byzantine kingdom, a new stream of Hellenic culture poured forth. However weakly and secretly the spark of old Greece may have glimmered even there, it now came in contact with matter so readily inflammable, that it was able to awaken a lively flame. Among the ruins of Rome, men now felt seized with a feeling of reverence and enthusiasm; the fallen walls and columns spoke a language which they understood. They searched the ground on which they trod, and it brought back to light the long hidden creations of the Greek chisel, which enchanted and delighted every eye. And besides the statues in the bosom of the earth, they sought and found old manuscripts in the corners of monastic libraries. They read classic historians, orators, and poets; they transcribed them, and gave them from hand to hand. The ideas which they here learned became guiding stars for thought and action, and thus arose

[1] How much I am indebted for the historical description of this period to C. Hagen's work, "Deutschlands Religiöse und Literarische Verhältnisse, ein Reformation Alter," and for the artistic description to the well-known works of Waagen, Hotho, and Schnaase, I will here mention once for all.

that culture which prepared the way for all further stages of development up to our own day; namely, the culture of the Renaissance.

This revolution in intellectual matters in Italy seems necessarily to lead to the contest with the Church, whose fundamental principle was of so perfectly opposite a character. Indeed, even within the Church, various opposition movements broke forth, but the national mind did not carry them on generally enough, or did not endure them long enough; they never arrived at any actual result. Outwardly, both opposites could long bear with each other. Even the Vatican presented no obstruction to the new current of ideas. The vicegerents of Christ gave themselves up regardlessly to the spirit of heathen times. Outwardly, they maintained as decidedly as ever the power and greatness of the Church, but inwardly they were perfectly alienated from the ecclesiastical spirit and the Christian faith; one thing alone they forgot not, how far those fables of Christ, as Leo X. expressed himself, had been of advantage to them and theirs. The Church remained as she was, only that she ceased as before to be the universal spiritual centre. A new element here stepped in her place. Not in the Church, but side by side with the Church, the mind asserted its freedom.

It is true all was not yet done, which was to be done. In the first place, the entire people were not profited by this advance to liberty. This new liberty, based as it was on culture, was only for the cultivated, while the old restraint continued for the rest. And if, even in Italy, it was not sufficient for the entire nation, it was still less sufficient for the other nations of Western Europe. In order really to change the state of things which opposed the new ideas, not merely enlightened knowledge, but moral energy was necessary; the one was awakened in Italy, but the other was to proceed from another nation, who had not, like the Italians, fallen into such a state of confusion, in a moral point of view. The German nation here asserted its influence on the destiny of mankind. The German character is not so brilliant, so ready, and so excitable as the Italian, but it is deeper, more serious, and more stedfast; it does not grasp things so quickly, nor with such superior mind, but it is far more energetic. If the German advocated individual freedom of mind, it was not enough for him to obtain it by emancipation from ecclesiastical rule; he went to the very heart of the matter, and urged for the renovation of religious life itself. The fruits of this effort also fell, not merely to the lot of the privileged classes, but were reaped by the entire people. It was again, as at the origin of the Christian doctrines, the poor to whom the glad message was addressed.

Resistance against the Papal Hierarchy had been indeed familiar in Germany long ago; it had originated with the greatest emperors, and the first spiritual representatives of the people. And there was also a resistance in the national feeling. For that decided national feeling, which everywhere

receded before the repressing power of the Church, had here remained more lively than in any other land. Long, indeed, had it been before this feeling had bent under the domination of Rome. But when at length, after the weakening of the Imperial power, this had been the case, the opposition in the national mind soon arose anew. Cause for this lay in the relations which the Church herself had brought about. In the barbarous ages, she had been the defender of spiritual interests, and thus the guardian of mankind. But mankind had now grown to maturity, and needed no longer the once salutary and necessary guidance. The Church and religious life were more and more decidedly sundered, and in the fourteenth century appeared in expressed opposition. Science from henceforth no longer was identical with scholasticism, which stood in the service of the Church, but it came into conflict with it, while scholasticism in its later course became more and more a mere cultivation of formal thought. The cleft between faith and knowledge had opened, from henceforth to widen more and more. The Church had reached such a brilliant position of outward authority, that she trusted to this entirely, and thought to need inward authority no longer. She withdrew herself from spiritual sway. The clergy began to strive more after outward consideration than spiritual ascendency, and with religious ardour, moral ardour sank also. Moral power necessarily vanished, because the spiritual power no longer believed in itself, and in the truth of the principles which it advocated. By this want of genuine conviction, the essential warrant for the power of the Church was lost, and it became tyranny.

To this was added another burthen, namely, the system of extortion, by which the laity were impoverished, and German money was conveyed to Rome. The greatest offence, however, lay in the low state of morals among the clergy, who not only conducted Divine worship in a superficial and unworthy manner, but also contradicted by their life the very principles of the Church with regard to self-abnegation and the subduing of the desires of the flesh. Covetousness, luxury, and voluptuousness were universal, and among monks especially moral depravity had reached its height. The age was long passed in which monasteries stood in the midst of races yet undeveloped, as blessed nurseries of civilization, making the soil productive, introducing a well-ordered state of things, and affording a quiet refuge to art and science. Not alone indolence, opposition to enlightenment, and debauchery, but all shamelessness and every crime against nature, were permitted within the cloister walls. It was a popular saying at the time, "What a monk ventures to do, would shame the devil himself even to think of."

While on one side the Church was so much endangered by this state of things, in spite of all this, on the other side devotion and warmth of religious feeling were increasing among the people. But mere subjection to external religious authority did not satisfy their minds. This was especially the case in

Germany, where this external show of authority brought the people far more evil than good. The distracted nation had to suffer with its blood for the unceasing disputes between Emperor and Pope. Oftentimes the Pope hurled the thunderbolt of excommunication against the head of the Emperor and his party. Whole cities and districts had suffered under the curse, church-doors had remained closed, no song nor organ tone refreshed the heart, and all sacraments were refused, so that there were no marriages and no baptisms of children, no confession, and no last consolation for the dying. No previous period had been visited like this with all imaginable misery. Not only was the land lacerated by discord and war; earthquakes alarmed the people, famine raged, one pestilence followed another, and black death marched over the entire land. This was the time when, to give suitable expression to the general state of feeling, the walls of the churchyards and the cloisters were painted with the gloomy representation of the Dance of Death.

While suffering thus followed upon suffering, it fell each time upon the ear of the people as a louder reminder of Divine judgment. Devotion increased in the troubled minds; the multitude pressed more densely to the house of God; the altars were more richly adorned; religious foundations, so-called good works, constantly increased. But deeper hearts were not satisfied by this outward piety. Religious and moral regeneration in the innermost heart of man himself seemed to them the only cure. This was the endeavour of the mystics, of men such as Eckhardt, Tauler, Suso, and of countless others who laboured with them and came after them, especially in Germany, where the need was the greatest. Without actually separating themselves from the Church, they freely entered the lists against ecclesiastical abuses, and attacked the empty formal nature of their doctrines and the immorality in the life of the clergy. But not by fasts and expiations, not by outward activity, but by examining their own heart, and by ardent longing after God and complete personal devotion to Him, did they think to become sharers in Divine blessedness. They addressed themselves to the entire people, and proclaimed their doctrines in the language of the country.

Gradually the opposition assumed a more and more definite form. Not only the renovation and improvement of the individual heart, but the reformation also of ecclesiastical affairs, presented themselves as necessary. The demand of every serious mind, the universal watchword, was the reformation of the Church in its head and members.

The Waldenses, who had taken up the contest as early as the close of the twelfth century, had been suppressed, but yet the traces of their teaching had not been perfectly effaced. In England, Wickliffe arose and held up the Bible as the one foundation of faith, and entered the lists against papal power, against the avarice and depravity of the clergy, and against ceremonies and indulgences. The old Waldensian communities of Germany, who had

secretly retained their persecuted opinions, were a favourable soil for him. By his writings, John Huss was stirred up in Prague, and, carrying all Bohemia away with him, kindled the flame in Germany also. Although the council convoked for reform was alarmed at the consistency of the Reformer and consigned him to the stake, no crusade could extirpate nor suppress his adherents. Even though for a time the old system remained in force, the new ideas ever took root more and more and disseminated, until at length the whole people were so imbued with them that Luther's appearance proved the successful climax, because it was but the expression of the general national feeling.

The course taken by this universal revolution in Italy and Germany corresponds in both lands with the further development of art. The Christian spirit of the Middle Ages found its complete expression in the Gothic style, the fundamental principle of which was an idealism carried to an extreme such as the world had never seen. The Gothic style renounces nature just as the Christian ideas renounce it; by ingenious combination it brings under its own sway the all-powerful laws of nature. As if there were no mass, and no weight in the mass, the Gothic structure aspires upwards. Though it belongs to every building to rest broadly on the ground, springing up from it only to return to it again; though elsewhere in architecture no power can be expressed without at the same time the exhibition of the burthen which rests upon it, yet the Gothic disregards all these fundamental conditions. It denies the burthen entirely and expresses the power alone, an unhindered aspiring power, such as we see in the slender growth of the tree which knows no resistance of mass, but gently waves its topmost leaves in the breeze. As the Christian doctrine is not satisfied with this world, but continually points with longing and anticipation to a higher world, so with the Gothic also, everything strives upwards. The main element of every building, the firm mass of wall, is wholly set aside; the whole building is broken into separate parts, which, instead of being piled horizontally, grow upwards vertically. Everything becomes more and more light and airy; and even when the growth reaches its termination in the arch, it still appears, from the form of the pointed arch, which never returns into itself, to be continued to infinity. This ideal law pervades all the members and separate parts at the expense of the real conditions. The mass seems everywhere to shoot upwards and to evaporate in air. Though it may thus often happen that points, gables, and ornaments, far too delicate and light and fragile, tower above; that the supernaturally bold structure can only be maintained by the greatest expenditure and the most ingenious combination; that in obedience to the ideal tendency, even parts which should protect and shelter, such as the gable, or the projection over the windows, or the pyramid of the tower, are fashioned with fretwork,—though thus the Gothic structure

is exposed to destruction, and has often, even during the building, been abandoned to ruin,—though almost without exception it is never completed, because it everywhere leads to infinity;—in spite of this, far beyond any other creation of architecture, it compels our boundless admiration.

Yet no sooner had the spirit which produced the Gothic, the spirit of a faith renouncing and subduing nature, been suppressed by the new development of mind, than the Gothic style itself passed away. Its system, with its regardlessness of real conditions, could only exist by a constraining consistency which carried to excess the ingenious combination, banished every personal element under an iron law, permitted no independent play to the rich ornament, and never allowed sculpture and painting, however much introduced, to express themselves freely. Nature and freedom now demanded their right. All the emotions of the individual mind which rose against the system of the ecclesiastical hierarchy began also to rebel against the system of the Gothic. In Italy, the revival of classic culture was accompanied by a renaissance of the arts, which drew their new law from the models of antiquity; and this was all the more possible, as the Gothic had here never really taken root and the influence of the antique had never wholly subsided. Thus, side by side with secular culture arose a secular art. As on the other hand in Germany, the new religious movements had not taken place outside the Church, but on the very basis of religious life itself, so here also at first no foreign principle of art took the place of the Gothic, but within the Gothic itself, within the Christian mediæval art, the new element endeavoured to assert itself.

After that with which we have become acquainted as the system of the Gothic, this necessarily led to a rupture. The firm, constraining, and despotic organization of the Gothic style was not compatible with the vigorous life of the individual mind. Wherever this appears in Gothic architecture, its degeneration is unavoidable. The separate part of the building rebelled against the whole system, the strict laws of which were insufferable to it, and it fell into wanton disorder and trifling. The various forms of construction became weak, untrue, and cold; exaggerated ornament and capricious trifling were introduced, even in the midst of the rudest adherence to nature. In the latest Gothic, rococo and bizarrerie gained the ascendency to such an extent that the rococo and bizarrerie of the past century fall far short in comparison. A complete rupture began. Only in purely decorative works, such as pulpits, fountains, and the receptacles for the sacred elements, does the architecture of that day exhibit the least creative power. There are bravura works, the fantastic boldness and brilliant fancy of which may dazzle, but the want of any higher feeling of style is rarely to be overlooked. The more luxuriance displayed in these works, the more sober, empty, and formal are the larger works. No technical skill can supply

the want of mind and imagination. Thus the Gothic continued in Germany until the middle of the sixteenth century. Though the breath of its life may have been long ago extinguished, its principle was so mighty that it still retained its supremacy. Then, for the first time, the renaissance appeared also in German architecture, but too late to share in the general revival of the arts. The pause in national progress had already brought about a pause in the progress of art.

The new life which at the close of the Middle Ages failed to penetrate into architecture, made its way into the two other arts, which may, indeed, be specially denominated as the arts of individual feeling. Everything now became serviceable to them, even the revolution in religious matters. They were also favoured by the mystical tendency, little as its followers cared for the external pomp of worship. In architecture, indeed, the mystics would see nothing but vain arrogance, but good pictures they held in high estimation, and even the visions that influenced them were fashioned into charming paintings by the enraptured fancy. Sculpture and painting now freed themselves from architectural restraint and took their own path. No longer as heretofore was the importance of the work of art exhausted in its ecclesiastical object; the true artistic element passed into the foreground; genuine human interest took precedence of sacred interest. It is true even now, that which the Church desired was painted and chiselled, yet not as she prescribed it, but as the individual artist felt it, deeply, freely, and personally, within his own heart. To this individual effort was linked a striving after realism. Nature was now no longer rejected as sinful. Freely and joyfully the eye drank in all the fulness of her beauty. Her laws were investigated, and her variety and magnificence recognized and imitated.

In spite of the increased leaning to Nature, her right comprehension was still difficult; and the feeling for true physical beauty, long suppressed by the Gothic, was only just on the point of awakening. Hard struggles were therefore yet in store for the further advancement of art before she could near her goal, and that art especially, whose task it is to represent the beauty of the entire form, namely sculpture, was still hindered in its just development. It was not at first the beauty of the body that was understood and represented, but the beauty of the mind, and thus deeper importance was given to the countenance, as the revealer of its emotions, moods, and feelings. This however was the task of painting, which henceforth appears as the leading art.

The period at which, at the close of the Middle Ages, painting begins to take her own course, may be designated simply by the fact that panel-painting now appeared, a style which had hitherto played a very subordinate part in purely handicraft works, coats-of-arms, and the like. As painting

is specially the art of individual feeling, so is panel-painting the truly individual picture. The miniatures by which, during the Middle Ages, the art of painting was especially carried on, played even now an important part, and reached a still higher degree of perfection; but from henceforth they stand no longer in the foremost rank. The other styles of painting also receded, especially wall-painting, which had displayed great activity during the Romanesque epoch, but during the Gothic, which had no walls, it had become extremely limited; also glass painting, which had been debarred in Gothic buildings its sole opportunity for picturesque creations in combination with architecture, but which naturally was insufficient for higher artistic works. The panel picture which stood forth independently and concluded all within itself, best met the object of painting so soon as she felt herself an independent art. It was at the same time favourable to the extraordinarily increasing demand. We have already seen how the growing devotion of the people began to decorate the churches more and more brilliantly. A donation of art treasures belonged to the good works which obtained remission of sins. Thus religious interests became linked with æsthetic.

Painting was a trade carried on by a company, and it flourished in cities; for cities at that time, as in all periods of healthy progress, were the vehicles of culture. Everywhere, where the art has truly flourished, it has been upheld by free citizen life. In classic antiquity, it proceeded from the Hellenic republics; in the Middle Ages and in modern times from the free cities of Germany and Italy,—from Florence and Venice, from Nuremberg and Augsburg. Throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, the national element had been most purely preserved in the German cities. They had constantly been the confederates of the Emperor against the Pope, and they formed at the present time the best power of the land. They stood there independent of the head of the Empire, whose power was weakened; the princes and nobles came far short of them both in external and moral power. Whether by themselves or in imposing league, the cities were capable of opposition. Their interior life also exhibited a universal striving after freedom. Active work produced a fresh and independent mind, intercourse with others enlarged perception. Lastly, the manufacturing citizen demanded equal rights with the commercial patrician, and gained his point either quickly or by slow degrees. Usually, however, the advance proceeded quietly and calmly; it was rather a peaceful progress than a contest. Æneas Sylvius, who had first been secretary to the Emperor Frederick III., and then ascended the papal chair as Pius II., and who was the introducer of literary culture into Germany, praises, in a letter to Martin Meyr, the chancellor of Mainz, the German cities beyond those of all other nations. They are subject, he says, to the Emperor alone, whose yoke is freedom, a freedom such as is nowhere else in

the world. The so-called free states of Italy are just those which are most enslaved, such as Venice, Florence, and Siena. A few rule there; the rest are slaves. Among the Germans, on the other hand, all are glad and cheerful. No one is deprived of his possessions, every man is sure of his inheritance, the magistrates harm the harmful alone. And thus party spirit does not flourish, as in Italy. There are more than a hundred cities which enjoy such liberty.

Among the German cities, Cologne now occupied a conspicuous place. Founded by the Romans, it could exhibit important monuments of art belonging to past ages. The old Romanesque churches and the choir of the unfinished cathedral towered above the masses of houses. A powerful elector and archbishop resided there; there were rich religious houses and an active body of citizens, and a busy and brilliant life displayed itself. At the same time, from every pulpit resounded the preaching of the most famous mystics, thrilling through all hearts, and awakening not only personal piety but a delight in sacred pictures. Thus from Cologne especially many beautiful paintings have been preserved, belonging to the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the style of art displayed in them was wont to be called the Cologne style, erroneously indeed, as at the same time it had spread over the whole of Germany and the adjacent lands. Although this advance in painting was only possible on the decline of the Gothic, still the character of its style was itself decidedly Gothic. The same principles of form prevailed in its organization as in the Gothic architecture. The figures are exceedingly slender and attenuated; a slight idea of aspiration pervades their bearing. Long garments with close regular folds envelope the figures, so that their form is scarcely to be perceived. The knowledge of nature was weak and faulty, the form was still imperfect, the physical remained subordinate to the spiritual; it had no desire to assert itself, it would claim no value for itself, it wished but to be the channel of the mind, which beamed forth from the graceful countenances with their beautiful oval, from the delicate lips, from the large straight nose, and from the expressive and feeling eyes, which only half looked forth from their hollow lids. But the imperfect work was ennobled by the depth of feeling it exhibited. The doubtful drawing was far surpassed by the colouring, which is ever in art the true language of the soul. It was only laid on thinly and delicately, but how full was it of cheerfulness and harmony! And behind the figures stretched a golden ground, which throws them as it were into a heavenly distance where all is pure and holy, and everything is to be found which the heart can conceive of devotion and enthusiastic longing, of tenderness and of grace.

This is the spirit which we meet with in that series of works comprised under the name of Meister Wilhelm. The works produced by the next generation at the beginning of the fifteenth century, exhibit an important difference. Meister Stephan Lochner stands at the head of these, as the

author of "the cathedral painting," representing the divine Mother and Child receiving adoration from the patron saints of Cologne, the three kings from the East, and Gereon and Ursula, with their companions. This work and the other productions of this artist stand at the confines between two epochs. They preserve the innocence, majesty, and calm sweet solemnity of the old period. But we also find in them that joyfulness in the full, glad reality of things, that characterizes the later period. That realistic conception is aroused, which was speedily to prevail in Northern art. More and more gladly and fully does the eye become absorbed in nature. Touches from daily life were selected and cheerfully introduced. The feeling for the physical form increased; the slender figures became more compact, and assumed an appearance of ease. The limbs became stronger, the countenances rounder and fuller, the eyes no longer cast down in humility and embarrassment, but looking boldly and gladly out into the world. Men and women from henceforth were dressed in the brilliant, but often indeed fantastic fashions of the day. Velvet, silk, gold brocade, the most magnificent materials, were selected; in order to increase the variety, the mantle would frequently exhibit, from the way in which it fell, the inside with its lining of a different colour. The whole was in perfect harmony, and the colours combined in producing a splendid and cheerful effect. Frequently the new tendency to the representation of the Real would fail to find the just medium; a coarse and common type of organization appears among the men's heads. But there is nothing more charming to be seen than the child faces of Meister Stephan's women and maidens. Scarcely ever, even in the cathedral painting, did the artist attain to a serious religious character; but he reveals his utmost charms in his idyllic scenes, such as the exquisite "Madonna in the Bower of Roses" in the Museum at Cologne.

The Gothic style and nature stand nevertheless too rudely in contrast, for the soft and gradual transition, such as we find among the painters of Cologne, to prove sufficient. It was not possible on this path to take a step beyond that which Meister Stephan had accomplished. A complete breach with Gothic idealism could alone enable sculpture and painting to stand on a footing of their own. This breach was accomplished in the Netherlands at this time. The whole character of the land favoured a vigorous revival of the art. It was well-peopled and richly built over with important and wealthy cities. There was a well-regulated government and not so much discord as in the German empire. Busy industry was combined with flourishing commerce. Refinement and cultivation were to be found with the citizen, the noble, and the brilliant court. This was the soil upon which a master trod, who pioneered a path for others,—such a master as Hubert van Eyck, who aimed at the true and exclusive representation of nature and reality, even in their smallest details. His realism, which, as Dr. Waagen justly remarks,

has never been sufficiently valued, stands forth as the highest impress of the Germanic mind in art, free from all foreign influence, and originating in itself.

No master of the Christian world had ever produced actual personages such as Hubert van Eyck produced. They are characters drawn from top to toe; taken from life, just as he saw it before him. We see every class, every age, and sex. Plainly and strongly, simply and truly, he exhibits each exactly as he is. And not only in the features is the character expressed, but in figure, gesture, and bearing. The drapery no longer flows down in soft hues; it is no longer, in order to produce effect of colour, left to the play of chance, but it strives to suit the character of the material, and the movements of the body. The monk's cowl and the simple citizen's dress, the splendid priest's stole, the royal robes and the glittering armour, all are faithfully represented to the utmost detail, although this is harmoniously subordinate to the whole. And this refers not only to the figures, but to their surroundings. The time was over now for the antique gold ground, which raised everything into an ideal sphere. His incidents are transported into a snug citizen's room, or into free nature. Every blade of grass and every leaf is fashioned just as truly and specially as every person. In the soft sunshine rest the lofty forest trees, the moss-grown rocks and the fruitful valley with its broad silvery stream winding along, the cities, castles, and abbeys with their evidence of prosperity, and the distant snow mountains in the horizon.

With all this truth and fidelity, the spiritual element is never lost, but reveals itself with unexpected grandeur. The whole is pervaded by the highest religious spirit. Devotion imbues everything; devotion is stamped on the humble and mild female countenances, on the grave and bearded manly heads; the bold youth and the meditative and worthy sire, the beautiful woman and the vigorous man exhibit the same solemn enthusiasm everywhere; even in the quiet peace of nature, the presence of God is to be traced. Everyone is conscious of it and cannot escape its influence; the bold deed pauses, the ebullition of passion is hushed, each retires into his innermost self to present it to the Lord, before whom every heart bends adoringly. This universal spirit of devotion imparts its high and peculiar character to the art of Hubert van Eyck, while at the same time it fixes its limits. It results as a natural consequence that in this truly finished style of art, one thing, but only one, namely real action, is wanting. This we feel in the master's principal work, which was indeed only finished in 1532, six years after his death, by his younger brother Jan van Eyck, but which nevertheless belongs to the elder brother, not only in spirit and conception, but in the greatest part of its execution: we allude to the famous Ghent altar, six folding panels of which, painted on both sides, are to be seen in the Berlin Gallery, and the centre pictures are still in the Bavo Church at Ghent. As

Hubert van Eyck aimed in his art at a totally different effect to any that his predecessors had even imagined, he was no longer satisfied with the old artistic means of expression. The use of oil colours had, it is true, been long known, but Hubert was the first who really made them serviceable and applied them to works of a higher kind. It was this new technical expedient which enabled him to go so profoundly into the art, to depict the smallest detail with such loving care and yet in such close connection with the whole, and to make every touch radiant with fresh and vigorous life. His fame passed now from land to land, and still more so that of his brother, who was his heir. Not merely from the Netherlands, but from Germany and Italy, painters crowded to learn from him. And yet the cleft between Hubert and his predecessors was scarcely greater than the cleft between him and his successors. None of these equalled the founder of the school in genius, profoundness, and grandness of style. Even Jan van Eyck, however important he may have been as a painter, however much more frequently than Hubert he may be mentioned by his contemporaries and by posterity, is not to be compared in the remotest degree with his elder brother. His figures lack that nobleness, that grandness of appearance, even that natural fall of the folds, which is replaced by regular, sharp, and pretty creases. His strength lies on the one side in an accurate portrait-like conception, and on the other side in a tender and perfect execution of the detail. He regards the smallest and most insignificant part and invests it with special charm; his gifts are observation and industry. He needs great circumstances just as little as great ideas. In the smallest space, with the simplest and most modest subject, he most of all exhibits his perfection and accomplishes marvellous works in miniature-like execution. Among the pupils of the brothers, several, it is true, approach nearer to Hubert van Eyck than to Jan; among others, Rogier van der Weyden, who has exercised more extensive influence than any. But he, too, remained behind in greatness and taste. His realism is more extreme, and not unfrequently violates all idea of beauty. He drew his subjects still more decidedly from ordinary daily life. Hence he exhibits still greater life both in expression and colouring; but not in action: here the calm, peaceful element ever preponderates.

One thing was wanting, and this was actual progress. Hubert van Eyck had carried the art to a height which was not attained in the remotest degree by the entire Italian painting of that period. But while Italian art speedily overtook it and vigorously rose from step to step, Hubert's German and Flemish successors seem to move as if in a circle within the limits he had drawn. In many respects it was almost as if his chief creations were not matters really existing and already produced, but as if they were only a *fata morgana*, the deluding vision of a goal still widely remote. His successors had to struggle with impediments which his genius, in precedence as it was of his age, had overcome without difficulty. They also started by grasping

the actual and by penetrating nature to the utmost, but it was difficult for them to find the *true* nature.

The reason for this lay in the same circumstances which had prepared such a difficult position for Northern art generally. After the world had been estranged for centuries from nature, it required time and the utmost exertion of power to find its way back to nature; and this all the more, as the Gothic system, the offspring of ideas hostile to nature, still, although degenerated, continued in architecture, and exercised its counter influence even on sculpture and painting. Amid such reactions, which were constantly taking place in Germany especially, it happened that sometimes, under the influence of the old ideas, the desire for nature was checked, and sometimes from the exaggerated weight given to the new ideas, hardness and coarseness increased. But as it is the case everywhere that where there is no right progress, the life soon dies away, so was it also here. Empty conventional mannerism was assumed and a mechanical style gained ground. Dürer and Holbein were the first who raised German art out of all this. This forms their great merit, but it forms also the difficulties of their position, and naturally causes that they should only stand at the beginning of progress, while in Italy perfection was already attained. Dürer had to struggle with this Gothic reaction up to the very end of his career; Holbein alone was able at once to set himself free of it. He was the first to retread the path which Hubert van Eyck had opened, and he may be regarded as his true successor, of course with the changes which the progress of the age demanded. In him, Germanic realism reached its utmost possible perfection in all branches; by study and taste he formed a link with the art spirit of Italy, where the real and the ideal had never stood in such sharp contrast, but had been harmoniously balanced and blended according to the model of classic antiquity.

In Germany and especially in Swabia, with which we have more particularly to do, there are early traces of the tendency to realism. In this district, where the love of building seems to have fallen short of the love of pictures, we find, as early as the year 1431, a work such as the Magdalen altar in the church at Tiefenbronn, near Pforzheim, which with its thin superficial colouring and the mild tenderness and fervour of Gothic painting, such as has become familiar to us in Meister Wilhelm, combines such a peculiar freshness of conception, such an attentive regard to the real both in movement and action, and such an idea of comfort in the delineation of daily life that at this early period it cannot fail to surprise us. Flemish influence is scarcely at that time to be supposed, especially not in these remote South-German districts, particularly as the inscription designates the master as "Lucas moser, painter of Wil," the unimportant little free city, Weil. This also marks the master to be touched by the spirit of a new epoch, that he specifies his name and has already a feeling of artistic self-reliance, which was not the case with the

painters of Cologne at that period, who, with the modesty of mere handicraftsmen, allowed their personality to disappear behind their works.

If Swabian painting was inclined to realism even before it felt the influence of the Flemish masters, it all the more regardlessly resigned itself to it afterwards. One thing, however, distinguishes all German painting under the influence of Flemish art, and that is, its abundance of imagination. Wherever there is much imagination there cannot be that calmness of style, or that withdrawal from outward things. The artists represent real action, they find interest in the events themselves; they rarely allow themselves time to follow out their ideas with the same assiduity, fidelity, and consistency as the Netherlanders. Not the execution but the conception is their delight. One design follows another. They feel themselves restlessly impelled to new ideas, new forms. Thus it happens that instead of painting another art is cultivated, which renders it possible for them to perpetuate their ideas with less expenditure of time and work; and at the same time, so soon as these are realized, to render them enjoyable, not only once in one place and for one circle of spectators, but as a common property for the whole world, capable of transmission hither and thither, and of delight to everyone.

Thus arose the arts for multiplying works, namely woodcuts and engraving. These accustomed the artists to careful outline, and thus it becomes easily conceivable that even in paintings the drawing would be the predominant matter. In this they took precedence of the Flemish artists, just as much as they did in skilfulness of composition, owing to their far more numerous productions. But in taste, as well as in colour and picturesque execution, they remained almost universally inferior to them. They never attained to that transparency, combined with glowing colouring, which belonged to the Flemish painters; and the endeavour to produce so much effect by colour, and to render the details true, natural, and pleasing, was utterly foreign to them. Thus, in the first place, they placed but little importance on surrounding objects, often returning to the old golden ground, or introducing it at any rate instead of atmosphere, while the landscape with its high horizon was treated only cursorily and entirely without grace. No handsome building, towered cities and castles, no glimpses of picturesque churches, or of apartments filled with the most various household furniture, appear in their works; and even the gay-coloured figured dress, the glittering armour, and the sparkling jewel are but little delighted in by them. These could easily be painted by those who sat for long months and years over one and the same work, bestowing on the finish of this work all the labour they could, but it was not for those who were driven from work to work like our German masters. This small delight in execution results indeed in the evil, that constantly much is consigned to assistants, and hence the works are extremely unequal and mechanical in their character. This is increased by the fact that at this time the principal

works of ecclesiastical art were limited to the large panelled altars which in other lands only rarely appear, but which spread universally in Germany in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Painting was here called upon to work in combination with sculpture, which usually claims the first place for itself, and it thus saw its task limited to mere decorative effect.

A far more important part is played in the art-life of Germany by the technical arts for the multiplying of works, for Germany while it was the land of book-printing is also the land of picture-printing. Indeed, wood engraving, which preceded the invention of book-printing, prepared the way for it, and only left one step more necessary for it. Book-printing and picture-printing have both the same inner cause for their origin, namely, the impulse to make each mental gain a common blessing. Not merely princes and rich nobles were to have the privilege of adorning their private chapels and apartments with beautiful religious pictures, the poorest man was also to have his delight in that which the artist had devised and produced. It was not sufficient for him when it stood in the church as an altar shrine, visible to him and to the congregation from afar; he desired to have it as his own, to carry it about with him, to bring it into his own home. The grand importance of wood engraving and copper-plate is not sufficiently estimated in historical investigations. They were not alone of use in the advance of art; they form an epoch in the entire life of mind and culture. The idea embodied and multiplied in pictures became like that embodied in the printed word, the herald of every intellectual movement, and conquered the world.

Especially active as an engraver is the master who appears as Germany's greatest artist at this period, and the teacher of the following one, namely, Martin Schongauer, a painter held in such high esteem by his contemporaries that they designated him as *pictorum gloria*, "the glory of painters." His family came from Augsburg, but he subsequently settled in Kolmar, where he exercised his art until his death, on the second of February, 1489.[1] From this city his influence spread over the whole of Southern Germany, and in Swabia especially none remained unaffected by it. Among those who introduced Flemish art into Germany he occupies the highest place. He was himself a pupil of Rogier van der Weyden, a fact expressly stated in a letter from the Liége painter, Lambert Lombard, to Vasari, and which is also decidedly to be traced in Schongauer's works.

But all the differences between German and Flemish art with which we have become acquainted, apply most especially to him. He too is rather a designer than a representer, rather a draughtsman than a painter. But a characteristic quite peculiar to him, and at the same time thoroughly national,

[1] E. His-Heusler. Das Todesjahr M. Schongauer's. Archiv. für die zeichnenden Künste, 1867.

is the soul-breathing purity of feeling which glorifies everything he produces. It is as if the excellencies of Rogier had combined with those of Meister Stephan. In spite of his Flemish school, the old native idealism with all its advantages and disadvantages is awakened in him. However much he may have imbibed of the new realistic mode of art, however much he may have attained by its study to great accuracy of drawing, so that the limbs, especially the hands, are generally too thin, and his drapery, otherwise happy in its arrangement, exhibits the angular and ugly creases of the Netherland style; still we find in his figures that high ideality which belonged to the German art of the former epoch. There is in them a sweet unconstrained loveliness, a calm joy and sense of the Divine presence, and a depth of feeling, such as in the great Cologne painters. And yet his conception is different in its very foundation. There is no childlike expression in his works as in those of the Cologne masters. We might designate the character of his figures in contrast to these, as well as to the grave manliness of Hubert van Eyck, as that of a gentle womanhood, and of pure maidenliness.

In harmony with this his figures exhibit a sweet modesty, which conceals within still more beauty and significance than is outwardly revealed. The best Italian masters could not make their angel and Madonna faces more noble, pure, and full of feeling, and in Schongauer's works they are at the same time so transparent that the eye penetrates to the very heart itself.

But not only tenderness, warmth and depth of feeling, but a bold inclination to the fantastic is exhibited in Schongauer's works, qualities often combined in the German character as well as in German art. The greatness of his power of imagination is most brilliantly seen in the temptation of St. Antony, the most magnificent of all his engravings. In the fantastic figures of the eight demons, who, endowed with all the terrors that can be devised, have carried the hermit into the air, all idea of a certain timidity and uncertainty in the movements, elsewhere exhibited in the artist's works, is here completely conquered; the spectator here finds a boldness so unfettered, and a power so entrancing, that even Michael Angelo, as is well known, felt himself tempted in his youth to copy this plate. But from a less favourable point of view this fantastic element exhibits itself in the scenes from our Lord's Passion. In such scenes, Schongauer, like most of his countrymen, took especial delight, while the Flemish painters generally prefer more peaceful subjects, and only rarely select those in which contest and passion predominate. When the stealthy traitor approaches, when the wild troop seize the Saviour, when dissembling priests condemn him, and loud scorn and insolent abuse from old and young break over the Son of God, throughout in order to depict the coarseness and depravity of the opponents, he makes use of the utmost ugliness and distortion. Hideousness of mind he represents as hideousness of form. In spite of this, he often attains to an astonishing grandeur in the composition, as for

instance in his grand Bearing of the Cross, and side by side with the most caricatured figures there appear touches of the most exquisite tenderness and feeling, as in his numerous representations of the Saviour on the Cross. Schongauer, moreover, is one of the first who selected subjects from actual life as the independent object of artistic representation. Among his engravings there is a peasant's family going to market, a miller with his ass, and a couple of goldsmith's apprentices pulling each other's hair.

But though Martin Schongauer displayed such versatile and imaginative power in his engravings, the full importance of his ability and individuality rests in those few paintings which may be regarded as the productions of his own hand; namely, the altar panels from the Issenheim Monastery, now in the Museum at Kolmar, and the "Madonna in Rosenhaag" in the sacristy of St. Martin's Church in the same city. This is a beautiful and deeply poetic subject, already a favourite one with the Cologne masters, and harmonizing entirely with German feeling. The countenance of the Holy Virgin here expresses a truly personal character. Not only purity and feeling beam forth from her features, but a consciousness both of her own mission and of the destiny of the Holy Child clinging to her. Her noble gravity, mingled with a touch of sadness, is an evidence of this. The work indeed falls far short of the creations of a Hubert van Eyck, but nothing *since* him has been painted in the North which can rank with Schongauer's Madonna in majesty and devotion. The greatness of his style is exhibited also in the noble though hard delineation of form, and in the grand fall of the drapery. Such a work explains Schongauer's intellectual superiority and his influence far and near; it shows the utmost that was attainable by the German art of that period; it is the point from which the further progress of art until Holbein takes its start.

While Schongauer may thus be regarded as the teacher of Germany, and of Swabia especially, we must not forget to mention a second artist who likewise exercised considerable influence upon Swabian painting; namely, Fritz Herlen, who was appointed town painter at Nördlingen in 1467. His style spread to France on the north and to Swabia on the south, and while Schongauer influenced the mind, he influenced the hand. He cannot even remotely be compared with Schongauer. Both in depth of feeling and imagination, he is far behind him. His importance lies in the technical skill with which he adopted the Netherland style, which he had studied on the spot. He especially imitates Rogier van der Weyden. Although in expression and outline he may be more feeble than his model, and may be inferior to him in colouring, although subsequently removed from the impressions of his youth and surrounded by clumsy Upper German art, he may have grown more and more coarse; still, he was at that time the only artist in Germany who strove after Flemish depth and richness of colouring,

who delighted to delineate drapery of magnificent texture, who indulged in carefully executed detail, and who brought landscape background to perfection.

Under the influence of Schongauer and Herlen, Swabian painting reached a height which left far behind it the other schools of Germany. A more delicate feeling for the beautiful here stood side by side with the realistic conception. It affords an agreeable contrast to the Franconian style especially. There the bizarre, the terrible, the distorted, were far more familiar without being combined with such charming qualities as Schongauer possessed, or being occasionally modified by them; frequently the greatest coarseness of feeling was expressed in rude, ordinary, and indifferent execution. In Swabia also, colouring attained to a perfection never elsewhere reached. All these are the very qualities which subsequently placed our Hans Holbein, the younger, as the true son of his country, at the head of German painting.

Ulm and Augsburg are the principal seats of Swabian art. The first master of Ulm at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, is *Bartholomäus Zeitblom*, distinguished for the simplicity, truth, and purity which pervades his works. In this respect Dr. Waagen has styled him the most German of all painters. Indeed, a true German character is stamped on his figures, in all of which we find the same style of countenance, with the prominent and slightly curved nose, regularly recurring. The fidelity, honesty, and sincerity expressed in every countenance is thoroughly German; the modest, gentle, sensible nature is German; and German also is the absence of all energetic action, all resolute and spirited power, which throughout marks the weaker side of Zeitblom's art. Much too of the genuine Swabian nature is betrayed in him in a certain shy awkwardness, in an incapability to exhibit his own excellence. It is alone to be traced to this, that his position is not still more distinguished. In his best works, such as the Annunciation and the figure of St John in the altar at Eschach in the Stuttgart Museum, the scenes from the history of the Baptist in the altar at Blaubeuren, and the pictures from the legend of St. Valentinian in the Augsburg Gallery,—all the figures testify to the high artistic perfection of the master. The limbs are well formed, although they lack suppleness, the proportions are good, the outline is certain and full of knowledge. A rare taste and nobleness prevails in the simple fall of the drapery, and Zeitblom is distinguished by a colouring in which he far surpasses most of his German contemporaries. He combines depth and warmth with transparent brilliancy, with extraordinary delicacy in his flesh-tints, and with agreeable harmony. Nothing is wanting for a free and finished style of art but bold certainty and self-confidence. A certain degree of Swabian obstinacy may also be to blame. Conscious of his deeper and intrinsic value, he is so bent upon being more than he seems, that he allows himself to despise as tinsel all that belongs to externals.

That which lay in embryo in Schongauer's art, was developed in two wholly different styles by his Swabian successors. Calm sublimity and religious feeling were cultivated by Zeitblom and the artists of Ulm; a striving after truthfulness to nature and lively action were cultivated by the Augsburg masters. But before we take a glance at the Augsburg painting and the Holbein family, which here appear on the scene, we must first contemplate the soil on which they stand.

CHAPTER II.

Augsburg at that period and at the present day.—The city of German Renaissance and the painter of German Renaissance.—Position and character of the city.—Democratic reform of the Commonwealth.—Augsburg reflecting in miniature the movements that agitated all Germany.—Outward insecurity.—Hereditary hostility with Bavaria.—War, suffering, and calamity of every kind.—Increase of religious oppression and quarrel with the clergy.—Bias to reform and to humanistic literature.—Emperor Max.—The citizens in festivity and work.—Trade and commerce.—General innovations.—Intercourse with Italy.—Stimulant to artists.

AUGSBURG presents to those who visit it at the present day, a more decided character than most other cities of Germany. At every step we are met by the remembrances of a grand past. We are not perhaps reminded, as in Nuremberg, of the Middle Ages, but of the period which followed the Middle Ages. A clever writer who has published his charming researches respecting the life and culture of the venerable city,[1] has called Augsburg the German Pompeii of the Renaissance. Indeed the one word Renaissance comprises everything which strikes us even at the present day as the character of the city. Renaissance made its way here more speedily and more completely than it did in other parts of the Empire; it gained a footing here with such decision and continuance, that its culture and art soon asserted its supremacy, effacing almost all traces of past periods, defying all the influence of later times, and still as vigorous and well-preserved as if here also the covering of ashes had been protectingly thrown over it. If we wander through the streets, we feel ourselves insensibly transported to a time which we plainly perceive to have been Augsburg's greatest period, when she ranked above all other famous and powerful free-cities. Scarcely anywhere are we reminded of the Middle Ages, not even in her great ecclesiastical buildings, for these have little prominence compared with modern and secular structures. There, indeed, on the highest point of the city, St. Ulrich is enthroned, slender, proud, and spacious, commanding the whole neighbourhood, and in the valley below lies the Cathedral, in which so many centuries tried their architectural power, with its double choir east and west, partly Gothic and partly Romanesque, with its famous bronze gates of the eleventh century, and its glass paintings, which

[1] W. H. Riehl, Culturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten.

belong to the oldest in Germany. But even these buildings do not disturb the Renaissance aspect of Augsburg. Neither in position nor execution possessing any special originality, they are not important enough to make themselves conspicuous. The towers also of all the churches are never crowned by pinnacles. These fell a sacrifice to the modern taste which endeavoured to make everything suit and replaced them by bulb-like domes. This was the work of Elias Holl, the greatest German architect, one of the most active champions of the new world-transforming taste.

We shall especially perceive his influence, if we look thoroughly into the heart of the city, and ascend to the Perlach tower, which so majestically towers above it. Beside, grandly and imposingly, rises the town-hall, which Elias Holl erected between the years 1615 and 1620, a period unexampled for shortness at that time. Few creations of post-mediæval architecture can rival the Augsburg town-hall, and the great Golden Hall in the interior is worthy to compete with the most splendid festive buildings in the world. Nothing more beautiful can be imagined than to look from here towards St. Ulrich, along the magnificent Maximilian Strasse. Not so straight, uniform, and tedious, as our modern streets, but in light, elegant curve, it stretches away: our ancestors better understood picturesque charm and poetic effect. Palace stands on palace, and each is a work of Renaissance. For the only mediæval patrician house, the remnant of a period in which families built their fortresses in the centre of the town, is the house of the Imhofs, which fell a sacrifice to modern industry a few years ago, and has been replaced by a large barrack. Otherwise the cheerful splendour of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is everywhere to be seen. Everything exhibits broad and well-adjusted proportions, strongly projecting forms, and rich energetic ornaments, full of luxuriant life. Here and there, there is still a house adorned with the frescoes, which at that time ardent imagination and a reflective love of splendour produced on the broad wall surfaces: allegory and mythology confusedly jumbled together; above and below wanton cupids, and a sparkling Olympus teeming with sensual and beautiful forms, full of movement and intoxicating life. Once, according to the beautiful custom borrowed from a happier zone, the whole city was made one gay picture-book by these paintings, but every year and every decade has disturbed and spoiled them, and those which remain diminish day by day. Burgkmair's military pictures in the St. Annengasse are gradually becoming ruined; Matthäus Kager's splendid pictures on the Weberhaus are devoted to destruction; there is little in so perfect a state of preservation as the façade of the younger Pordenone in the Philippine-Welser Strasse. Once, however, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the first masters, such as Hans Burgkmair and Albrecht Altdorfer, tried their best powers in such paintings. Subsequently, in periods of decline, the artists whose formal religious easel pictures disgust us

exhibited here, it is true, fantastic and bizarre works, but at the same time bold, grand, and imaginative. And the cheerful, festive effect remains spoiled, it is true, but not effaced.

The monuments of the glory of different families are rivalled by the public buildings, monuments of citizen public spirit, and side by side with patrician dwelling-houses appear the magnificent guildhalls of the weavers, the bakers, and the butchers, many of them also the work of Elias Holl. The arsenal at the back of St. Maurice was one of his earliest creations. Immense guns, elaborately executed and ornamented with carving, are placed on each side of the entrance. On one of the cannons are inscribed the words: "Will niemand singen, so sing' aber ich, über Berg und Thal, hört man mein Schall."[1] On another a sleeping lion is depicted, and beneath stand the words: "Weck mich nit auf."[2] Undisturbed, indeed, is the repose of these cannon, which once, when the towers and fortresses of the knights fell before them, helped to usher in the dawn of a new age. Their practical importance has disappeared, but their artistic value still remains. Over the portal of the arsenal stands the bronze statue of the divine warrior, the archangel Michael, hurling his sword against the fallen Satan. "*Belli instrumento pacis firmamento*,"[3] is the inscription on the façade: the citizens knew that prosperity, power, and progress depended alone upon ability for defence and independent power. Hence Augsburg also stood defiant and well-fortified against all external foes. Her ramparts and fosses, her half-fallen walls and mighty towers, form even now the grandest ornament of the city, rich as it is in picturesque views and old romantic recollections. Among the most beautiful old monuments, we must, however, not forget to mention the sculptured fountains, which are to be seen in almost all the streets and courtyards. The largest and most splendid are the three brazen fountains in the Maximilian Strasse, executed at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century by the Netherland sculptor Adrian de Vries and Hubert Gerhard; they are adorned with the statues of Mercury, Hercules, and the Roman Emperor Augustus, at whose feet rest the divinities of the four Augsburg rivers and streams, and who extends his hand in blessing upon his colony, which has risen to such glory and such greatness. That she owed her origin and her name to him, was never forgotten by the old Augusta Vindelicorum. She alone, of so many cities called after Augustus, retained this name through centuries, and when the spirit of antiquity began to be awakened on the other side of the Alps, she remembered that she was herself a Roman city; she, the true city of German Renaissance, was the first in all Germany to open wide her gates to the new culture flowing forth from Italy. It was only from the city of German Renaissance, that the painter of German Renaissance could come forth. And

[1] "If no one will sing, yet do I sing, my voice is heard over mountain and valley."
[2] "Awake me not." [3] "The instrument of war, the bulwark of Peace."

as such, Hans Holbein the younger stands out in the history of art; as such we must regard him in the course of our reflections, him whom we have already designated as thoroughly modern beyond any of his contemporaries in his own country. In this lies his peculiarity and his greatness, that he ventures as no other German artist, not even Dürer, has done to free himself completely from mediæval tradition, and to tread a new path. He thus plays the same part among artists that Augsburg plays among cities. Riehl[1] has strikingly remarked that it was not the Middle Ages but the breach with the Middle Ages which gained for Augsburg her profoundest originality. The turning-point of her whole history lies in the transition period from the Middle Ages to modern times. At this era she left all other German cities far behind her; she had a distinct historical vocation to fulfil for her whole country. Not merely with respect to architecture, not merely in its outward physiognomy, is Augsburg the city of the Renaissance, but in its entire historical position. And thus it is not superfluous for us to cast a glance upon the advance of culture in Augsburg at that time. We shall thus obtain a background for the picture which we are about to sketch of the great Augsburg painter.

The importance and the vocation of the Imperial city were presaged by her position. The height on which she stands, the gay Bühl, as it is called in Merians's Topography,[2] is one of the last spurs of the Bavarian Highlands, and makes the town an important military point, commanding the lands watered by the Lech and the Danube. But it is only to the enemy that she stands thus defiant and enclosed; gladly and hospitably is she open to the friend, and within her walls there is unceasing intercourse. Two neighbouring districts, Swabia and Bavaria, here join each other; the highway to the Alps and to Italy passes here. Augsburg rises above no fertile and richly cultivated land; the plain watered by the Lech is a desolate and poor country, but active effort obtains all that is requisite from the deficient soil. Added to this, she boasts, as of old, a healthful and fresh air, an extensive pasturage, a rich clayey soil, and pleasant fields surrounded with beautiful forests, the favourite resort of birds and various kinds of game. Everything, it is said, which man may require, or imagine, or desire, is to be obtained here. And thus Augsburg in times past has ever been sung and extolled as a "beautiful, agreeable, elegant, well-built, and clean city, conveniently paved, possessing a merry population, especially beautiful women, and ingenious artisans."

The chief advantage of the situation is its extraordinary wealth of water. The Lech, which joins the Wertach below Augsburg, is no navigable stream favourable as such to commerce. But industry in all its branches is aided by the great natural fall of water of these two rivers, which, uniting with two smaller streams, intersect the whole city with countless branches. Augsburg

[1] Culturstudien, p. 258. [2] Topographia Helvetiæ, Sueviæ, &c., 1642.

is devoted to industry, and it is this which, practised with zeal, power, and knowledge, has raised her to the position she holds, and from this alone could the brilliant commerce arise which ever follows in her train.

Thus all political progress [1] also must take the same direction; and upon those citizens who are truly belonging to the manufacturing classes, devolves a preponderating share in the government. It was not until the great democratic reform in the civil constitution had taken place that Augsburg gradually rose to the position which belonged to her. Until the year 1368, the council and municipal offices were filled, by the gracious permission of the Roman Emperors and their governors, entirely by nobles. Then, however, it occurred to the common men that the nobles regarded their private advantage too much, and there was moreover unceasing strife and discord among the patricians. Long had they grumbled in secret, but at length they broke out into loud complaint. They appealed to Strasburg and Zurich, where years before the power of the nobles had been limited. At last it came to action. On the thirtieth of October the plot was unexpectedly carried out. Before the dawn of day the people, or, as the chronicles written by patricians say, "the mob," had filled the streets, and stood early in the morning in armed masses in front of the Town-hall. Full of alarm the burgomasters and the quickly convoked council were of little avail; in a friendly and even officious manner they asked the ringleaders what they desired, and with due modesty and respect the answer was returned, "they were to have no care at all for themselves and their possessions, the advantage of all and the better maintenance of peace were alone to be regarded; civil jurisdiction and civil offices were to be shared by all." As no other course was open to them, the council consented to their desire that in the first place the whole body of citizens should be divided into guilds, or corporations, and that the heads of the corporations should have a seat and a voice in the council; and secondly, that of the two annually elected burgomasters, one should always be chosen from the guilds. This was decreed and solemnly confirmed by oath for one hundred years and a day, which, according to German law, signifies for ever. When, in consequence of this, the uproar which had assumed so strange and alarming an aspect unexpectedly ended quietly, the Mayor was so delighted that he presented the citizens with a handsome gift of wine. It was drunk on the same evening with

[1] The sources used for the history of the city are Marx Welser, "Chronika der Weltberühmten Reichs-Statt Augspurg," translated by Engelbert Werlich and supplemented by Wolfgang Hartmann's careful translation of A. P. Gasser's "Annales Civitatis ac Reipublicæ Augsburgensis," 1595. Also, "Handschriftliche Chronik nach Burkhard Zink," 1565, in the royal library at Berlin, and the histories of Augsburg by P. v. Stetten, E. v. Seida, and Gullman; David Langmantel's "Historie des Regiments in Augspurg," 1725, and Paul von Stetten's "Erläuterungen aus der Geschichte der Reichstadt, Augsburg," 1765; "Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14 bis 16 Jahrhundert," edited by the historical commission of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science, vol. iv. p. 5, Augsburg. Leipzig, 1865, 1866.

merriment and good cheer, and friendship was cemented anew on both sides. Even the Emperor, Charles V., who was notwithstanding a most judicious prince and a great friend of the Pope's, had nothing to bring forward against this change in the government.

Augsburg's nobles had not acted counter to their own advantage, although they had given up a part of their privileges. What they had lost internally they gained outwardly from the position which their city now more and more decidedly assumed. Augsburg had been a free Imperial city ever since the time of Conradin, under whom it had, at a high price, purchased its redemption from the sovereignty of the Swabian dukes. It had also held a tolerably free position with regard to the Emperor, although capital punishment and criminal courts were in the hands of his magistrates until 1447. The Emperors Louis of Bavaria, Ruprecht, and Sigismund resigned this with many other privileges. By these changes in the constitution the first step was taken towards a further advance to liberty.

The course which this advance from henceforth took is the mirror, on a smaller scale, of that which was agitating at this time the whole of Germany. It is an advance amid constant struggles, called forth by the sad condition of the empire, the powerlessness of the Emperor, and the insecurity and disorder everywhere.

It was nowhere a mere personal strife. Princes and nobles were on all occasions opposed to the free citizens, whose wealth, culture, and activity were ever a thorn in their eye, and who were compelled to stake life and property to obtain their independence. Until strength was fully exhausted on both sides, until both parties after manifold calamity and misfortune were weary of this existence, the war ever endured, to be concluded by a complete and lasting peace, which, however, never lasted long.

Nevertheless, however much trade in general had been disturbed, the state of things was not without its good: it obliged the citizens to take their stand for freedom in their own power, and not merely to allow themselves to be defended by mercenaries, but to wage war for themselves. At first they were tolerably clumsy in disposing the order of battle, and marched two and two to the field like schoolboys "in a long, childlike, and incongruous file," so that strangers derided them. Subsequently, however, they made use of every moment of peace to learn all that belonged to warfare, and they appointed an experienced officer to be their head. Meanwhile, however, in the year 1487, at the desire of the Emperor, the Swabian league was formed by the princes and prelates, the counts and knights, and the free and Imperial cities of the district, in order to preserve peace by a vigorous and armed coalition. On the 3rd of December of the following year, the council and the commonalty of Augsburg desired to enter into this league, in which they soon held a distinguished position, and which afforded them the best protection

against their Bavarian neighbours. Not long afterwards, in the year 1492, the first great military undertaking of the Swabian league took place, when they marched against Duke Albrecht, of Bavaria, who was under the ban of the Empire. It must have been a splendid sight when the combined forces marched through Augsburg, the men of Ulm the strongest and most distinguished of all, for they had 77 horse and 400 foot, and moreover "the greatest piece of artillery of all, weighing 70 hundredweight, and named the Little Kate of Ulm."

As however the whole German nation was visited not alone with the calamities of war, but with various other misfortunes, so was it also with Augsburg. Fear and excitement never quitted the minds of men. One evil was no sooner surmounted, than perhaps a comet would appear in the heavens, seeming to proclaim new woes, and again something would occur, appearing as the fulfilment of the Divine menace. Reports of earthquakes and great scarcities occurred incessantly. And then, as in June 1474, there came a great storm, which passed throughout the whole land, but committed special ravages in Augsburg, throwing down the newly built Ulrichskirche and burying 35 men under its ruins, blowing away roofs, uprooting trees, sweeping bleaching linen into the Lech, and rescuing the thief from the gallows. Pestilences appeared with their fearful ravages: the plague of 1420 carried away 16,000 inhabitants; that of 1462, 11,000. In the midst of the confusion of war, this misfortune appeared, and, like all similar events, was regarded as a chastisement from above. "That we men should not alone be destroying one another, the Lord God has sent this pestilence also among the people:" thus speak the old records regarding it.

Events such as these have everywhere the same psychological results. Every mind became violently agitated; piety and devotion increased; religious resignation, longing, and contrition were more ardent than ever before. And with increase of religious feeling arose the greatest disregard and rooted hatred of the priests, who afforded such little satisfaction to their religious needs, and excited the greatest scandal by their avarice and their vile course of life.

This internal discontent had reached an especially great extent, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of the ecclesiastical schism which called forth the council of Kostnitz. Like the anti-popes, there were in Augsburg anti-bishops, and the clergy as well as the citizens were divided into two parties. Such a state of things naturally allowed insubordination to reach to the utmost extent; the infamous lives of the ecclesiastics increased more and more; they utterly forgot their true vocation. The prebendaries were always quarrelling with each other, and repeatedly came to open violence.

Priests and monks appeared in reality, just as they are described in the

satirical popular literature of the day, and in the numerous caricatures, both woodcuts and engravings.

The strong religious impulse of the people, which so rarely found satisfaction in the Church, must have naturally inclined at times more feebly, and at times more decidedly, to the opposition. Wickliffe's doctrine had had many adherents in Augsburg ever since the close of the fourteenth century. However quiet, respectable, and retired might be their life, the grand inquisition pursued them, and consigned them to the flames. The doctrines of Huss also found many followers, who were never wholly exterminated. And when Luther at length appeared, the Reformation gained universal footing, not only among the lower classes, but among those who were regarded as especially intelligent and learned, among those belonging to the council and the highest circles in the city, and even among the clergy and the prebendaries.

The preparation had been made for that tendency which stood side by side with the Reformation, and which, in union with it, undertook the struggle against the old system; namely, the humanistic tendency, which had here taken footing more decidedly than in many parts of the empire.

The humanistic tendency found especially its support in the Emperor Maximilian, who was a particular friend to Augsburg, and sojourned in it more gladly than in other towns of the empire. He was a popular appearance, ever since he had made his entry for the first time as King of Rome. It was on April 23, 1473, late in the evening, amid heavy rain, when he rode under the silken canopy by the side of his Imperial father, a well-grown young man. Frederick III. had loved the city and was beloved within it; at this period of extreme confusion the larger cities generally adhered faithfully to him. Only once had he a conflict at Augsburg, when he incurred there too great expenses for living, and on his departure the unpaid artisans would not allow his carriages to follow him with his kitchen and chamber furniture. In other ways he improved and increased the privileges of the city, and was always gladly received. His son, however, was qualified by his whole appearance to increase in a still higher degree the popularity which the representative of the Imperial power could so readily gain. Although this adventurous and knightly personage was scarcely suited to the altered and significant times, which might have demanded a more strict stamp of character, still he ever appeared more worthy and more regal than his predecessors; and however little his half-fantastic, warlike enterprises abroad were favoured by fortune, at home he succeeded in gaining greater consideration for himself and greater order in the empire. He was a bold and romantic personage, with taste for science and art; he knew how to attract important people to himself, and by his affability he won the hearts of the common people. Most of the art-creations which he called into life, must have arisen at Augsburg, although the Emperor was not so ready with his payments as he

was with his orders. Here lived Hans Burgkmair, his court and battle painter, who made the drawings for his triumphal procession and for his biography the "Weisskunig." Here Jost Dinecker carved these and many other pictures in wood. Even the publication of his poetical production the "Theurdank," was begun here by the Augsburg Schönsperger, although subsequently the work appeared at Nuremberg, whither the printer meanwhile had moved.[1] Here he had his metal portraits moulded, and the splendid suits of armour prepared, which were his special delight; he purchased his jewels of Augsburg merchants, and even in the old history of the city he showed a lively scientific interest, especially in his intercourse with Peutinger.

Ever again we find him here for longer visits, received as usual by the burgomasters with great respect and submission, accompanied to his lodgings by the noblest lords of the council amid the rejoicing of the people, and splendidly regaled. When he succeeded his father in the Imperial dignity, and three years after, in 1496, received the homage of the council and commonalty at Augsburg, we are expressly informed that the city was commended to his Imperial Majesty from this time forward to his special favour, with the promise that on her side she would prove always ready to serve the Emperor with the utmost subjection and obedience. He frequently resided there with his second wife, Maria Blanka, of Milan. In the year 1501, in order to have a constant place of residence there, he ordered Konrad Peutinger to purchase for him the Meutinger House, in the neighbourhood of the Cross Church. When this proved insufficient for him he wished to add Fugger's house, but the town council, who did not care for their powerful fellow-citizen to gain too firm a footing, prevented this, and the Emperor established himself and his household in the house belonging to the provost of the cathedral. "The Burgomaster of Augsburg," Maximilian was scornfully styled by King Louis XII. of France. He lived with the citizens just as if he were their equal. His intercourse with them was cheerful and merry. He took part in their festivities with great humility. He joined in their processions and in the funerals of worthy personages; and if all this had failed to win for him universal affection, he must have obtained it from the magnanimity with which he met satire directed against himself. When in the year 1508, he intended to remove to Rome and only reached Trent, Ulrich Gasser the keeper of the keys of the city, attached some ironical verses to his house. It was regarded by everyone as shameful and insulting, but the Emperor Max only laughed as he rode past.

By the constant visits of the Emperor, it was more festive and joyful in Augsburg than ever before. They were on all occasions accustomed to a merry life in the Imperial city.

[1] Th. Herberger, E. Peutinger in seinem Verhältnisse zum Kaiser Maximilian. Augsburg, 1851.

The rapid and uniform progress of Augsburg, which belongs especially to the period of Frederick III. and Maximilian, is exhibited by nothing more distinctly than by the repeated records of public buildings of every kind. Indeed, the further we pass into the fifteenth century, and throughout the sixteenth, we find all that had before formed the main subject of the chronicles —the narration of wars and internal commotions, of misfortunes, of remarkable crimes and other matters—vanish more and more into the background. Many buildings especially were raised for religious objects, and these for the most part, "by the assistance and contribution of the citizens." The cathedral, St. Maurice, and other churches were enlarged or renewed in different parts; other churches and monasteries, such as those of St. Anna and St. Catherine, the Dominican monastery, and the Cross Church, were newly built; the magnificent works in St. Ulrich were begun, especially the building of the choir, the foundation stone of which was laid by Maximilian himself; and in 1512, the funeral chapel of the Fugger family was erected in St. Anna, the first great work in the modern style. But not merely were buildings raised for ecclesiastical purposes, but also for civil interests. The Perlachthurm was decorated in 1437 with a leaden roof and with wall-paintings; in 1450, a splendid addition to the Town-hall was completed, the material for which was furnished for the most part by the demolished schools, and the cemetery of the expelled Jews. In 1456, the same building received a small tower transparent on all sides, and soon after it was adorned on the outside with gay paintings. In 1501 the great arsenal was built, and in 1505, the corn-magazine at the back of St. Maurice, on whose site the present arsenal stands. Guilds and nobles arranged drinking-rooms. The dining-halls of the patricians were built and again rebuilt after they had been burnt down, and in 1508 the first public fountain was designed in hewn stone by the architect Burkhardt Engelberg.

This is indeed the period to which the chronicles refer, when they say that at this time great wealth was to be obtained here, and Augsburg was considered the most noble and famous city in Germany for grand business undertakings and great trade. The merchants who were at that time, from their factories abroad, the sole medium through which passed all the news of the day, received from the Netherlands various tidings, such as that of Vasco de Gama sailing round Africa, and Christopher Columbus discovering America, or, in the words of the chronicler, "exploring the paths of the Atlantic by the permission of Ferdinand, king of Spain." To the curious and the simple this appeared a strange and unheard-of wonder, which wise merchants knew how to use to their advantage. The Augsburgers were the first Germans who themselves equipped vessels to take part in the East India trade,—they, inland dwellers as they were, whose city did not even lie on the banks of a navigable river. Gossenbrot, Fugger, Hochstetter, and others, joined the Portuguese in the spring of 1505, and returned in the following year with costly merchandise, gaining 175

per cent. The Fuggers, who sprung from the most powerful guild, that of the weavers, which in Maximilian's time reckoned 160 masters, were the first bankers in the present sense of the term. In order to justify in the public opinion the still unwonted practice of receiving interest, they made Dr. Johann Eck, of Ingolstadt, a man well known in the history of the Reformation, hold debates in all possible universities, at their own expense, upon the allowing of usury.

The fame of the Augsburg merchants was universally acknowledged in all great questions with regard to trade; the Emperor and assembled princes at the diets desired to hear their opinion, and they always expressed their conviction in favour of perfect free-trade. Even at that time they urged with determination for the same weights and measures, the same money, suitable roads, and the setting aside of the inconvenient barriers of duty throughout the empire.[1]

The main importance however of Augsburg, which was at that time the commercial metropolis of the whole of Southern Germany, lay in the fact that it was the medium of communication with Italy. Its very position, as we have before seen, indicated this. With Venice especially it stood in constant relation. Every merchant must have been there if he was to be esteemed at home. They were especially Augsburgers who played a part in the famous commercial hall of the Germans in Venice. The best known members of the Fugger family spent a long portion of their youth there. And not only southern fruits and Italian wine were carried across the Alps to adorn many a patrician's table at home, not only foreign goods and productions were exchanged for native gold and silver, but the old Swabian free city was also the medium for the intellectual wealth of Italy. The new spirit of the Renaissance must have here first found entrance, transforming everything in every sphere of life, of science, and of art.

During this epoch of grand progress, Holbein first saw the light in Augsburg. His birth occurred just between the years in which Africa was circumnavigated and America was discovered. The return of the Augsburgers from their grand commercial expedition to the East Indies must have been among the earliest tidings which sounded in the boy's ears. The great shooting festival in 1509, the various diets which the Emperor held there, must have been numbered among the first glad and brilliant impressions of his youth. Here was a soil better than aught that could have been desired for him. All around him was stirring. There were grander relations which afforded a wider range of view beyond commonplace local interests. Much of that which exercised such a decided influence in the fate of the entire empire, had its scene of action at Augsburg, or at any rate was shared there. Important personages, both native and foreign, were to be seen there. It was

[1] Tagebuch des Lucas Rehm. Herausg. v. Greiff, 1861, Preface.

a busy population, active and skilful in trade and commerce, and valiant even to arms, when the defence of their own and the common weal was concerned; at the same time fresh and vigorous, accustomed to resign themselves without reserve and restraint to pleasure, and to the enjoyment of life. Rich and splendid stood the churches and monasteries, and yet, from their struggles and experiences, the citizens had acquired more independent religious sentiments. A worldly spirit which made them sons of the new age, was developed here more than in other places. The splendour and life were increased by the constant sojourn of the Emperor and his court in the Imperial city, which was nevertheless spared the disadvantages of being really the residence of the sovereign, and ever remained a free city in every sense. There was everywhere delight for the eye and food for the imagination; the gay and varied existence was influenced in its character by Augsburg's grand mercantile position, which always rendered it lively, and brought it into contact with distant countries. And from afar could be seen the snowy heads of the Alps, towards which merchants repaired, and from which they returned richly laden from Italy, whence came all that was beautiful and new. Augsburg was the city from which that artist was to proceed, who alone of all his German contemporaries succeeded in casting off all fetters, who alone rid himself from ecclesiastical restraint and from his country's littleness and coldness, who with his very first step entered into life more freely, boldly, and unreservedly than any other, and who could delight in feeling himself a new man in a new age.

CHAPTER III.

Hans Holbein the father.—Appearance of the name Holbein in different places.—The Holbein family in Augsburg.—Authentic documents.—The supposed "grandfather Hans Holbein."—Course of training experienced by Hans Holbein the father.—His works.—A picture at Basle.—Madonna in the Moritz capella.—Pictures in Augsburg Cathedral.—Works of 1499.—The master abroad.—Altar at Frankfort.—Altar at Kaisheim.—Sketch-book.—Pictures for the monastery of St. Catherine.—Basilica of St. Paul.—Portraits of the artist and his sons.—Accounts of St. Moritz.—Drawings.—Later works.—Portraits.—Position and influence of the artist.

THE name of Holbein has been tolerably spread throughout Southern Germany; at Ravensburg (not far from Lake Constance) it appears in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The family were engaged in the paper manufactory, and produced the famous paper bearing the water-mark of a bull's head, which also forms the Holbein arms. At Grünstadt, on the Hardt (in Rhenish Bavaria), the name is to be found in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the records of a family of this name extend still farther in Basle, the house "Zum Papst" in the Gerbergasse being in their possession.[1] Whether at all, and how remotely the artist family Holbein was allied with the above mentioned, is not to be ascertained. A connection with the Holbein in Basle is not improbable. A link of this kind may have contributed subsequently to allure members of our artist family to settle in Basle. But in Augsburg also many persons of this name appear even as early as the middle of the fifteenth century. A Michel Holbain (this is the constant Augsburg orthography of the name) appears in 1454, and he is once spoken of as a leather-dresser. He lived at first beyond the Kreuzer-gate ("hl Kreuzer Thor extra"), where he possessed a house, a fact which may be inferred from the notices of "Michel Holbain's Hus," or "Domus Michel Holbains." He subsequently appears in other parts of the city: "Bilgrimhus," "Salta Zum Schlechtenbad," and in the "Brediger Garten,"[2] all of them places within the neighbourhood of the Lech canals, where the retail trade of Augsburg was established; he is mentioned for the last time in 1486, and he must have died soon after. His wife, the Michel Holbainin, a native of Schönenfeld, a place in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, is first

[1] Hegner, H. Holbein der jüngere, p. 29.

[2] "Prediger" signifies Dominican.

spoken of in 1469, and is mentioned again long after her husband's last appearance. In the year 1481, Michel Holbein seems to have been absent for some time, for under the name of the wife there stands the words: "Ir Man nit by Ir" (her husband not with her). His whole family is often summarily designated as "Pfleg Holbains."

In 1494 the painter "Hanns Holbain" appears; he lived in the same quarter of the city as that in which we have before found Michel Holbain; namely, "Salta Zum Schlechtenbad" and "Von Diepold." This and the fact that Michel, the leather-dresser, was for thirty-two years the sole male representative of the name in the city, renders it highly probable that Hans was his son. We frequently find his mother mentioned *after* him, as living with him; the widow therefore of Michel. In the years 1505 and 1509, there stands next to Hans' name, that of "Sigimund his brother." This confirms the statement of Joachim von Sandrart, who in his "Teutsche Akademie" "mentions the two painters Hans Holbein the elder and Sigimund Holbein as brothers." But the family was still larger; in 1478 "Ir Tochter" (her daughter) appears by the side of the "Michel Holbainin," evidently the same person, as appears soon after, as Anna Holbainin. She is probably identical with "Anna Holbainin, Bürgerin Zu Augspurg, who in 1486 sold to the convent at Oberschönefeld for herself and her brother Conrad Holbain, convent brother at Deckingen, their hereditary right to a field in the Wollisshauser district."[1] In 1502 we meet also with a Gret or Margaretha Holbainin, and this again accords with other records respecting the family; Anna and Margaretha were the names of two of Sigmund Holbein's three sisters, whom he mentions in his will, to which we shall afterwards allude. In 1488 an "Endlin Holbainlin" is also mentioned, but she cannot be identical with the Anna named above. The diminutive seems to imply that Endlin and also an "Ottilia Holbainlin," who appears in 1493, were still little children, and thus they may both have been daughters of the painter Hans Holbain. An Anna Holbainin occurs subsequently until 1522 under the heading, "St. Anthonino." In 1499 we find mention made of "Holbein's kind" (Holbein's children); under this collective designation,[2] the famous Hans Holbein the younger may be included. He had an elder brother, Ambrosius, and both devoted themselves to the profession of painting, as their father and uncle had done. A third brother of the name of Bruno is once mentioned, but the notices respecting him are so uncertain, that we may even doubt his existence. In the record of the Basle jurist and art-collector Remigius Fesch, we find the following passage:—"In the August of the year 1651, when I was allowed to visit the Amerbach Museum, I learned from the heir, the widow of Basilius

[1] Notice of this was given to the author by Herr Steichele, Canon of Augsburg Cathedral.

[2] "Kind" is also plural according to the language of that day, and even now in poetry it not unfrequently occurs.

Iselin, who came from the Amerbachs on the mother's side, that it is to be gathered from the Amerbach papers that Holbein had three brothers, all painters, the famous Hans, Ambrosius, and Bruno." Beyond this later notice there is no trace left of this Bruno, beyond two drawings in metallic pencil, both of which bear the monogram BH and the date 1515. The drawings exhibit great similarity with works of the same kind by the younger Hans, and still more so with those of Ambrosius. Another interpretation of the monogram is, however, possible. In the picture of Hans and Ambrosius Holbein, taken in their youth by Hans Holbein the younger, Ambrosius' name is abbreviated and written *Prosy*, the change from *b* to *p* being at that time almost universal throughout Germany, as it is in the present day in Saxony. The artist may thus have at first formed his monogram from the abbreviated name Brosi, and afterwards have altered it into one composed of A and H, and probably this monogram may have given rise to the idea that there was a painter of the name of Bruno Holbein. Paul von Stetten[1] states that Hans Holbein the father married a daughter of the old painter Thomas Burgkmair, and sister of the famous Hans Burgkmair. But no confirmation of this is to be found. The Burgkmairs lived in the same quarter of the city, "Zum Diepold," as that in which we occasionally find the Holbeins, but not in the same house, as P. von Stetten says, who merely on this presumption seems to base his supposition of a relationship between the two families. Much as the artistic affinity between the younger Hans Holbein and the famous Hans Burgkmair might tempt us to see in Burgkmair the uncle of our painter, still we must not conceal from ourselves, that this supposition rests on no solid basis.

During two generations, therefore, the art of painting belonged to the Holbein family. In recent times however the attempt has been made to trace the art even in the third generation, and the existence of a grandfather called Hans Holbein and also a painter has been asserted and generally believed in ever since Passavant wrote respecting him for the first time in the "Kunstblatt" of the year 1846.[2] In our idea, such an individual has never existed; all authentic documents contradict it, and the genealogy, which we gather from the registry of rates, is wholly opposed to it. In the painters' book, preserved in the Maximilian Museum at Augsburg, and in which after the year 1495 the death of every painter is recorded, there only appears one Holbein, namely, Hans Holbein the father. Now this alleged grandfather is said to have been painting in 1499.

The belief in Holbein's grandfather arose at a time when nothing was known of these authentic records, and the supposition was based solely on the fact of two pictures bearing the name of Hans Holbein, and which, it was

[1] Kunst Gewerbs und Handwerksgeschichte von Augsburg, ii. p. 185. [2] P. 182.

imagined, could not be attributed to the father. According to the date of the inscription, an interval of forty years lies between their execution, and they thus mark the beginning and end of an artist's career, the intervening period of which we know not. One of these paintings, formerly in the possession of Herr Samm of Mergenthau, is now to be found in the Maximilian Museum at Augsburg. Passavant, who was the first to write respecting this picture, had not even seen it himself, and only spoke from the communications of its possessor. According to his statement, it was originally ordered by the Fugger family for the St. Annen Kirche, but it was removed at the time of the Reformation, and came into the possession of the order of Jesuits, who placed it in the palace chapel at Mergenthau, from whence it subsequently passed with the palace and the property into the hands of Herr Samm. It represents the Holy Virgin and Child sitting on the grass by a wall. In the composition, the picture reminds us of Schongauer's Madonna in the Garden of Roses, which is not indeed exactly copied, but which served as a model. The physiognomy also accords with that of Schongauer, but the expression is not beyond the common. The figures are larger than life. Instead of the hedge of roses and the golden ground, the background is formed by an elaborate landscape. On the left, on a wall, partly covered with leaves, there stands in gold letters almost an inch in length, the following inscription, which came to light at the restoration of the picture:—

HANS HOLBEIN.
C. A.[1]
1. 4. 5. 9.

A Hans Holbein who painted in 1459, cannot indeed certainly be Holbein the father, whose active work does not begin until more than thirty years later.

The second picture is to be found in the Augsburg Gallery, and was painted for the very place in which it is now to be seen, namely, the Augsburg convent of St. Katharina, where the royal collection of pictures is now so beautifully and successfully arranged. It belongs to a cycle of pictures, representing on six panels the principal old churches of Rome, and its subject is the Basilika Santa Maria Maggiore. The nuns of this convent, upon the solicitation of their father-confessor, Doctor Bartholomäus Ridler, received permission from Pope Innocent VIII. in the year 1484, to participate in the remission of sins promised to the frequenters of the seven old churches in Rome, without having visited them themselves, provided they performed the prescribed devotions in the three parts of their own convent set apart for this purpose.

In the year 1496, some convent ladies ordered these six paintings of

[1] C. A.: Civis Augustanus.

the best Augsburg artists for the decoration of these places in the chapter-house.

The Basilica of Santa Maria is, like the other panels, in the form of a broad pointed arch, corresponding with the vaulting of the apartment in which they are placed. It contains a great variety of separate scenes, in three separate sections. The centre is occupied by a view of the church, made according to a description pretty generally adhered to. A pious pilgrim is kneeling at the altar within. A tombstone exhibits the monogram HH., and on two bells there stands the inscription, HANS HOLBEIN, 1499. Gold decorations in the style of the late Gothic divide the separate parts of the painting. The upper arched compartment contains the crowning of the Virgin by the Trinity, three figures entirely alike, with countenances approaching the Byzantine type of Christ. The compartment on the left contains the adoration of the new-born Holy Child by the parents and the shepherds. While the patroness of the church was here thrice done honour to, the compartment to the right was assigned to St. Dorothea, the patroness of the donatrix, Dorothea Rölinger. The latter, smaller in size, is kneeling in prayer behind the saint, who, cheerful and composed, is awaiting the stroke of death. The sword of the executioner who is to behead her, comes somewhat into confusion with the gold ornament, into the midst of which he is striking. On the other side the Infant Christ is approaching the saint, in a transparent garment, with a little blue coat covered with stars, and is bringing her a basket of roses. On two scrolls, gracefully intertwined, and passing from mouth to mouth, stands inscribed the dialogue held between them both:

"Dorothea. ich. bring. dir. da.
Ich. bit. dich. herr. bringss. Theophilo. dem. schreiber."

"I bring thee this, Dorothea.
I pray thee, Lord, to take it to Theophilus the secretary."

The latter, as the legend says, had promised to become a Christian, if she sent him roses from Paradise. An angel with a lute, and two others with a cloth to receive the soul of the saint, are hovering above. Similar angels making music are also introduced above, in the left compartment.

It is not to be overlooked that the whole mode of conception in this painting exhibits traces of that older idealistic tendency, which had spread universally in Germany, before the influence of the Van Eyck school had exclusively obtained the ascendency. This is to be seen in the first place in the slender proportions of the figures, among whom the Holy Trinity especially far surpass the ordinary measure of physical proportion. The movements are indeed for the most part rightly understood, but the figure is often not expressed with sufficient decision behind the masses of drapery. The limbs, especially the feet, are somewhat feeble, and hence, intentionally,

are often concealed under the garments. The hands, delicate, slender, and without any prominence given to the joints, are rightly designed. The fall of the drapery is usually arranged as befits the figure and the action; it is at the same time flowing and free from all sharper folds; sometimes, however, as in the mantle of St. Dorothea, or the wide and curious inflated scarf of the executioner, there appears the antique predilection for long ends of drapery. As in Schongauer's works, the female heads, the two Madonna countenances, and Dorothea, are tender and pleasing; the male heads are undecided and feeble. In the colouring, a brown tint prevails; even the shadows of the gold ornament, usually produced by black lines, are here brown. In the female figures, the flesh tints are transparent and delicate in their transitions. Strong colouring prevails in the costumes, in the fur-edged figured dresses and wide mantles. The style of execution, which sometimes exhibits a broader treatment, is delicately blended, and becomes effective from the just laying on of the colours. The want of strong effect of light alone gives somewhat a monotonous character to the whole work.

Certain differences, when compared with the later works of Holbein the father, undeniably exist, yet the painting is indisputably considered to be his work. It appears as such also among the earlier writers: Sandrart mentions it in his "Teutsche Akademie," although only cursorily and from a superficial remembrance of it. "There are some pieces," he says, "from the old Holbein's hand at Augsburg, one of which was purchased for some thousands by the art-loving Herr von Walberg. In the St. Cathrinen-Closter there is a large painting of the Salutation by him, and in another picture the Life and Doings of the Apostle Paul are depicted with figures half life-size; it is painted with the utmost care, and is inscribed with these words, 'Præsens opus complevit, Johannes Holbein, civis Augustanus.' In another subject, containing a bell, there is inscribed, 'Hans Holbein, 1499.'"

The painting with the life of the Apostle Paul is that most famous picture of Holbein's, of which we shall presently speak more particularly, the Basilica of St. Paul, but there is no picture of the Salutation in Augsburg among the works of the elder Holbein.[1] We can only imagine that Sandrart intended by this the Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, in which St. Dorothea with the Holy Child especially strikes the eye. A divine boy, approaching a kneeling virgin, had remained in Sandrart's mind as a remembrance of the picture, and with his well-known inaccuracy he made out of it an angelic salutation. He remarks that he had only seen it in a very large panel, where

[1] According to Horace Walpole, a picture of this kind was sold by the monastery; this rests, however, only on a misunderstanding of the passage in Sandrart: "His father was a painter of Augsburg, and so much esteemed that the Lord of Walberg paid 100 florins to the monastery of St. Catherine for a large picture of the Salutation painted by him."—*Anecdote of Painting*, p. 103.

many other things may therefore have been introduced. In accordance with this we find him immediately afterwards speaking of the Basilica of St. Paul as another large painting, for this was similar in size to the Basilica of Sta. Maria. Still more unequivocally does Sandrart's concluding notice of the other subject, with a bell in it, point to our picture, in which the inscription quoted by him stands on the bell itself. Sandrart, the child of an academic age, had neither leisure nor desire to enter truly into the creations of the old masters. He had never considered and never troubled himself about that which Holbein's painting represented. To him it was just another subject, of which he only remembered an external, the bell, and perhaps a group, which reminded him of the familiar representation of the Salutation, of which however he seems not even to have known that it was in the same picture as the bell.

If some authors refuse to assign to the artist a picture which was formerly regarded as his certain work, even by the statements of earlier writers, we must demand sufficient reasons for so doing. And when these authors join it with another painting, in order merely from these two pictures to assume the existence of a hitherto wholly unknown painter, we must indeed look for the greatest similarity between these two pictures, and so many common peculiarities that a distinct artistic individuality may be inferred. It is, however, just this affinity which we entirely miss in these two paintings. In those points in which the Basilica of Sta. Maria differs from other certain pictures of Hans Holbein, it would be likely to accord with the Madonna in the Maximilian Museum; but this is not the case. The Madonna must have been executed forty years before the Basilica of Sta. Maria, and yet the latter is far more antique in its whole character, and the former is far more realistic in the portrait-like head, in the sharpness and thinness of the limbs, and lastly in the landscape. All this seems to point to a far later period than the year 1459, the date of the inscription.

But for a second, and this is a wholly external reason, the work awakens suspicion. In all other Augsburg paintings which I have ever seen, and in all documents there, the name Holbein is without exception written with *ai;* it is the Augsburg orthography and the custom of the language, in accordance with which *ein, heilig,* and *Freiheit,* were written *ain, hailig,* and *Freihait.* In the Madonna of the Maximilian Museum, however, Holbein is written with *ei* after the modern fashion, and this is certainly not without suspicion. We might assume, perhaps, that this arose from an oversight at its restoration. But if "Holbein" was made out of "Holbain," "1459" may just as well have been made out of 1499. All credibility is lost. The form also of the letters and cyphers is different to any occurring at that period, and the whole inscription is immoderately large, and thoroughly intended to be seen, which would scarcely have been the case with an artist of the fifteenth century.

Whether it is wholly or only partially spurious, whether the date only is false and the name correct, and the picture thus perhaps the work of Hans Holbein the father, I cannot venture to decide; it possesses no convincing similarity with his works, but it is an able Swabian production.

If possible, still more doubt exists respecting another evidence adduced with regard to the painter's grandfather, an evidence upon which Passavant lays especial weight. This is a notice which is said to be taken from the annals of the Monastery of St. Catherine, compiled by the nun Dominica Erhardt from old records and documents. Waagen and Passavant received information respecting it from the copy of an extract, and the former printed the notices of old pictures in the second volume of his "Kunstwerke und Künstler" in Germany. The passage which treats of the Basilica of Sta. Maria is the following: "Item Dorothea Rölingerin has ordered of the old Hans Holbein a panel-painting of our dear lady for the sum of forty-five gulden." The designation "the old Hans Holbein," Passavant thinks can only apply to the grandfather in the year 1499, because the grandson is out of the question as too young a child.

The original of these annals was said to have been taken to Munich after the abolition of the monastery, and was regarded as lost. After long and vain inquiries respecting it, I succeeded in finding it in the episcopal library at Augsburg. The extracts which had passed through many different hands differ much from the original, and this in such a manner that not a mere error but a fabrication seems to arise, by which the two famous art investigators were deceived. The passage respecting the Basilica of Sta. Maria is as follows in the original: "Item Dorothea rölingerin hat lassen mahen Vnser liebn frauw taffel die gestatt, oder stett 60 gulden." Here there is no mention made of an old Hans Holbein, or of an Holbein at all. With all the pictures the donators and the price, but never the artists, are mentioned. It is only a later hand that has added the name Burgkmair at three places, and has written Holbein's name on the edge of the Basilica of St. Paul; it is the hand of the well-known Augsburg ecclesiastical writer, Placidus Braun. In this passage, however, there is not even such a notice on the margin.

Thus all external evidence of an artistic grandfather comes to nothing, and the only grounds for the supposition rest in the evident differences between the Basilica of Sta. Maria and the other works of Holbein the father. Yet these differences do not strike us with regard to all his other pictures; they appear especially noticeable in comparison with the Basilica of St. Paul, which hangs in the Augsburg Gallery close by the Basilica of Sta. Maria. Compared with this unrivalled masterpiece, it is certainly far inferior. In the picture of the Basilica of St. Paul a new epoch seems to have found expression. Barriers, imperfections, the mannerism of the fifteenth century, are all effaced. The movements are free, lifelike, and decided; the limbs are formed with know-

ledge; the proportion of the figures is shorter; the fall of the drapery is finer, more just, and more understood. Every head is a portrait, drawn truly, exactly, and strikingly from life. Truth and life have asserted themselves both in expression and action. The landscape and whole scenery are treated charmingly. But beyond all, the colouring in its power, freshness, depth, and warmth, is worthy of admiration.

But do these differences demand the supposition of two different artists, one of whom must be created for this distinct object? May they not mark stages of progress in one and the same artist? Only a few years can indeed lie between the two works; but then, it was an age in which all circumstances moved with unceasing rapidity, especially in Augsburg. Why should not such an age carry the artist with it also? especially as, during the years which lie between the two basilicas, we shall presently see he was travelling, and was thus unceasingly receiving new impressions. The Basilica of Sta. Maria is itself a picture of struggle and transition. The antique golden ground was already forsaken, but the artist had not yet ventured to place in its stead a finished landscape distance; the dark starry heaven, which he spread behind his subject, formed a transition. But the church in the centre of the panels is finished in its details, its vistas, and its ornaments, with the same faithful and intelligent care as the graceful scenery in the Basilica of St. Paul. The figures are more slender than was usual at a later period, but they are no longer wholly enveloped in that long mass of drapery which was conventional in the Upper German School. Schongauer's influence is still often to be seen in the heads, but his enthusiastic religious feeling is supplanted throughout by a more worldly conception; and especially in some child angels, as well as in the Infant Christ with the basket of roses, there appears a fresh grasping of reality, and a rude adherence to life, which must surprise us. The female heads also are very similar to those child-like and lovely countenances which we see in the pictures of the life of the Virgin by Hans Holbein the father, both at Augsburg and Munich.

One thing, moreover, is worthy of remark. The original drawings of two parts of this picture are in the Basle Museum,[1] and so perfectly accord with other drawings by Holbein the father, that no doubt as to their origin is possible. They are cursorily done by the pen in a few certain touches. The first sheet represents the Crowning of the Virgin; the second the Death of St. Dorothea, over whom two angels are hovering. We see the donatrix, and by her side a tablet bearing the inscription, "anno d. 1499;" she is not as in the painting smaller, but of the same size as the saint herself, and the ribands also are wanting. Consequently, the most antique touches are here omitted, and this in the very place in which the artist could allow himself to be most

[1] Saal der Handzeichnungen, Nos. 99, 100.

original and unfettered, namely, in his sketch. What is added or altered in the painting, may therefore have arisen at the desire of the donatrix.

So much for the conception generally. With regard to the execution in the detail, there is, however, still another point to be taken into consideration, the difference of the price paid to the artist for the two pictures. This is a point upon which greater weight should be laid in art-history, than has been the case hitherto. It depended on the extent of the payment how much the artist himself worked at a picture, and how much he consigned to his assistants. Sixty gulden were paid for the Basilica of Sta. Maria. The Basilica of St. Paul, on the contrary, was ordered with another picture, executed by Hans Burgkmair, by the rich Veronica Welser, who paid one hundred and eighty-seven guldens for the two. This on an average was ninety-three guldens and a half for each. Hence the master here would feel himself stimulated to exert all his powers. He executed this work with the most devoted love, he tested in it his whole power, and he imprinted on it, even in the smallest details, the impress of his mind.

There are also pictures which stand between the two paintings, and combine the style of the one with that of the other. Thus, for example, there is a panel in the Augsburg Gallery, with the Crowning of the Virgin, and scenes from the Passion, painted in the same year as the Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, namely 1499. Most authors attribute them to Holbein's father; Herr Ernst Förster,[1] however, to his grandfather. Even this difference of opinion is a new proof on what weak footing rests the supposition of two older painters of Hans Holbein's name.

When Hans Holbein the father was born, we know not. It is generally supposed that it was in 1450, but this is far too early a date. The works of the artist which have been preserved, do not go further back than 1490; and in a picture of him, drawn by his son Hans in the year 1515, and which we shall presently discuss, he seems to have been not much over fifty. If, for lack of other information, we may judge by this, we must date his birth somewhat soon after 1460. With regard to his teacher, also, we are not informed. Augsburg possessed many able masters, from whom he may have acquired the rudiments of his art. He experienced also, however, influences from another place, which we have already seen was the central point of all artistic doings in the surrounding neighbourhood. We have before alluded to Schongauer's influence, while speaking of the Basilica Sta. Maria. We constantly find traces of it in the elder Holbein's works, in the manner in which he forms the figures and arranges the drapery. Acquaintance with Schongauer's types of countenance is shown in his faces of an ideal character,—for instance, in his heads of Christ; and his acquaintance with Schongauer's

[1] Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst., ii. p. 212.

compositions appears especially in his representations from the Passion. We must rest satisfied with this fact. Whether Holbein was incited by his engravings, or whether he knew Schongauer personally, and perhaps studied for a time in his atelier, is a point upon which we are not likely to be enlightened. It is possible, for travelling was at that time the order of the day, and painters especially delighted in it. We shall even presently find intimations that Holbein the elder was once in Alsace. The atelier of Martin Schongauer, surnamed "hübsch Martin" (Pretty Martin), on account of his art, was at that time, to a certain extent, the first school for painting in South Germany. We know that even Albert Dürer's father was only prevented by Schongauer's death from sending his son there for a time.

The earliest certain work which we possess of Holbein's, bears the date 1490. This date is placed on the halo surrounding an apostle in a picture representing the death of the Virgin. The Virgin is sitting by the bed, with the consecrated taper in her hand; her countenance wearing a mild expression as she expires. The apostles are full of character, especially St. Peter and St. John, who are engaged in prayer. The whole strikingly harmonizes with the style of Holbein's later works. Little importance is placed on the scenery, on the background of the apartment with its furniture, and on the glimpse of landscape; golden ground represents the atmosphere, and the colouring is brilliant and clear.

In the Chapel of St. Maurice at Nuremberg, there is a small painting on which the date 1492 seems to stand after the name "Haus Holbon." The last figure of the date is not quite distinct. It represents the enthroned Virgin and Child, surrounded by two angels who are offering flowers to them. Gothic architecture forms the background, and rich Gothic rails enclose the whole, leaving spaces at the corners for two coats of arms. This work stands unique among all the productions of Holbein, who never again exhibits such delicate miniature-like execution and such admirable tenderness of perfection.

Among the Italian painters we perceive the greater the scope afforded them, the greater the height of their art. When they have to master mighty wall-spaces, their mind and their ability are most revealed. Among the northern artists, however, the opposite state of things prevails. In works of great extent, whether wall-paintings or panel-paintings, the mechanical character universally appears. Everything is designed for purely decorative effect; the treatment is superficial; the execution is consigned to assistants, sometimes in great part, and often even entirely. There are only rare occasions on which the master exerts all the artistic love which he possesses, with the truest devotion, and achieves his utmost entirely with his own hand. This happens here and there, when some prince or noble, or some rich and art-loving citizen, orders a small jewel of painting, not generally as an object of religious

devotion, but for some domestic apartment and for his own personal gratification. Such an order never passes beyond the most moderate proportions; the smaller it may be, the more perfect. Carefully then, and with his own hand, the master prepares the panel; he selects the most beautiful and brilliant colouring, the most costly ultramarine, the purest gold. No other hand may touch it; he covers it with one delicate tint after another, and expends so much power upon it, that, as Dürer once expressed it, he could have made a whole heap of "gmeine gemähl" (common paintings) in the time. Here he rests from all the mechanical productions which circumstances have rendered necessary. Such a jewel is this picture of Holbein's. It is executed in the same manner as the paintings of the Van Eyck school, and the influence of this school is unmistakeable in the excellent outline of the figures, the delicate tint of the colouring, and the well-arranged drapery. Unfortunately the heads have somewhat suffered. Although Holbein was never himself in the Netherlands, as we have no trace of such a journey, still the sight of Flemish works may have been possible to him in his own home, and he may have learned something of Netherland art and manner of conception from Fritz Herlen, who resided at Nördlingen, not far from him.

To the year 1493 belong two large altar-panels painted on both sides, formerly part of an altar in the Imperial Abbey of Weingarten in Swabia; they only came to light a few years ago, and now divided and restored by Herr Eigner, the well-known keeper of the Augsburg Gallery, they adorn four altars in the Cathedral of Augsburg.

The whole work was in all probability an altar to the Virgin, for the four paintings refer to the history of our Lady.[1] Outside, Joachim's Sacrifice and the Virgin's Birth are represented; and inside, her own and her Son's presentation in the Temple. Probably the centre of the shrine was filled with carved work. Whoever is acquainted with the earlier German engravings, will find nothing new in the composition of these four pictures, for some similar ones occur in a series from the life of the Virgin, engraved by Israel von Meckenen (Bartsch, Nos. 30—41). But we must not gather from this fact that Holbein had borrowed from these. Israel von Meckenen, the goldsmith of Bocholt, who died in 1503, was not an artist of any invention, but he occupied himself principally in copying the works of all the masters possible, among them sheets of Dürer's and Schongauer's. Nevertheless it may be perceived that many differences occur. The principal features are, however, for the most part faithfully retained, only that the imitator cannot follow the master in that which was his best characteristic, but frequently changes the characters and generally weakens them. Many of his additions are a little clumsy. Thus in the first painting there is a pretty little white dog; to this the engraver has

[1] Taken from the Apocryphal "Evangelium de Nativitate S. Mariæ," formerly ascribed to St. Matthew.

added a second, which, sitting on its hind legs, is handing a bone to its companion with its left fore foot. It deserves notice that Israel von Meckenen's series consist of twelve sheets; from this we infer that the Weingarten altar was a grand work with still more folding panels, which have perhaps perished and perhaps may yet come to light. If this were not the case, still Holbein's drawings form the basis of the entire series of engravings, for unmistakably one common mind pervades the whole.

The four pictures generally exhibit Flemish influence; not merely in the pure and thorough treatment of the separate parts, but in the entire conception itself, in the holy dignity and quiet peaceful ease which are the distinguishing characteristics. Costume and scenery are treated with greater exactness and study than was elsewhere the custom at that time in Germany. The fall of the drapery is full of style and justness, and is not spoilt by the tastelessness of most of the Germans of the period. Everywhere the male heads have a portrait-like character, and the female exhibit the most charming loveliness. The colouring is warm and luminous, a fact upon which I can all the more certainly decide, as I saw the pictures previous to their restoration. An especial excellence appears in the noble demeanour, which is never lost sight of, even when a genre-like style is introduced, while in the painter's later pictures, it is just this which is only too often missing.

Indeed, if we compare with these paintings most of the subsequent works of this artist, we can but perceive in them rather a step backwards than an advance. It is true, this is only apparently the case, for while Holbein in these paintings is still strongly under Flemish influence, we see him appear far more independently in his subsequent works. It is easy to imagine that in these he at first betrays a certain hesitation before he is able to stand freely and securely on his own footing. The next certain paintings by him belong to the year 1499. In them we see a more idealistic tendency revived, a tendency which once lay deeply rooted in the German nature, and which unceasingly appears in Schongauer's works. It is especially to be seen in the Basilica S. Maria Maggiore, a painting which we have already fully discussed, but which was executed at this time. The artist soon returns to the realistic style, and this all the more decidedly, but he does so in a manner wholly different to that which he had adopted hitherto. His dependence on Flemish art was once for all overcome. His feeling for reality was not satisfied with true portrait-like conception. There is no longer any trace in his works of that demure and noble bearing, that quiet, kindly, and bourgeois character, which marks the pupils of Van Eyck. More and more we find evidences of a more active imagination, a more substantial life, and a striving after the representation of actual action. But even still there appear unceasingly in his works, and this in a manner never to be found among the Flemish

painters, personages of an ideal character, such, for instance, especially, as his figures of Christ and the Virgin, figures of sublime beauty and undimmed purity of feeling, and which produce a kind of strange surprise, coming as they do amid all the roughness and bold action of his representations. In short, the changes which the German art of the fifteenth century had to experience, Holbein the father experienced also in himself.

In 1499, a painting in the Augsburg Gallery was also executed; it corresponds in a great measure with the Basilica S. Maria Maggiore, but it is far inferior, and the execution is careless. We can scarcely be astonished at this, as from the annals of the monastery of St. Catherine we learn that the painter received only 26 gulden for it. From these, and from the inscriptions on the panel itself, we see that the work was ordered by the nun Walburg Vetter, as an epitaph for herself and her two deceased sisters Veronica and Christina, who had lived in the convent with her for sixty years. Corresponding with the vaulting of the cloister, it has the same form of broad pointed arch as all the basilica pictures: the arched top of the painting contains the Crowning of the Virgin, and beneath, in two rows, there are six tolerably rough scenes from the Passion, in which Pilate with his red attire and pointed cap plays a feeble part, and three repulsive executioners recur again and again. Below, in the corner, the three donators of the picture are kneeling, and telling their beads. The original sketch of the painting is in the Basle Museum.

Holbein seems at this time to have quitted his native city for some time, and to have pursued his art in other places. While he appears in the rate-books every year between 1494 and 1499, he is not mentioned in them in 1500 and 1501. He may have left even at the end of 1499; the first trace which we find of him elsewhere, belongs to this year and points to no great distance, namely, to Ulm. In the Augsburg archives there is a document dated "Mittwoch vor Sannt Mattinstag" (Wednesday before St. Martin's day, the 6th November), 1499, in which there is mention made of "Hannsen Holbain dem Maller, jetzo Burger zu Ulm." (H. H. the painter, now citizen of Ulm.)[1] It is the contract of a purchase of an Augsburg house, from the proceeds of which Holbein received interest. As the artist had obtained even the right of citizenship in Ulm, he seems to have prepared for a longer residence in this city. But there are no traces of his artistic works there.

Soon after, in the year 1501, he was occupied for Frankfort-on-the-Maine in painting an altar for the Dominican convent there. So far as we can judge at the present day, with our utter lack of record, our master was at that time not sufficiently famous in Germany to make it probable that an order from Frankfort was despatched to his atelier in his native city. It is far more probable that he received and executed the work at the place for which

[1] Communicated by Prof. Hassler in the "Verhandlungen des Vereins für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben," ix. x. 1855, p. 79.

it was intended. The convent was secularized at the beginning of the present century, and the paintings, which experienced various fortunes, are now for the most part again in Frankfort, but in different places. Two large panels, originally forming the back of the central shrine, are in the town library, though not publicly exhibited. The first contains the genealogy of Christ in two divisions; the second, similarly arranged, contains the genealogy of the Dominicans, beginning with St. Dominicus; the Holy Virgin is presenting the Saint with the scapulary. On the first panel there is a Latin inscription, stating that the work was executed by Hans Hollbayn of Augsburg, at the order of the Superior of the Dominican convent, T. W., in the year 1501.

Of eight paintings containing scenes from the Passion of our Lord, formerly the front and back sides of the folding panels, which were once regarded as lost, seven are now to be found in the gallery of the Städel Museum. The original drawings, which accurately accord with them, are to be found in the Basle Museum, a fact discovered by their former possessor, Dr. Schäfer of Darmstadt.

The whole work was a figurative representation of Passion plays, for the paintings adhered entirely both in subject and arrangement to the religious dramas and mysteries.[1] And thus the separate representations do not so much depict real actions as scenes from a drama, in the beautiful but burlesquely exaggerated manner that custom and popular taste demanded. It was a custom of the period, which the artist could not avoid, but in many respects an independent observation of life already betrayed itself, and a fine and noble feeling appears in the delineation of sacred personages. Holbein's figures of Christ approach Schongauer's pictures of the Saviour in their air of gentleness and noble mildness, but they surpass them in intellectual grandeur.

The following year, 1502, takes us again to the artist's native city, and is especially rich in interest. The most extensive works remaining from it, are sixteen pictures in the Munich Pinakothek, the divided front and two back sides of two folding-doors of a great altar-piece from the monastery of Kaisheim (or Kaisersheim) at Donauwörth. The buildings of this famous Imperial abbey, the first settlement of the order of Citeaux in the diocese of Augsburg, are now transformed into a penitentiary; in old times, however, the monastery was famed in the first place for its piety, and in the second for the splendour that reigned in it. Much was expended on the endowment of the grand Gothic church, especially in the time of the Abbé Georg Kastner from 1490 to 1509. We read respecting him in the old MS. chronicle of the monastery,[2] the following passage: "The Abbé Georg having especial pleasure in building,

[1] See Mittheilungen der K. K. Central Commission. Wien, 1860.

[2] See Steichele's Beschreibung des Bisthums Augsburg, vol. ii. p. 667.

particularly in ornamenting the house of God, ordered in the year MCCCCCII. a costly altar-piece to be made, which was done by three masters of Augsburg, who were the best masters far and near, the joiner Adolf Kastner of Kaisheim, the sculptor maister Gregori, and the painter Hans Holpain. These panels cost much money." The neglect of later times allowed these old works of art to be removed and replaced by modern tawdry. Holbein's pictures were selected in the year 1671 by the Duchess of Neuburg as a birthday pleasure for her husband, Duke Wilhelm. Thus they came into the possession of the Bavarian family.

This altar is not merely a passion-play represented in pictures like the Frankfort altar. There are also religious dramas of another kind: Christmas plays, with the history of the childhood of Christ; dramas, the heroes of which were various saints; and Advent plays, with the representation of the Last Judgment. Just as these pieces were performed at suitable times, the altar also was often constructed to meet the necessities of the various sections of the ecclesiastical year. The innermost part often contained the life of the Virgin, or the history of the childhood of our Lord; the outer sides of the folding panels represented scenes from the Passion; and the back of the shrine constantly portrayed the Last Judgment. An arrangement of a similar kind is to be found here. In the inner pictures, which begin with the Virgin's offering in the Temple and end with her death, we find the rich Gothic ornaments which enclose the panels, executed in gold; and in the outer sides which contain scenes from the Passion, sandstone colour is used in the ornaments. The whole treatment shows the same differences; in the outer sides, the hand of the master has done little or nothing; mechanical production, mere journeyman work, which we usually find in old German ateliers, here predominates. The prayer on the Mount of Olives is the most tolerable, and at any rate is harmonious in its colouring. Some genre-like additions are perhaps too simple. While the band of watchmen are pressing and creeping through the gates,[1] in order to be at hand more quickly, one of them scrambles under the hedge, and another over it. In the Betrayal, the combination of incidents is not entirely happily conceived: Judas is kissing, Peter is striking, and Christ is on the point of healing the ear which Peter has yet to cut off. Christ before Caiaphas, the Scourging and the Crowning with Thorns, are all very rough; and in the last the unpleasing effect is increased by the confusion of the arrangement. If the figure of Christ is feeble throughout, in the Ecce Homo it is truly miserable. In the Bearing of the Cross, an extremely tasteless composition is added to all that is elsewhere bad. The procession is advancing from the background: a horrible executioner's myrmidon takes the lead; a small boy is throwing stones at the

[1] Three panels are authenticated by the name or monogram of the master.

Saviour. Whatever of caricature was exhibited in Schongauer's pictures, is here surpassed, and is still lower and more disgusting than with him. But let us not fear to look closely into such pictures; let us rightly understand the tastelessness and distortion of feeling which prevailed even in the ateliers of so talented an artist, and then we shall rightly conceive the greatness of the younger Hans Holbein, who was alone able to rise above such errors! The last picture of the series, the Resurrection of Christ, ranks entirely with the others, from the weakness and feebleness of the principal figure. This series of scenes from the Passion is not to be compared with those painted for Frankfort.

What a difference, on the other hand, is at once seen in the first picture of the interior, the Presentation of the Young Virgin in the Temple of the Lord, a magnificent Gothic building! What excellent portrait-like figures are Joachim and Anna! What a child-like grace lies in the three young girls who are standing behind them! The whole conception is sustained and severe. How charming is the Virgin's head in the Annunciation, a scene represented in an apartment extremely happily designed! In the Visitation, the attitude of the two women may not suit the taste of the present day; in the painter's time, no harm was seen in it. The architecture, with the columned portal, at which they both meet, is executed with especial care. The Birth of Christ, and the Presentation in the Temple, are both beautiful compositions; in the latter, the high priest in his splendid dress, with his fine-bearded head, the pretty female faces in the train, and lastly, the lovely Infant Christ, show the master from his best side. The same excellence, combined with lively and vigorous effect of colour, distinguishes the Circumcision, with its life-like portrait of the donator, the Abbé Georg; also the Adoration of the Kings, in which the kneeling old man is kissing so touchingly the little hand of the Child; and lastly, the Death of the Holy Virgin. This is the most beautiful piece of the whole, far surpassing the representation of the same subject at Basle, in the tenderness of the Madonna, and in the expression of pain in the apostles. These are manifestly heads almost entirely drawn from life. Several heads appear in the sketch-book of the elder Hans Holbein, at Basle, authenticated by the sketch of a Latin inscription for a painting, which bears the artist's name, and the date 1502. Besides portrait studies, there are also in it some studies of animals, figures, and feet; on Plate 12 there is a naked old man embracing a girl; and on Plate 19, the last, there is a charming representation of children playing, bathing, and romping, cleverly executed in metallic pencil.

Nine panels representing the martyrdom of the apostles, now scattered in different Bavarian galleries, in Schleissheim, in the Moritzkapelle, and in the citadel of Nuremberg, must have also come from Kaisheim. The colouring is vigorous, the action lively and strong, the heads full of expression, but often

very rude. They belong to a somewhat later period, and were probably painted for the most part by the hands of pupils.

According to time, some pictures in Augsburg now immediately follow. They were executed for the monastery of St. Catherine, a place of great importance in the history of Augsburg art, as it ordered numerous works of the first artists of the city, and now possesses within its walls the royal picture gallery. A few historical notices respecting this monastery may therefore not be out of place here.[1] It was probably founded not long before 1239, as in this year King Konrad IV. took the nuns and their possessions under his special protection. In 1251, the unsafe position of the establishment outside the Göppinger and Rothen Thor induced Bishop Hartmann to build a convent for them in the city itself, in the parish of St. Maurice. The nuns originally belonged to no distinct order, and led a quiet religious life without adhering to definite rules; subsequently, they belonged to the rule of St. Augustine. Their superior was the prioress whom they had received permission from the Pope to select. Daughters of the richest and noblest families were found among them. Their rules were not strict until the year 1440: and when at that time the bishop endeavoured to enforce certain restrictions, the nuns resisted them so strongly that he could only do so by the help of the magistrate, who ordered high walls to be raised around them. Many, however, preferred to escape, for they did not like "to be buried alive." Subsequently, also, the old love of liberty was roused in the convent, and the Augsburg chronicles record a pretty story respecting it. In the year 1516, when the convent was on the point of being built anew, the nuns fell into dispute with the builders appointed by the town council. They wished to place merely a flat roof to the church, but this was not enough for the rich nuns, who urged for a vaulted roof. When the authorities endeavoured to persuade them, their female voices were not sufficient, and they determined to produce counter-evidence. All together they proceeded at two o'clock in the night from their convent to the Dominican church, to try whether the echo in the vaulted choir impeded them, and there they chanted their horary prayers in such a manner that the whole city assembled to hear the unusual singing. The punishment was subsequently not omitted, but they accomplished their desire.

Until the sixteenth century they were entirely free in their administration; until 1619 they were bound by no strict vows of poverty, and thus it was possible that even some among them could order at their own expense works of art for the ornament of their convent. Especially since the year 1496, when it was decreed to pull down the old convent and erect a new one, the plan of which was made by the famous architect Burkhardt Engelberg, a noble

[1] See MS. History of the Monastery of St. Catherine, by Placidus Braun, lent me by Provost Steichele. Welsersche Chronik.

emulation began in the presentation of paintings. The prioress at that time was Anna Walther, whose administration is recorded as brilliant. The beneficence of her opulent family towards the convent is famed, and an artistic monument of it is preserved to us in a panel for the cloisters, which the honourable Ulrich Walther, father of the Prioress Anna and of a nun named Maria, who was sextoness at the time, ordered to be made "to the praise of God and to the honour of his two daughters." It is a work of Hans Holbein the elder, bearing the date of the year 1502, and, according to the annals, the expenses amounted to 54 gulden and 30 kreuzers.

Ulrich Walther was a man well known and respected in his native city. When he died in 1505, at the age of 86, the chronicle says that he left behind him his wife, with whom he had been united for 60 years, and 133 living children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. A part of this numerous family is here depicted. Had the painter had to represent all, a picture three times the size would not have been sufficient. They are all depicted as kneeling at the bottom of the broad panel, which, of similar form as the last, is divided into a central and two side compartments.

To the left, at the head of the men, the aged donator himself appears, with grey hair, fur and rosary, without a beard, and with a dignified, intelligent, and somewhat keen countenance; four pairs are behind him, men, youths, and boys. On the opposite side, to the right, are the women; precedence has been given, even by the mother, Barbara Riedler, to her reverend daughters the prioress and the sextoness; four pairs of young and pretty girls, and two female attendants, are kneeling behind them. The lower part of the central compartment is filled between these portraits of the donator's family with the arms and an inscription. These portraits, among which we may especially distinguish those of the lovely boys and of the naïve young girls, are the most beautiful in the whole painting. All are praying; not merely externally with folded hands and bended knees—their hearts are truly engaged in prayer; but the expression of devotion varies in each according to age, position, and sex. He who understood how to portray in so small a compass, and with so much power and significance, these numerous portraits, certainly deserved to be the father of the greatest German portrait painter.

The Transfiguration of Christ forms the subject of the central compartment. The figure of the Saviour, who is standing on the mount, is insignificant, but noble and mild. A glory radiates behind him; his raiment is white as the light; and those also who are transfigured with him, namely, Moses and Elias, are attired in bright and luminous garments. The three apostles are less successful. The effect of the surprise at the transfiguration of their Master is not skilfully produced; it is life-like, it is true, but distorted to caricature. In St. James, who is shading his eye with his hand, and especially in St. Peter, who is resting with his left arm upon his knee and his right arm upraised, the

movements are throughout constrained, the fluttering drapery is far from graceful, the countenances are life-like, but ugly in the form of nose and chin. The head, nevertheless, of the Apostle St. John is lovely, and is only rendered less so by the receding chin: he is looking down, and his right hand is dreamily grasping his long fair hair. The healing of a possessed boy, a speaking incident, is represented on the right side, and the feeding of the four thousand on the left: here especially the variety of physiognomy is surprising. The background here is rocky; in the other sections the background is a pleasing landscape, with glimpses of a city and distant mountains.

The master's principal work is the Basilica of St. Paul in the Augsburg Gallery, which accords with the last-mentioned works of 1502, though it is far superior to them. In compendiums of art-history, the year 1504 is generally mentioned as that in which the picture was executed; it has been even alleged that it bears this date. This is untrue, and the old frame, on which the inscription of the name is stated by Sandrart to have stood, has been long done away with. That the picture was executed at that time is possible, but not certain. The monastery annals only state that Veronica Welser ordered two panels, one of the Crucifixion, and the other of St. Paul. The former, a work of Hans Burgkmair, now, at any rate, bears the date of 1504.

Veronica Welser, daughter of the burgomaster Bartholomäus Welser, was certainly one of the most zealous of the many friends of art in the convent. She possessed also the means of pursuing her inclination. At her entrance, she brought to the convent the estate of Waltershofen and two farms. She was secretary until the year 1503; at that time, after the resignation of Anna Walther, she was chosen prioress and held the office until 1530. At the period of the building of the convent she especially distinguished herself; she gave 200 gulden to it, and ordered many pictures. At a subsequent period the younger Hans Holbein also painted at her order. The Basilica of St. Paul is in the form of a broad pointed arch, as we have already heard. It is divided into a central and two side compartments; golden Gothic ornaments in the latest degenerate taste frame the separate parts. The upper arched section of the central division contains the Mocking of the Saviour. The great series of events from the life of St. Paul begin on the left side, and proceed onwards towards the right, for the most part in chronological order.

Holbein the father here exhibits extraordinary skill in the combination of so great a series of separate scenes in the same picture. The painter has felt all the poetry which the narrative possesses. Most of all, however, our interest is excited by a group which is introduced at the Baptism of St. Paul. It consists of a man with two boys, in whom tradition, and this tradition is confirmed by authentic portraits, recognizes the painter and his

two sons. The father, dressed in a long fur coat, has long brown hair and a long beard, falling down under the chin, while the upper lip is free from hair; in expression he is simple and honest and charmingly modest. Just so, though somewhat older, we find him in a drawing by his son dated 1575, in which his name appears; it is in the possession of the Duke d'Aumale, and Sandrart in his "Teutsche Akademie" has published a very characterless engraving of it with the addition of a moustache. An artist alone could have introduced himself in so fantastic a manner, an example of which we find also in Albert Dürer's portrait of the year 1500, in Munich. Other respectable citizens wore either long hair and smooth chin after the fashion of the fifteenth century, or a full beard and short hair after the fashion of the sixteenth century. The two boys also accord with the heads of Hans and Ambrosius in the Berlin Museum; the younger especially, our Hans, has just the same countenance as the boy of fourteen in the Berlin drawing. In the painting, he cannot at the most be more than eight or nine years old; he is robust and healthy, with a round face, looking true-hearted round him, with his hand on his breast. Ambrosius, or "Prosy," the taller boy, dressed like his brother in a grey smock, clumsy shoes and gaiters, pen-case and ink-bottle, all of which mark him as a schoolboy, is holding him with his left hand, and placing his right hand on his shoulder. But the father has already perceived from which of the two he may expect the most: the younger is his whole delight; he is placing his hand upon his head and is pointing to him

HOLBEIN, THE FATHER, WITH HIS TWO YOUNGEST SONS. (From the Basilica of St. Paul, in the Augsburg Gallery.)

significantly, as if he would prophesy to us even now what is one day to become of the boy. A slender woman in a lace Burgundian cap, who is standing opposite, has so much similarity with Ambrosius, that we may perhaps regard her as the mother. That an artist should introduce himself in such a manner in his painting, is not unusual in Northern art. In the altar at Ghent, we see the heads of the brothers Van Eyck; Peter Vischer placed himself on the base of his tomb of St. Sebald; Meister Pilgram is looking from his pulpit in St. Stephen's at Vienna, as from a window. Adam Krafft has represented the Tabernacle of St. Lawrence as borne by himself and his companions. Albert Dürer appears in all his most famous pictures, the "Rosenkranzfest," the "Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand," the "Adoration of the Trinity," either alone or with his friend Pirkheimer. Hans Holbein the elder was well entitled to a similar feeling of self-confidence. He had accomplished his masterpiece in this painting. Important progress is evident also as regards form, although the nude parts are still often poor, and the feet especially are often weak. Great improvement is exhibited in the fall of the drapery, which, without paltry trifling, is arranged grandly and naturally. Above all, however, the painting is distinguished by the power, life, and clearness of the colouring in all parts, in the figures as well as in the landscape, and by the uniform care pervading the execution, a care combined with freedom.

Not long after, the artist was frequently occupied for the St. Moritz Kirche in Augsburg. The works exist indeed no longer, but authentic records respecting them are preserved in the accounts of the church administration. They seem to refer especially to the panels of two large altars, the first of which was executed in the years 1506 and 1507. On the 28th October, 1506, the agreement was concluded, and 10 gulden were paid to "Maister Hansen Holpain," upon 100 gulden pledged to him for his four altar-panels. But he receives subsequently various small advances of the sum fixed, which he obtains at his urgent request and complaint. Even from the warder's wife he once borrowed 3 gulden, which does not give us a very favourable idea of his worldly position. Smaller works appear incidentally. At one time he receives 32 gulden, at another time 40 gulden "upon one account." For the panels of a second altar they agree on the 16th March, 1508, for the sum of 325 gulden; a high price, showing that the work was a very large one, and at the same time testifying that the master was held in tolerable repute. Yet he does not receive the whole sum; 74 gulden were paid to Meister Thoman Freihamer, "so man jm schuldig ist gewesen von Hans Holpain wegen" (the same being due to him on Hans Holbein's account). The wife of the painter however received 5 gulden over and above the fixed price, "Zu Leikoff,"[1]

[1] Leikauf is really earnest-money. Cf. the municipal order against Leikauf money in Birlinger's "Schwäbisch-Augsburgischem Wörterbuch," p. 311. "Und dieweil das Leykauf-

and his son, probably Ambrosius, received a gulden. The payment of such gratuities to the wives and assistants of painters was usual at that time. Even Albert Dürer's housewife was not ashamed of demanding drinking-money from the merchant Jacob Heller, for whom he had painted an altar-piece.

Regarding other works of Hans Holbein the father, it is difficult to decide the date, yet they probably belong to a later epoch. We may mention a small altar in the Augsburg Gallery, proceeding from Kaisheim, in the centre of which is the Crucifixion, and on the side panels the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment. This latter scene is the most important. In the body of Christ the adherence to nature is almost too great, but the psychological element, especially in our Lord's mother, appears most touchingly, and at the same time there is much softness and beauty in the expression. The name of the artist is inscribed on Mary Magdalene's box of ointment.—An Entombment in the Gallery at Darmstadt, attributed without reason to Sigmund Holbein, accords entirely with this painting.

Herr Ahorner, of Augsburg, possesses a Bearing of the Cross, powerfully executed, in which, as is often the case with the artist, we find on one side an extraordinary mixture of coarseness and even rudeness, and on the other a supernatural softness. Among the ideal figures, Veronica with the handkerchief is especially beautiful. The National Museum at Munich possesses a pleasing painting of the Visitation of the Virgin, bright in colouring, and marked with the monogram "H." A picture of the same subject and marked in the same manner is in the Hospital church at Dinkelscherben, near Augsburg, but the author has not seen it. Excellent works, painted indeed merely in grey and not uninjured, are two altar-panels in the Gallery of the Stater at Prague. On the outer sides there are four saints, three-quarter size and entire figures: St. Thomas and St. Augustine, and at their feet, in accordance with the legend, a pretty sturdy boy who is pouring water from a scoop, and St. Ambrosius and St. Margaretha, richly dressed, with the dragon at her feet. The two bishops, on the edge of whose garments the artist's name is inscribed, are genuine priestly figures, similar to many heads in the Basilica of St. Paul. On the inner sides, which are divided in the middle, three saints occupy the upper compartment, namely, St. Wilibald, St. Lucia, and St. Katharina in the one, and St. Barbara, St. Apollonia, and St. Rochus in the other. Below is the favourite subject of the painter, namely, the Death of the Virgin, and a scene still unexplained. A man and a woman are placing a large tree upon a trestle, and aside from this group kneels a woman who with fervent prayer is rescuing the soul of a king, a small naked, crowned figure, from the

trinken für hochnachteilig und schädlich erfunden wird, sol hinfüran kain Leykauf um ainicherlei Waar oder kauf getrunken werden aber einen ziemlichen Leikauf mit Geld zu geben und zu nemen sol hiemit unverboten sein" (der Stadt Beruf. 1541).

flames of purgatory. The landscape in the background is unusually pleasing; it is a city rich with towers and surrounded by hills. The architectural framework, between which the figures of the outsides stand, is entirely late Gothic in spite of the circular arch; it is ornamented most naturally with brambleberries and grapes. The separate figures of the interior, however, stand between niches with spiral columns and cherubim heads in the pendentives; an evidence of the dawn of the Renaissance.

Similar characteristics we also find in two altar-panels from the monastery of Oberschönefeld, which contain on the inner sides, richly ornamented and painted with gold, four scenes from the history of the Virgin; namely, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Death, and the Crowning of the Virgin. In the last scene, the sketch of which is to be found at Basle, we see in the throne on which God the Father and Christ are seated, evident marks of the new style, while the stone-coloured framework of the outer sides, which portray the prayer on the Mount of Olives, is more allied to the Gothic. The execution of these pictures may partially belong to the hand of a pupil, who works ably, but is somewhat harder in his style and sharper in his outline.

On the whole, it must strike everyone that the productions which can be with certainty ascribed to the artist's later period, are not numerous. We must impute this rather to the fact that few of his works have been preserved, than to a decrease in his activity. The iconoclastic rage which subsequently plundered many of Augsburg's most beautiful churches may also have destroyed paintings of the older Holbein. The very works of this later epoch, in which he was most famous and in which he was employed in painting for the finest churches of his native city, may have been just those affected by it. His works for St. Moritz, we know only through the notices of them. Of works for St. Ulrich, the largest church in the city, which especially suffered under the iconoclastic storm, we possess no record, and yet it is more than probable that the elder Holbein worked also for this rich establishment, the monks of which, as we shall presently see, were so often delineated by his youngest son. Of all his works that are preserved, with the exception of that executed for the monastery of St. Catherine, scarcely one can be pointed out as having been painted for an Augsburg church.

But far richer activity than that shown in the paintings preserved, is evidenced in the sketches of the elder Holbein, the greatest collection of which is to be found in the Basle Museum. In the inventory of the Amerbach collection (Cf. Chap. XII.), which formed its basis, there appear, besides two "Büchleen mehsteil mit stifzen" (*i.e.* two little books containing for the most part sketches), fifty-six drawings; almost as many can be authenticated with certainty at the present day, and they are for the most part marked with the letter "H." We find there the sketches for many well-known paintings, and, besides numerous sheets with the figures of different saints, two large

series of Passion scenes, one of which contains the sketch for the Frankfort pictures, before mentioned. Among the most beautiful drawings there are two sheets of Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well, with a landscape distance, a large Adoration of the Kings, also on two sheets, and a sketch for an altar-panel representing the Death of the Virgin, and dated 1508. Two studies are in the possession of Mr. Robinson in London. At Frankfort-on-the-Maine and at Leipzig there are some excessively beautiful studies for heads, and also some sketches for two altar-panels, containing a representation of all the saints according to their due rank, martyrs, apostles, popes, bishops and ecclesiastics, kings and princes, patriarchs and prophets, women and maidens. The central picture was probably an Adoration of the Trinity.

Lastly, however, we know of a couple of portraits, which may be traced with the greatest probability to the elder Holbein, although they are not marked either with his name or his monogram. There is a painting in Hampton Court bearing the date 1512, containing the half-length portraits of a respectable bourgeois couple; the man, according to the inscription, fifty-two years old, and the woman thirty-five. He is dressed in a fur coat and fur cap; she wears a large white cap. The picture is now regarded as the work of the younger Hans Holbein, and is alleged to be the portrait of his parents. The beardless and somewhat pedantic-looking man does not bear the slightest similarity with the authentic portraits of Hans Holbein the father,[1] and the treatment does not accord with the works of Holbein the son. The alleged tradition is also only of recent adoption. The picture was in the possession of Charles I., and is described in the catalogue of his collection, but without any mention of the name of Holbein:

No. 22.

Item. A picture in a black frame of a German in a furred cap and habit, together with his wife, in one piece, dressed with muslin (this is an erratum for much linen) about her head, in a landskip, half-figures, less than the life, painted upon the right light. At the margin: "Brought out of Germany by Sir Hen. Vane, treasurer of the household, and given to the king; done by some good German painter."

Nevertheless, the assumption seems to us by no means so utterly removed from the truth, and at any rate the right family appears to have been hit upon. The painting is certainly a work of the Swabian school, and possesses a decided similarity with the works of the elder Holbein, in the simple life-like conception, the thin bright colouring, the whitish lights, and the somewhat feeble hands, which do not correspond with the excellent heads. The distance, with its villages and mountains, with a castle near the water, with swans and a bridge, entirely accords with the landscape of the Basilica of St. Paul.

Lastly, the half-length portraits of the Augsburg merchant, Anton Rehm, knight of the Holy Sepulchre, dressed in fur, with a black hat, and holding in

[1] Cf. p. 54.

his hand a foreign plant, in the library of St. Gallen, painted in 1522, exhibits much affinity with the works of the elder Holbein. Here, too, there are very white lights, and a somewhat exact characterization. There is a better repetition of the same subject in private possession at Augsburg.[1] Some portrait studies, probably the work of the artist, we shall discuss in the next chapter, when we shall have to speak of similar works by his son.

Hans Holbein the elder may also, in his later period, have been employed beyond his home. We have authentic information that he painted an altar-piece for the famous monastery of St. Anthony, at Tesenheim in Alsace, a place once rich in works of art, and from whose treasures some paintings by Martin Schongauer, and a grand high altar by Hans Baldung Grien,[2] are still to be found in the Museum at Colmar. The assertion, that the artist in his later life entirely quitted his home, and repaired with his sons to Basle, is, as we shall see, groundless. He must have ended his days at Augsburg, for his name is in the painter's book among those who died in 1524.

We have seen Hans Holbein the father originally imbued with Schongauer's feeling, and then submitting himself to the Flemish influence, which he could experience in his native city. He is at first constrained by the forms of the Upper German art of the fifteenth century, the utter imperfection of which we have already discussed. But with care and energy, he gradually worked his way out of it. His great gift of observation, which made him succeed especially in portraiture, the freshness and liveliness of his conception, which rendered him skilful in the representation of more exciting scenes, his splendid sense of colour, and his refined taste—all this enabled him to do so. He was thus ready to meet the demands of his advancing and changeful age, and he stands forth in his prime as one of Germany's best artists.

Hence his influence is important in the adjacent cities. To follow this out further would be here too lengthy a task. Traces of this influence are, however, to be seen throughout Swabia, where at this time none, with the exception of Zeitblom, left such lasting remains behind them.

Most important, of course, is the influence of the elder Holbein upon his son. Much of that with which Dürer had yet to struggle, was set aside for Holbein by his father, whose entire labours aimed at overcoming the earlier style of art. His heir and successor could at once, at his very first step, enter upon a soil hitherto untrodden.

[1] 1864, in the possession of Herr Herberger, keeper of the archives, Augsburg.

[2] From an old confusion of names ascribed to Matthias Grünewald. Cf. the paper by the author, "Ein Hauptwerk deutscher Kunst auf französischem Boden." Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. vol. i. Leipzig, 1866.

CHAPTER IV.

Hans Holbein the younger.—The year of his birth.—The Augsburg inscription.—Opposing statements.—Portrait of him at Berlin when fourteen years old.—Portrait and age of Ambrosius Holbein.—Sketch-book of the young Holbein.—His father's share in it.—Portraits of the artist's family.—The Emperor and his court.—The Fugger family.—Citizens and artisans.—The monks of St. Ulrich.—Unknown portraits.—Sketches of another kind.

In England, in the year 1861, from the finding of the will of Hans Holbein the younger,[1] the important discovery was made that he had died in 1543, and not, as had been supposed hitherto, in 1554. Shortly afterwards I endeavoured, myself, to gather together evidences of another year for the birth of the artist. This is not so important by far as the discovery of the year of his death, but the concurrence of both statements is interesting. If the artist's life ended eleven years earlier than was supposed, it begins also two or three years earlier, and thus appears, as it were, enclosed in a new frame.

The confusion, and the lack of authorities, in the history of German art, is extraordinarily great; the simplest biographical notices are usually wanting. The earliest biographies which we possess of German artists, Carel van Mander's "Schilderboeck," which appeared in 1604, and Sandrart's "Teutsche Akademie," which appeared in 1675, have no value as regards historical tradition, and are only of the greatest interest when they speak from personal experience, and notice works of art which they have themselves seen. As regards Holbein, Mander himself complains of the inadequacy of his information, and imputes it to the disobligingness of Dr. Iselin of Basle, who would only, for pecuniary indemnification, procure him better material. Sandrart has here, as ever, really only copied his predecessor, and added a few additions. As regards Holbein, we have also the Biography of Charles Patin, which was issued in the famous Basle edition of Erasmus Laus Stultitiæ, of the year 1676. Patin gathered from some Basle authorities, especially from the notes of Remigius Feesch, but even this source is of

[1] Recensionen und Mittheilungen über bildende Kunst. Wien. 1863. No. 7. Cf. my dissertation. De Joh. Holbenii origine, adolescentia, primis operibus, Breslau, 1863, and the English paper, "The year of Holbein's birth," in No. V. *Fine Arts Quarterly Review.*

recent date, and Patin does not stand higher than his predecessors as a critical writer.

We know for certain, regarding Holbein, only that which the latest authentic researches in Switzerland, England, and Germany, have produced. We must, for a time, use the notices of biographers, but none of them hold their ground, unless otherwise confirmed, so soon as facts rise against them.

In many points of biographical interest, the earlier writers differ. Mander and Patin assign Basle as Holbein's birth-place, Sandrart speaks of Augsburg, and Matthis Quad, a writer of the same period,—in his works "Memorabilia Mundi," and "Teutscher Nation Herrlichkeit," in which, in a chapter upon German artists, he gives a short notice respecting Holbein,—adds: "This Holbein was born in Grünstadt, in the Palatinate." We know authentically that the artist went to Basle as an Augsburger, and there received the freedom of the city; we know further, that this was held in memory at Basle even at the end of the sixteenth century. The earliest notices respecting the painter, recently discovered by Herr His-Heusler, and the records of Ludwig Iselin, style him expressly Augustanus. In Augsburg, the history of his family and of his own earliest works can be distinctly traced. There is no longer any question as to Basle or Grünstadt, as there was at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century,[1] a question based on no other grounds than that people existed there bearing the same family name.

Respecting the year of Holbein's birth, Mander, and Sandrart who follows him, give the year 1498; Patin opposes this and gives the year 1495, and the authors referred to in note[2] waver between the two statements, while Horace Walpole[3] and Hegner[4] assert themselves in favour of the former.

No document, no baptismal register in which Holbein's name appears, and which would remove all doubt, has yet been found. On the other hand, another authority which may be regarded as equally authentic, has come to light. In the Augsburg Gallery there are four paintings, formerly the front and back of two altar-panels, which were once regarded as the work of Holbein the father, until Waagen[5] with just discrimination recognized them as that of the son. On one, which represents the death of St. Catherine, the Christian and surname of the artist stands on the whole frame, and on a votive tablet, above a prayer to the saint, is the date 1512. The former reverse side

[1] Seybold, Deutsches Museum, 1778, and Fr. Chr. Matthiæ, refuted by Hegner.

[2] H. H. Füssli, Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon; Zurich, 1779—1814. J. C. Füssli, Geschichte der besten Künstler in der Schweitz, 1769. Fiorilla, Geschichte der Zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland, &c., 1815—1820, vol. ii., &c.

[3] Anecdotes of Painting in England.

[4] Hans Holbein der jüngere; Berlin, 1827.

[5] Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland, ii.; Leipzig, 1845.

of the picture, the Holy Child between Anna and the Virgin, was separated, cleaned and restored in the year 1854, and the following inscription, in a book lying open on St. Anna's lap, then came to light: "Jussu venerabilis pientissimaeque matris Veronicae Welser, H. Holbain Augustanus aetatis suae xvii." ("By order of the worthy and most pious mother Veronica Welser, executed by Hans Holbein, of Augsburg, at the age of 17.") If the artist painted the pictures in 1512, as a youth of 17, he must have been born, as Patin asserts, about 1495.

We must, in the first place, have some test as to the genuineness of this inscription. In spite of an attack[1] recently made against it I must maintain my former conviction of its truth, and this after accurate examination of the original, and I am glad that this opinion is shared by the first authorities upon art matters in Germany. Dr. Schnaase has expressed this by letter to the author, and Dr. Lübke has expressly undertaken another examination of the inscription, and has publicly declared himself in favour of its authenticity.[2] That the inscription was not apparent until after the picture had been cleaned, must not surprise us. It does not follow that it was before altogether hidden, but the writing in the book was regarded as indifferent so long as the spots were obscure. Doubts have also been raised as to its authenticity from the fact that it deviates wholly in character from the inscription in the lapidary style on the former reverse side, but this is just a proof of its genuineness. It is in exact imitation of an old manuscript in majuscule characters, and with larger initials in red, and it is only in manuscripts, and not in lapidary documents, nor in print until subsequently, that the rare form of the majuscule U appears, a form which no forger would have used. Nothing, however, can be urged against the wording or purport of the inscription. It is not the single original Latin inscription, which we find on paintings of the younger Holbein, and it corresponds with his whole character that he should here so naïvely make much of the fact of having painted such a picture at 17 years of age. The suspicion that the inscription may be a forgery committed at the restoration of the picture in order to support Waagen's supposition that the pictures were the work of the son and not of the father, is therefore scarcely credible, because the restorer of the painting could in no wise have completed his task alone, but must have had the assistance of a scholar well instructed in the art of palæography; and further because nine years had elapsed since the appearance of Waagen's book and eight years since Passavant[3] had written a paper of a similar purport, before the restoration was executed, and even afterwards in Augsburg no fuss at all was made about the matter. Herr G. Förster

[1] H. Grimm, Holbeins Geburtsjahr: kritische Beleuchtung der von den Biographen Holbeins gefunden Resultate. Berlin, 1867. Literarisches.

[2] Allgemeine Zeitung, Augsburg, 1868, No. 202. Outlines of History of Art. Preface.

[3] Kunstblatt, 1846.

mentioned the inscription incidentally in his "Denkmäler deutscher Kunst," without pursuing the subject further. He forebore to investigate the relation of this statement with regard to the year of Holbein's birth to the other statements on the subject, and he preferred to remain true to the former supposition. When I first examined the matter accurately, eight years had elapsed since the restoration.

It remains therefore for us to inquire what there is in contradiction to the statement of this inscription, and how far we may give importance to these contradictions. We know that the statements of older biographers cannot be taken as a standard, neither as regards Patin, whose statement accords with this inscription, nor Mander and Sandrart, who are opposed to it. Mander, who gives a wrong statement respecting Holbein's birthplace, who has upon his conscience eleven years respecting the period of his death, and who, according to his own confession, was unable to obtain any material from Basle, is himself not quite to be relied on in his statements: "So far as I have been able to trace" (voor zo verre ik hab sonnen naspeuren) is his own addition. Sandrart here expressly mentions Mander, a matter he neglects for the most part, as his authority, and adds a "probably" to his statement. Carl von Mander was of opinion that this artist was born at Basle, probably in the year 1498. But Patin also says only "about 1495," giving no authority for the date, and only adding, "Those who make him three years younger seem to come less near the truth, as he manifested even in the fourteenth and fifteenth year of the following century that experience in art, which testifies to a ripened judgment and practice in these things." He assigns therefore only internal reasons for his assumption, and it is not perceptible that he possessed any external ones. The manuscript of Remigius Feesch, his well-known authority, says nothing on the subject, and quotes as biographers only Mander and Quad, and the recently discovered earlier notices of Iselin assign no date for the year of Holbein's birth.

We might therefore regard Patin as the representative of the views prevailing in Basle, where, in opposition to Mander's opinion, the artist seems to have been considered as somewhat older. At any rate, by the historical critic, the two opposite statements of the writers can only be regarded as indications, but can in nowise be conclusive. It would be otherwise if we actually knew the authorities of Mander and Patin.

There are certainly some things which accord with Mander. For instance, there are the statements on two engravings of a portrait of Holbein's executed by himself at a later period. Both are half-length pictures of a circular form. The one engraved by J. Vorstermann has the following inscription on the outer margin:—

JOANNES HOLBEINVS PICTOR REGIS MAGNÆ BRITTANIÆ SVI SÆCVLI CELEBERRIMVS. ANNO 1543. ÆTAT. 45.

The second, an etching of Wenzel Hollar's, has the following inscribed on both sides, inside the margin enclosing the head:—

HI

AN° 1543. Æ. 45.

That these portraits represent the artist himself, is not in the least doubtful; in spite of the difference of years, their accordance with the authentic pictures of him in his youth is plainly evident. No original of these engravings is, however, to be found. In Mander's time there existed two. He thus speaks respecting Holbein's works in Amsterdam: "At the house of Jaques Raget, the fine arts amateur, I saw Holbein's portrait, painted by himself very prettily and neatly, in miniature, with a small margin round it; and in the possession of Bartholomäus Ferreris, I saw a second, about the size of the palm of my hand, excellently and neatly executed in flesh tints." Sandrart, who was in Amsterdam some time between 1639 and 1645, presented the amateur Le Blois, who resided there, with a very artistic portrait of the master painted in a small margin, and this must have been one of these two. Hollar's etching, executed in the year 1647, was, according to the inscription, taken from an original in the Arundel Collection, which is certainly identical with one of the portraits mentioned by Mander. Vorsterman's engraving is somewhat older than Hollar's, and evidently is taken from the same original, as Vorsterman has engraved other paintings of the Arundel Collection. Both engravings, in which the countenance is turned to the right from the spectator, are from the opposite side to the original, which we learn from a notice of Walpole's, that Holbein in his portrait in the Arundel Collection holds his brush in his right hand. In Vorsterman's engraving, who has reversed the matter, he holds it in his left hand, and Hollar, in order not to fall into a similar inconvenience, chooses rather to omit the painting-hand. In the great drawing also in Florence, evidently the original sketch from which Holbein painted the small pictures, the face is turned to the left and not to the right as in the engraving.

Many unimportant and subsequent paintings appear, with the same direction as the engraving; these are consequently copied from the engraving, and their inscription possesses no importance. A small miniature painting, on the other hand, in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch, represents the artist painting with his right hand, and turning to the left. But this also is no original, although a good old copy after one; and besides, the inscription here, written in gold on a blue ground, is no longer discernible as regards the last figure of his age.[1]

[1] The author has not seen the picture himself, and therefore he follows Mr. Wornum's statements in his book ("Some Accounts on the Life and Works of Hans Holbein," p. 82), also written communications and a drawing from Mr. Scharf. Mr. Wornum mentions other late and bad copies in the same position.

H. AN°. 1543. H. ETATIS SVE 4. . . .

Lastly, without value, being evidently a modern work, there is an inscription on a drawing in Florence, which has been greatly retouched and enlarged all round.

IOANNES HOLPENIVS BA-
SILENSIS Æ: XLV.
SVI IPSIVS EFFICIATOR.

The inscription apparently on Hollar's etching would weigh a good deal in the balance, if it could be proved that it was to be found on the original, and that it could thus have been the authority for Mander's statement with regard to his birth. But in this case, one would suppose that Mander would not have expressed himself with such uncertainty on the matter, as he has done. He also mentions two original copies, which he had himself seen, but he mentions no inscription on them. The same is the case with Sandrart, who has even himself given away an original. Had he here found the date and a statement of the painter's age, he would not have spoken with such uncertainty respecting the period of his birth, and have referred his authority expressly to Mander alone. It is only, however, by a notice of Walpole's that we know that the original bore the date of 1543;[1] there is no mention of any statement of the painter's age.

Vorsterman's engraving, also, does not show that there has been any inscription of the painter's age in the picture itself; for as the inscription on his engraving is only on the outer margin, we are not justified in regarding anyone else but Vorsterman himself as a guarantee for the age. He may only have added as regards the age what he knew from Mander's book, which had appeared long before, and which was thus the general opinion of his time. Hollar may subsequently have done nothing else than convey what suited him from the inscription, which in his predecessor's work stood on the margin, to the picture itself, and have combined it with the genuine date. The engravers of the seventeenth century had no idea of diplomatic fidelity, as regards inscriptions. Even Hollar himself boasts of increasing the notations of originals by his own additions. An example of this is afforded in Holbein's picture of Dr. Chamber at Vienna.[2] Hollar here gives the age inscribed on the original itself, now in Vienna, and adds besides this the name of the person represented, which has been placed on the back in ink by some subsequent possessor, and completes the whole with the words "Holbein pinxit," which are added like an original inscription, though they entirely belong to the engraver.

[1] "In the Arundelian Collection," says Richard Symons, "was a head of Holbein, in oil, by himself, most sweet, dated 1453." [2] Parthey, No. 1372.

This is sufficient to demonstrate that so far as our present material goes, Hollar's and Vorsterman's engravings are not able to disprove the inscription of the Augsburg picture.

Before, however, the Augsburg inscription came to light, a drawing of the younger Holbein had been noticed, as likewise affording information respecting the year of his birth. We allude to the sheet in the gallery of engravings at Berlin, a photo-lithograph of which forms the frontispiece of this book. It was considered to be a picture of Hans Holbein the younger and his father, until I deciphered the name to the left, and proved that it depicted not the father, but the brother Ambrosius (Prosy). The age placed above this name is wholly effaced; the number 5, which I imagined I discovered, is not to be seen on the photo-lithograph at all. The name "Hanns" and the number 14 above the head to the right, and the name of "Holbein" between the two, are perfectly intelligible; the date heading the whole seems to be 1511. From this, Passavant[1] and Ernst Förster[2] inferred that the year of his birth must have been 1497, a year differing from both earlier statements.

Waagen[3] expresses himself, on the other hand, more cautiously even in the year 1845. "If the date on the portrait of the Holbeins is to be read with certainty as 1511, the year of the younger Holbein's birth would be decidedly 1496. Unfortunately, however, the second half of the date is too much effaced for anything certain to be gathered from it."

In the year 1863, I doubted the correct reading of 1511. The two first figures are perfectly distinct, but the stroke of the third is inclined to the left, and this I felt could not be 1, and I felt it incumbent upon me to apply here that fundamental rule of diplomatic science, not to judge according to general impressions, but to inspect narrowly every separate mark. I started the question whether another manner of reading were possible, and I believed I could prove that it was 1509 instead of 1511. The first oblique stroke would have suited a 7 very well, which was at that time written slopingly, but this was out of the question for chronological reasons. It suited, however, no other numeral sign but a 0, and this written in a lozenge-shaped and not in an oval manner (◊). This is a Gothic form which appears in lapidary inscriptions, and occasionally also in inscriptions on pictures. On the painting of Meister Stephan Lochner, at Darmstadt, there appears, for example, a four in its old form of half eight, not, however, oval in its upper half (Ϙ), but rhombic (◊).

Not only the oblique position of the stroke corresponds with the supposition of the 0, but the proportionally greater distance between the second and third numbers seems to imply that something more than 1 stood here. Below the

[1] Peintre Graveur, vol. iii.

[2] Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst, vol. ii.

[3] Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland, Leipzig, 1845, vol. ii. p. 260, observation.

4th number, however, there is a little mark to be seen, which is drawn under it, and then upwards. In the original, it is quite distinct, but in the photo-lithograph it is less perceptible, yet still it does not appear to be accidental. In this case it can have formed, in combination with the other stroke, no other figure than a 9. If we read the numbers as 1509, 1495 becomes the year of Hans' birth, then 14 years old.

This proposed manner of reading the date was partly disputed, and partly considered possible by those who had seen the original, but was at any rate regarded as uncertain. This it is indeed, and though it has ever seemed to me probable, it can in no wise be proved. But even if the reading of it as 1511 be just, it cannot be made to coincide with the inscription of the Augsburg painting. We should then have to assume that ÆT. SVÆ XVII. on the latter intended the year not yet completed, and therefore was not to be read "at the age of 17," but "in the 17th year of his age," both of which readings would be possible, and numerous other instances of which may be given. On the drawing, however, 14 would imply the year already past, but the birth-day in the year 1511 not yet over. Both of these readings would give 1496 as the year of his birth. Hans Holbein the younger was born in 1495 or 1496: —with this fact we must rest satisfied, at least so long as we are without archival records respecting the date.

That one of these two dates, however, is proved by the Augsburg inscription, must be welcomed as an important result. Waagen imputed to him those Augsburg altar-panels, although he was obliged to assume that he had executed them in his 14th year. Now we know that he was at that time 16 or 17. Holbein's development of mind was thus extraordinarily early, but he was at least not a wondrous child in the strict sense of the word, as Lucas van Leyden was; and if even now we think to possess among the portrait studies, the works of a boy of 14, yet there is still a great step to be made from such a striking and acute transcript of nature, as we find in his portraits, to compositions so studied, and to execution so finished, as that displayed in the Augsburg panels.

The age of Ambrosius in the Berlin drawing is, as we have seen, almost effaced. If, however, the second figure, which I believe can still be traced in the original, is 5, he may indeed have been 15 years old, and thus one year older than his brother. This accords also with the difference of age, which seems to exist between the two boys in the Basilica of St. Paul. I was formerly of opinion that the elder boy in the painting of the father was that Bruno whose very existence is doubtful, and that Ambrosius in the Berlin drawing was at least 25 years old. His appearance is indeed older, and hence before the name was deciphered he was thought to be the father, and not the brother of the young Hans. But the more familiar I became with the drawing, the more I became convinced that the older expression was only given by

some spots on the cheek, which had produced an unintentional shadow, giving the face a more haggard and emaciated appearance. The similarity with the boy in the Basilica of St. Paul is perceptible, although not in quite so striking a manner as it is with Hans.

The drawing in the Berlin Museum belongs to a series of sixty-nine similar portrait-studies in metallic pencil, parts of one or several former sketch-books. Twenty-six sheets of a similar kind, containing other studies besides portraits all of which have appeared in photographs, are to be found in the cabinet of engravings at Copenhagen. Here, as in Berlin, the merit of having drawn attention to these works is due to Baron von Rumohr. This distinguished amateur was the first to discover their real author, for hitherto in both places they had been regarded as sketches by Dürer. Eleven sketches still lie under this name in Heller's Dürer Gallery in the Bamberg Library. Isolated instances of the same error also occur at Weimar, Munich, Erlangen, Bernburg, Vienna, and lastly a whole series are to be found in the Museum at Basle.

Many sheets in this latter collection serve as a basis for our more certain knowledge of the master, especially those which are the studies of some of Holbein's undoubted works, such as the sketches of the burgomaster Meier and his wife, which were painted as half-length pictures in 1516. Still it is pretty probable that all these sheets are not to be ascribed to the younger Holbein alone. In the Basle Museum, we possess drawings by two other members of the family, by Hans the father and by Ambrosius,—drawings in the same style, showing great affinity with his own. Those of Hans Holbein the elder are usually sharper and harder; those of Ambrosius are softer and without the sparkling life of the younger brother. Nevertheless it is often almost impossible to distinguish the different hands from each other, and we openly confess that we have not in all cases arrived at any distinct certainty regarding the author, and therefore prefer to discuss them all generally.

Among the sheets at Berlin and Copenhagen, there is a certain group of studies which appear still harder, sharper, and coarser. These may probably be regarded as the father's works. Respecting our frontispiece of Ambrosius and Hans, it is difficult to decide whether it belongs to this group or to others; still it seems attributable to Hans, the son. The greater number of the sheets accord perfectly with the indubitable drawing of the latter, and manifest an almost unexampled freedom and life both in conception and execution.

Holbein, the greatest Northern portrait-painter, appears as such in his earliest attempts. Masterly in his technical skill, he adds to the accuracy and delicacy which drawing in metallic pencil entails, a rare power and richness. He often increases the liveliness of his picture and produces a brilliant

effect by the introduction of white lights and by the use of red chalk. He adheres to life with wonderful certainty, and observes character in its finest touches. There is nothing artificial, nothing formal, no one seems to know that he is being depicted. His people disdain to cast a glance on the spectator; they know not that they are observed. They show themselves in full unvarnished truth as they are; and when we see them before us, it is as if we could now fully understand the age in which they lived. "Ces Allemands du xvi. siècle," says Bürger,[1] "étaient de fameux hommes."

They all belong to the life and doings at that day in Holbein's native city; they are all taken down from Augsburg sketch-books. Many a simple citizen and homely artisan is among them, of whom nothing further is preserved; but many also are there whom history knows, or whose names at least recur when we search the city chronicles or the monastery annals. In a great number, the names are written at the side, partly indeed by the artist's own hand. A part of the world in which the painter lived, stands before us in the people he has depicted. In no gallery of painted portraits could this be the case to the same extent. It would be rash and unwarrantable to inquire as to the relations between the represented and the artist. These would soon be exhausted in the order and its recompense. But these drawings are not executed like great pictures on order. The young artist places them in his sketch-book only for his own practice, and for his own study. He has immortalized their features because they were people of importance in the Imperial city and thus fascinated attention, or because he met them in personal intercourse, or because their physiognomy struck him. As he saw them, near or afar, once or frequently, he sketched them, generally in hasty touches and with quick hand, but always perfectly portrayed to the life. So they stand there before us as the actors of a drama played long ago; and especially when those who lived together in the same place and time, and had intercourse with each other, are now placed side by side, does it seem as though they were animated anew, and the whole is awakened freshly and distinctly before us, as though it were to live and to be lived over again.

And from all who appear and pass before us, the mind ever reverts as to a necessary central point, to the artist himself, who also stands among them. Let us look fixedly and accurately into the round face of the boy of 14, as it is preserved on the sketch we discussed above. The smooth hair hangs down over his brow, and is cut at the top in a straight line. The lips are full; the brow projects considerably over the eyes. According to phrenologists, this indicates a strongly developed power of observation, and this Holbein certainly evidenced all his life. The countenance cannot be called exactly beautiful, but it is pleasing and agreeable, because we see in it such a thoroughly healthful nature; genuineness, frankness, and infinite repose and

[1] Trésor d'Art en Angleterre, p. 143.

serenity lie expressed in every feature. Ambrosius too, at his side, attracts us with his curly hair and nobly formed mouth, a youth of quick perception.

A second sheet introduces us to another member of our artist's family; namely, Sigmund Holbein. This is one of the best drawings of the whole series, excellently executed, with a slight use of red chalk and a few white lights introduced. His profile head is already well known in the history of

SIGMUND HOLBEIN.
(Sketch in metallic pencil. Berlin.)

art. Sandrart gave an engraving of it in his "Teutsche Akademie" from a drawing by the young Hans Holbein in the year 1512, which he himself possessed.[1]

Yet not the Berlin copy, but a second, now in the possession of Mr. T. C. Robinson, in London, and likewise original, was his. It contains the date and an inscription, which is identical, as far as one can discover, with

[1] Part II. Book III. p. 279. "Das von dem jungen Hans Holbein gezeichnete Contrafät seines Vatters, und desselben Bruders, der auch einguten Mahler gewesen (die ich originaliter beyhanden habe, und in der Kupferblatte E.E. samt des jungen Holbeins eigener Hand 1512 datirt, dem grossgunstigen Liebhaber mittheile) als bey dern erstem diese Wort zu finden: Contrafät von Hans Holbein dem alten Mahler: Bey dem andern aber Sigmund Holbein, Mahler und Bruder des ältern."

that mentioned by Sandrart, "Sigmund Holbain maler Hans(en) pruder des alten."

In the engraving of the seventeenth century, the head is naturally modernized; it is only in the original that we really become acquainted with the master, who, in spite of the little that we know of him, yet possesses an interest for us,—a noble artist countenance, with a full beard and long hair fantastically waving over his forehead, a countenance in which great ability is joined with mind and refinement, and great firmness of character is combined with great modesty. The original of the corresponding picture mentioned by Sandrart, containing the portrait of Hans Holbein the father, is at Twickenham, in the gallery of the Duc d'Aumale. Above in the photograph, though not perceptible in the original, stands the date 1515; to the left are the words "Hans Holbain maler," and to the right "Deralt" (the elder), which thus also essentially accords with Sandrart's statement. The notice "Holbein Junior fecit" is on the other side, and is of somewhat later origin; but in this particular sheet, the hand of the son is unmistakeable. The head, which is looking up, is equally charming in expression, and perhaps still more intelligent and refined than the artist's countenance in the Basilica of St. Paul.

Belonging to the family, in all probability, is also a young girl in the dress of a citizen, with a headband and her hair hanging down in plaits behind; her head, which is bent forward, is resting against her right hand. The modern inscription, "Agnes Albrecht Dürers Schwester," belongs to the period in which the whole series was ascribed to Dürer; and we may suppose that a former notice in which the artist named the girl as his sister, lay at the root of the designation.

Of all the other sketches, precedence is due without hesitation to "the Great Emperor Maximilian;" he is identified with the Augsburg of that day. This we have seen already, when we cast a glance at the historical development of the Imperial city. We saw him residing there, coming there, and returning there, for pastime and for business, gladly mingling with the rest as a citizen amid citizens. Seated on horseback, almost a full face portrait, we see him in his long coat, helmet, and sword, a staff in his right hand. The artist had seen him thus in the distance riding through the streets of Augsburg; the features are only cursorily given, and it is rather the general appearance which with rapid hand he has put to paper. But he is no longer the bold knightly adventurer; his bearing already betrays age. The Imperial city had known him thus during the later period of his life.

The man who in life was the Emperor's friend and constant companion, his merry adviser, Kunz von der Rosen, is also among those around him. He it is who was the truest to his master amid all his people, and who, when the Emperor was taken prisoner by the rebels of Bruges, endeavoured to liberate

him at the risk of his life. He was also known as a brave, courageous man, who often exchanged the fool's cap for the helmet and sword. It was just in Holbein's time that great noise was excited throughout Swabia, and in Augsburg also, when in 1512 he conquered with the aid of Georg Frundsberg the castle of Hohenkräken in Höhgau, which had become a haunt of robbers, and had been deemed impregnable. All that is preserved to us of his wit does not exactly give us a high idea of it. It consisted for the most part of very coarse jests; the age was not so particular. But his nature was fresh and healthy, and his heart was in the right place. The broad German face, with its military beard, is perhaps somewhat coarse in its outline, but it is at the same time resolute, good, and honest. Behind the

KUNZ VON DER ROSEN.
(Sketch in metallic pencil. Berlin.)

great beard and contracted brows, there lurks irrepressible humour. Besides the sheet represented in our woodcut, there is a second, which exhibits the same head in three different positions. On the reverse side there are a couple of verses in the national dialect, written it is true in ink, but still in old handwriting, perhaps in that of the artist himself:—

"Der allt
neid macht krieg
der neid macht krieg.
darumm dich sieg: fridlich
zv sein. So beleibst bey gut
vnd eren dein.

Der allt
krieg macht wider ar(m)
krieg ist nit gut. vor
über mut. Du dich bewar(en)
durch krieg. So wirt du
wider arm.

Durch aygin Sin . . . .
in. der ich vor was . . . da
zu brach mich neid kr. . . ."

Old grudges
kindle strife,
they kindle strife;
take heed then all thy life
at peace to be.
And thus may wealth and honour
be for thee.

Old strifes
make wealth depart.
Strife suiteth not
a merry lot, so guard
thy heart from strife. Else
will thy wealth depart.

We can well imagine that "Eigensinn" is followed in the third verse with the rhyme "kommt kein Gewinn:"

"A stubborn mind
Small gain may find,"
&c. &c.

The rest of the verse is difficult to divine.

A young man with long smooth hair, in the dress of a noble, with bonnet and golden fleece, with a falcon on his left wrist, and a staff in his right hand, is designated as "Duke Karl von Borgondy." He is the grandson of Maximilian, the future Emperor Charles V., who bore this title until the beginning of the year 1516, when, at the age of sixteen, after the death of Ferdinand of Castile, he assumed the title of King of Spain. The still child-like features remind us distinctly of his later portraits, in the projecting chin and the Hapsburg under-lip. The prince, however, was not in Germany in his youth, and the artist, probably in this instance Holbein the father, did not paint him from life, but from another picture. In the Ambraser Collection at Vienna, there is a portrait of Charles when he was seven years of age (this also was not an original, but a copy of a Netherland painting), entirely according with our sketch both in bearing and expression, and also containing a falcon. On the back of our sketch, the left hand with the falcon appears again on a somewhat larger scale, and the words "Emperor's falcon" are

inscribed at the side. This seems to prove that the artist was not satisfied with the imitation of the painting, but studied from nature the Emperor's falcon, which he could see in Augsburg.

The youth Görg Schenk zum Schenkenstein, with the curly hair and heavy chain, may also have belonged to the Imperial court. In the portrait of a stately individual with a full face and a soft curled beard under his chin, and attired in a rich furred and courtly dress, no more can be deciphered than the Christian name Görg, and the notice of his position, *probst des kardinal's secretary* (provost and secretary to the cardinal).

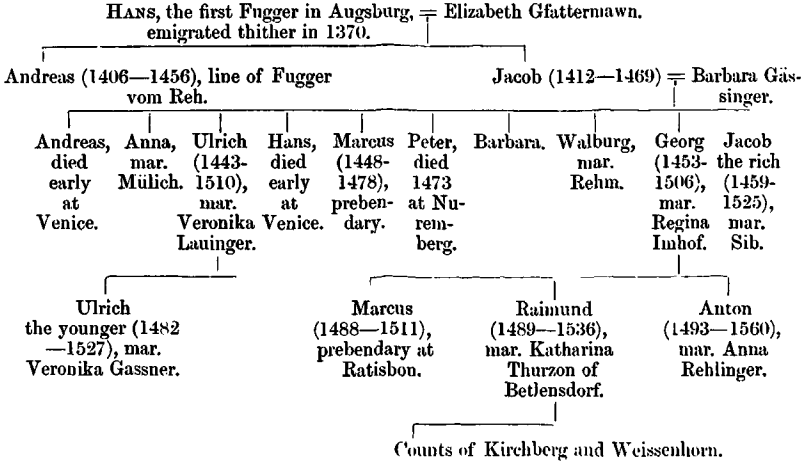
Among the men of Augsburg, and the patricians of the Imperial city, the famous Fugger family especially attracts our attention. There they are, man

JACOB FUGGER
(Sketch in metallic pencil. Berlin.)

by man, at that time the first and the best known, not only in the family itself, but among all the Augsburg merchants. Jacob Fugger, surnamed "the rich," justly stood at the head; for, to use the words of the "Ehrenspiegel," he was "the foremost in the elevation of his race." He it is who founded the true greatness of his family, and brought "the Fugger name and lineage so

high in honour, commerce, and wealth," as an old chronicle says of him.[1] His father, with his large family, had at first obliged him to study; he had entered the Church, and had already reached the rank of prebendary. When, however, four of his brothers died one after another, he was summoned to Augsburg on account of the business, and was induced to relinquish his dignity. The affairs now fell into the right hands. He gave up the old trade in groceries, woollen, and silk goods, and undertook the working of the Hungarian and Carinthian mines, which were very lucrative. Thus he became the great banker to royalty, the most wealthy and noble of those whom, in spite of their unimpeached Christian origin, the Emperor Max was wont to call his Jews. Large estates devolved upon him, as pledges for the sums which he had advanced to the Emperor. He was appointed the Emperor's adviser, and he and his family were raised to the rank of nobles. He expended his princely wealth in a princely manner, employing it in gratifying his love of splendour as well as his beneficence. He built chapels and palaces, ordered pictures to be painted for religious and secular objects, and raised a monument to himself in the "Fuggerie," that valuable district for the poor which he established in the Quarter Sanct Jacob, in the year 1519. His contemporaries boast that he was no miser, locking up his wealth in chests, but that he was lord of it, and not merely keeper of it. Two sheets, at Berlin and Copenhagen, contain a full-face portrait of him, wearing a hat. But still more intelligent-looking is the profile of him at Berlin, given in our woodcut. It possesses great affinity with the splendid chiaro-oscuro woodcut

[1] "Cronica Wie die hern Fugger in die Stadt Augspurg eingetreten," &c., MS. in the Royal Library at Berlin. See also J. J. Fugger's "Spiegel der Ehren des Hauses Oesterreich," notices regarding the family genealogical table.


Hans, the first Fugger in Augsburg, emigrated thither in 1370.
Elizabeth Gfattermawn.
Andreas (1406—1456), line of Fugger vom Reh.
Jacob (1412—1469)
Barbara Gässinger.
Andreas, died early at Venice.
Anna, mar. Mülich.
Ulrich (1443-1510), mar. Veronika Lauinger.
Hans, died early at Venice.
Marcus (1448-1478), prebendary.
Peter, died 1473 at Nuremberg.
Barbara.
Walburg, mar. Rehm.
Georg (1453-1506), mar. Regina Imhof.
Jacob the rich (1459-1525), mar. Sib.
Ulrich the younger (1482—1527), mar. Veronika Gassner.
Marcus (1488—1511), prebendary at Ratisbon.
Raimund (1489—1536), mar. Katharina Thurzon of Betlensdorf.
Anton (1493—1560), mar. Anna Rehlinger.
Counts of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn.

from Burgkmair's drawing,[1] but it is far superior in its more delicate outline and greater refinement about the mouth.

We find also Jacob's nephew among the portraits; and when he died childless in 1525, the head of the house appears in Raimund Fugger, the son of Georg Fugger and Regina Imhof. In his youth, he had gained information by extensive journeys; he is said to have been "strong in mind and body, and not only a great merchant, but a friend of art and science, having founded a fine library and valuable collections, in which antique statues and Venetian paintings were to be seen."[2] These were certainly not entirely strange to the young painter, who here depicted him. Raimund's profile, with the nobly arched nose, and the well-formed, intelligent and thoughtful eyes, does not intimate only the wise, calculating, and business-like merchant, but also the refined man of the world, the bright cultivated patrician, and shows that the "Chronica" did not wrongly style him "a handsome, tall, and very jovial person."

His brother Anton, who was subsequently raised, like Raimund, to be Imperial councillor, and to share in his dignity as count, was born in 1493, and was therefore still a young man when Holbein took his likeness. The rather ordinary head with the long smooth hair, scarcely leads us to augur the subsequently distinguished man who tore asunder the bond with the Emperor, and assumed such a position that Guicciardini called him "the prince of merchants."

The portrait of his cousin, Ulrich Fugger the younger, who belonged to the elder branch of the family, attracts us especially. His name is heard no longer in history, but in his time he was regarded by many as good and worthy; his pleasing personal appearance may have contributed to this. He possesses a slender figure, high forehead, noble eyebrows, soft whiskers, and a distinguished demeanour, "a refined and polished gentleman," as the chronicle calls him. He is certainly worthy of such a woman as another portrait introduces to us as his wife, in a simple domestic attire, but with a rich cap, and a heavy chain round her neck. Her name was Veronica Gassner, the only daughter of the honourable and distinguished Jacob Gassner, councillor of Augsburg. On the 23rd of May, 1516, the wedding took place. Unfortunately this sheet is disfigured by subsequent retouching.

"Martin der Fuckher Diener," a young man with long hair, is probably a commercial clerk belonging to the house. "Her Jörig Dorssi," a noble figure with a grand forehead, which we twice meet with in Berlin, is the Hungarian Count Georg Thurzon, Raimund Fugger's father-in-law.[3] His wife

[1] See copy in R. Weigel's Holzschnitte berühmter Meister. Book xiv.

[2] Paul von Stetten, Kunst- und Handwerks-Geschichte, i. p. 362. A letter of Beatus Rhenanus affords information respecting him.

[3] Proved by Gutzhow, Hohenschwangen, vol. i. p. 320, observation.

also, the "Dorsinn," appears, the daughter of the elder Ulrich Fugger. A young man in the Bamberg sketches, marked as "Her Kristoff Dors," may also belong to the family. As belonging to the Fugger family we may lastly mention "*Burgermeister artzet jez desz gantzen*, bund oberester Havptman," as the inscription[1] calls him, his daughter Sibylle having married Jacob Fugger the rich. He was one of the most important personages in Augsburg at that time; he repeatedly held the highest office of the city, and was appointed Captain of the Swabian League in 1511. He has a significant profile, with a very aquiline nose. The large fur cap reaches to his very eyes, and beneath it appears his long hair. The enormous beard increases the stateliness of his appearance, which indicates a man who knows what he is about. Cumprecht Ranner, with his snub nose and feathered cap, belongs also to a well-known family of Augsburg.

There are also the haggard and elderly "Hans Nell," the young "Hans Pfleger," the respectable and bourgeois-looking "Hans Herlins," all four of which were probably drawn by Holbein the father.

A very young man, with large eyes and a child-like though refined and thoughtful countenance, is introduced to us as "Hans Schwartz Stainmetz." The same youth seems to be somewhat older in the second drawing; it is a full-face portrait of him, and as before he wears a cap on his head; his features are calm, grave, and manly. Now Augsburg produced a famous carver named Hans Schwartz, who subsequently worked at Nuremberg, and was famed in the Neudörffer records as "der beste Conterfaiter in Holz" of his time. He also became distinguished among the workmen of Nuremberg, by the very same qualities as Holbein possessed; namely, by a more free conception of nature, by a taste for the beautiful, and by a more delicate feeling for life. Thus our Steinmetz may perhaps be identical with him, and the idea suggests itself that Hans Schwartz may have been a youthful companion of Holbein. Respecting his genealogy we know indeed nothing accurately, but we can trace his works from 1516 to 1538, so that he may have been about the same age as Holbein. This hypothesis is not rendered questionable by the fact that Steinmetz (stone-cutter) and Bildschnitzer (carver) are really different trades, and that the latter belonged most to the Painters' Company. Both arts were however constantly combined, and we know of masters, such as Georg Syrlin and Veit Stoss, who worked in stone as well as in wood.

In another instance, however, it does not rest on mere supposition that we see before us one of Augsburg's first artists. In a Copenhagen drawing we find "Mayster Burgkart Engelberg Stainmitz werkma(ister) s. vlrich kirch hie,"[2] a name already often mentioned by us. It is an expressive profile.

[1] On the sketch at Berlin. A repetition of it is at Copenhagen.

[2] The inscription is the same, but in ink by a later hand.

Strongly-marked brows project under the great fur cap; the nose is hooked, the glance of the eye is untroubled, the lips are closed. Benevolence, gentleness, and a power of observation are expressed in the pleasing countenance. This justifies entirely what was written of him in Brother Wilhelm Wittwer's chronicle of the Ulrich monastery, in which he was not only extolled as an excellent architect, but also as a pure and upright, a respectable and pious man. In 1477, the further building of the splendid church of St. Ulrich was consigned to Burchardus Politor, and he gloriously carried on his task. Whenever, at that time, there was anything to be built in Augsburg, he was the right man to do it; on the enlargement of the Monastery of St. Catherine, on the erection of a public fountain, we ever meet with him; he was the work-master of the city. As is the case among the latest Gothic artists, technical skill and technical boldness were most decidedly exhibited in his works. His main merit is the preservation of the tower of Ulm Cathedral. When it threatened to fall in the year 1493, twenty-eight of the most distinguished masters from various places were summoned, but none had advice to offer, until at last Burckhard Engelberg was sent for, and he strengthened the foundation and set aside the pressing danger. He received on this occasion from the town council of Ulm a present of 400 gulden, and 50 gulden yearly as a pension until his death. This took place on the 14th February, 1512, so that the portrait must have been executed at a tolerably early period. It seems to be the work of Holbein the father.

Side by side with the excellent artists we find simple artisans; thus, for instance, a tailor of the name of Grün, with leather apron and cap, an honest and simple man. Some young people, evidently belonging to the class of artisans, are to be seen among the drawings at Basle; the names only of a few can be deciphered, but above a coarse face with a broad nose stands the charming inscription, "Alle zeigt lustiger gesell" (all depict merry fellows). A man of a higher class, in a fur cap, also at Basle, is marked, "Gumpret Schwartz Schulmaister vom frau(en)."

Among the few female portraits we find one at Berlin repeated four times, "Zvnftmaisterin Schwartzenstammer die fromme frauw des seiboldi tochter," who, as is often the case in portraits by a master hand, appears to us as the type of a whole class. She is not wrongly designated "die fromme frau" (the good wife), this respectable spouse of the head of the corporation, in her large cap. She is the genuine German citizen's wife, who knows how to maintain order and discipline in her house, possessing a practical nature and a sensible countenance, able and worthy, good-natured and yet severe.

The true contrast to this picture and one which does not exhibit the life of the time in its best aspect, is another female face, looking modestly out from a veil, as though in convent attire, but which has something common in the expression, especially in the broad mouth. Respecting the strange inscription,

"lamanetly dy nit ist," some light is cast by the city chronicles of Augsburg.[1] Until the year 1511 an old female of about forty years of age, named Anna, and surnamed "the Lomenitlin," had had free play in Augsburg. For unchastity and adultery she had twice been expelled from the city and had subsequently returned repentant. She then "feigned herself pious and spiritual, showed and protested that she neither ate, drank, nor digested," and was regarded as a wonder-working saint. She carried matters to such a point "with this her spiritual nature" that the sons of many well-known citizens came to her to seek for counsel and assistance in their love affairs. In the Cross Church she had a high stool made for herself, that no one might see her and disturb her in her devotions. She had deceived the citizens, the town council, princes, and even the Emperor himself, until at length it occurred to Maximilian's sister, the wise Duchess of Bavaria, to summon the holy woman to herself. "And when now," the chronicle goes on to say, "she and her devotion came to Munich, she was honourably received by the princess, and a special apartment was assigned to her and her maid. The princess, however, had her well watched day and night, and had had some secret holes bored by which she could see whether, according to her protestation, she neither ate nor drank nor digested, and she was thus kept some days in her apartment, but her maid was let in and out, and this maid brought and carried to her spice, gingerbread, and other strengthening things, and excellent drinks and malmsey in a small bottle," &c. Thus "her secret hypocrisy, her evil deceit, and the imposture which she had carried on," were made manifest. She was imprisoned in Augsburg, pilloried, and forbidden the city for ever. At length she was drowned at Freiburg in Switzerland, "where she had begun new tricks and exchanged a child." The picture of her is probably by Holbein the father, who has thus preserved us a remarkable feature from the history of daily life at Augsburg.

A great cycle of drawings among the Berlin portrait-studies depict to us monks from Augsburg's most famous monastery, that of St. Ulrich, an establishment of such repute that even the Emperor Max esteemed it an honour to be in close spiritual league with it. It was a place in which the arts and sciences were cultivated with delight, and the new humanistic tendency was here so much in favour that the well-known scholar Othmar Luscinius of Strasburg was engaged to give lectures here on the Greek language. The monastery possessed a famous library, rich in works of the ancients, which were sought after far and near. Above all, however, about this time the church was enlarged, and its decoration was increased by altars, paintings, and costly relics; treasures which, for

[1] See Welsersche Chronik, and for further details the MS. Chronicle of Burkhard Zinck of the year 1565 in the Berlin Library. Also in other works of the time, such as Anshelm's Berner Chronik (vol. iv. p. 225), she appears.

[2] In the year 1492, when King of Rome.

the most part, as already mentioned, perished in a subsequent iconoclastic storm. How great these must have been, how they multiplied, and what high prices were paid for them, appears from the monastery annals compiled in the most genuine monkish Latin by Brother Wilhelm Wittwer.[1] If these did not cease with the year 1497, we should undoubtedly have found the name of the elder Hans Holbein among the artists. Some of these portrait-studies evidently belong to him, but by far the greater number may be ascribed to his highly gifted son, who at that time may have worked there as his father's assistant. The great number of portraits from this monastery, and especially the fact that many of the spiritual lords are depicted there four times and even oftener, seem even to indicate a more intimate intercourse with the monks of St. Ulrich.

The prominent quality of good nature is to be seen at the first glance at the old "Her Hainrich grün zu Sant Ulrich." The outline of his head is

HERR HEINRICH GRÜN.
(Sketch in metallic pencil. Berlin.)

remarkably pointed, and he is distinguished from all the rest by his extreme thinness; otherwise this does not appear in St. Ulrich's monastery to have been a usual failing. The cheek-bones project in the thin face, the lower lip hangs down, the sunken eyes stare with a weak expression. His look of sim-

[1] Fr. Wilh. Wittwer, "Catalogus Abbatum monasterii et Augustensis." Steichele, Archiv. für die Geschichte des Bisthums Augsburg," vol. ii. Also various Chronicles, and Placidus Braun's "Geschichte der Kirche und des Stiftes der Heiligen Ulrich und Afra," Augsburg, 1817.

plicity and weakness is characterized with almost greater humour in a second portrait, where his glance is directed upwards. (See woodcut.) A full-face likeness of him in Bamberg is perfectly disfigured by subsequent retouching.

The best portrait of all the monks' heads is, however, "Herr Lienhard Wagner, der gut schrieber zu Sant Ulrich." The profile likeness at Berlin, in which red chalk is used and white lights are introduced in a masterly manner, and which is certainly the work of the younger Holbein, is given in our woodcut. There is a repetition of the same drawing at Copenhagen, and at Berlin there is a second study of him, taken more in front, somewhat older in appearance, and probably the work of Holbein the father. Herr Lienhard was a man

HERR LIENHARD WAGNER.

well known in the monastery. He was a famous calligrapher, evidence of whose skill is still in existence in the Augsburg library, in a psaltery of the year 1495.

In Berlin, Copenhagen, and Bernburg we find many unknown monkish heads, besides those already referred to. In Basle also, there are some excellent studies of ecclesiastics, and lastly in Bernburg we meet with a "Herr Hans Kiemlin zu Sanct Ulrich." A member of another order we find in one of the most excellent Berlin drawings, in Brother Hans Pertiz, a man with curly hair, large beard and colossal nose, full of mind and superiority. Some of the most expressive and beautiful heads are, however, to be found among those that are unknown in the Berlin Collection.

On the back of some sheets we find studies of the capitals of columns and

Renaissance ornaments, as well as of children and Roman warriors. On the back of a head of Hans Schwartz, the fall of Phaeton is sketched. In the collection of Baron von Dräxler in Vienna, and among the Copenhagen sheets, we find studies of figures and hands, and especially studies of children for Madonna pictures. A little boy standing by the side of his mother, who is holding him, appears in the cabinet of engravings in the Dresden Museum. We also find in Copenhagen the sketch of a standing figure of a little girl, who is intercepting the rays of light in a mirror; ornaments, pieces of armour, studies of animals, especially birds, and the head of a seal; also a couple of landscape sketches, evidently from nature, here a wild entrance to a wood, and there a wild mountain region, with a romantic and lofty rocky castle, and a village in the valley. Very nice and striking from its antique subject is a little drawing of Cupid and Psyche. That the two winged little ones do not represent a pair of angels is shown by a quiver at the side of the boy. Both are dressed in light attire and are embracing each other; they are shaded by a branch which he is grasping with his left hand and she with her right. The boy is looking at the maiden with great affection.

Thus we can here perceive the different branches of art which the young artist already practised, and we can cast a glance into the very atelier of his learning and his works.

CHAPTER V.

Youthful pictures executed in Augsburg.—Connection with his father.—Very early works at Augsburg and Basle.—Altar-panels of 1512.—Burgkmair's influence.—Madonna with the Lily of the Valley.—Portraits.—Votive tablet of the Schwartz family.—St. Catherine at Annaberg.—Altar of St. Sebastian.

THE portrait studies allow us plainly to perceive how thoroughly the young Hans Holbein trod in his father's footsteps. The same influence is also manifested in his paintings, side by side, however, here with a new and independent element. What determined judges such as Waagen and Passavant, before outward evidence came to their assistance, to refuse these works to the father and to ascribe them to the son, was in no wise merely that they considered them too good for the father, but Waagen asserted justly that he perceived in them a totally different expression of feeling; a feeling wholly diverse from that of the father, but according with that which meets us in the later works of the famous son.

We must nevertheless imagine that these works were ordered of the father and not of the son. The latter was never a master in Augsburg, only the apprentice of his father, and therefore could not independently have pursued a trade. From his brilliant and early progress, he may soon have reached such a point that his father may have allowed him to be tolerably independent; but we may presume that his works have nevertheless gone to the world under the name of the elder Holbein.

The oldest authentic paintings of the younger Hans Holbein belong to the year 1512. But perhaps of a still earlier date are the two altar-panels from the stores of the Augsburg Gallery, in the execution of which he seems at least to have taken part. They came from the Monastery of Oberschönefeld, for which his father had worked, and they are hastily painted in distemper, with strong black outlines. The four scenes on the outer sides,—The Virgin's and Christ's Presentation in the Temple, the Flight to Egypt, and the Visitation,—with their late Gothic framework, all evidence the father's style; but the two holy women in the inner panels, Veronica and a young royal-looking personage without designation, are quite opposed to it, and appear like a presentiment of that noble grace which marks the saints on the panels of the Sebastian altar.

In the Amerbach inventory, "eine heiligen iungen vnd iung frawen Köpflin mit patenæ," that is, a holy youth and a virgin surrounded by a halo, now in the Basle Museum, are mentioned as Holbein's first works; they also exhibit the same hard outline and are somewhat timid in expression.

A different stage of progress is exhibited in the altar-panels of the year 1512 in the Augsburg Gallery, of which we have already spoken when discussing the year of Holbein's birth. Here we are fortunate enough to gain information regarding Holbein's relation to his father and master. Two original drawings of one of the pictures representing the Death of St. Catherine have been preserved in the Basle Museum, in which however it is plainly to be seen that they are not by the hand of the son, but by that of the father, who furnished him with sketches for his compositions. But it is highly interesting to compare that which was thus given to the youth, with that which he was able to produce with it. Everything became wholly different under his hand. The sketches of the father represent two wholly different moments. In one the saint is kneeling in prayer, her countenance turned upwards, whilst the lightning, accompanied by a shower of stones, shoots down from a cloud and dashes to pieces the wheel, placed ready for her death. Five attendants of the executioner already lie stretched on the ground; a sixth, who is holding the saint by a rope, is turning back frightened, as though he would protect himself with his upraised arm. His position is constrained and distorted, somewhat like that of the apostles in the picture of the Transfiguration in the year 1502. Three spectators or judges, the foremost of whom resembles Pilate in the panel representing the Passion, are standing further off. A wall with a gate, and a distant view of a river, bridge, and hills, form the background. The etching is slightly touched with Indian ink, the mountains are blue, the ground and the trees are green. The second sheet shows us the kneeling saint by the side of the burning wheel, ready to receive her death-stroke by the sword, since a Divine dispensation had averted her former martyrdom.

Both these scenes are combined in *one* in the painting: from both of them the artist has taken his subject, remodelling them, however, anew, and giving them a dramatic effect.

The lightning has just flashed, the wheel is in flames, two executioners are dashed to pieces, and a third moustachioed official is escaping. One figure among the spectators, with a short full beard and fur-edged red coat, knows not what to say to the event; a second, in a blue mantle, is laying his hand upon his shoulder, and pointing to the saint. A youth attired in yellow, who is shielding himself with both his hands, is borrowed in idea from the executioner in the first sheet, and yet he is entirely new; nothing awkward or distorted is here to be seen in the attitude. The second sheet gives the idea of the saint herself, yet in the painting the kneeling princess is far nobler, her hands are folded, she is splendidly dressed in red, and a small cap

set with jewels is on her fair hair. But the figure that could but little have satisfied the young artist in either sheet, is that of the executioner. On the second sheet, we find him feebly delineated, uncertain in his bearing, raising the sword with both hands, like the executioners at St. Dorothea's death in the Basilica of Sta. Maria. In his stead, the young Hans Holbein has introduced an entirely different personage. It is a genuine German foot-soldier, similar to those which so often meet us in his pictures and drawings, a rough warrior, not however caricatured, but strong and sturdy. With a firm grasp his left hand is holding the saint by her neck, his right hand carries the yet unraised sword; he is awaiting the moment to strike the fatal blow.

While the inside of one folding panel was devoted to the patron saint of the monastery, the inside of the other panel depicted St. Ulrich, the patron saint of the whole city of Augsburg. It is a wonderful story which is here represented from the legends concerning him. Even in the Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists,[1] some doubts as to the genuineness of this miracle were not suppressed, but in art it plays an important part, and has procured for the saint his attribute, the fish. We see St. Ulrich sitting with St. Conrad, bishop of Constance, at a well-spread table. One Thursday evening, they had sat down to their repast, but had been indulging in such pious and edifying conversation, that they had not observed how the time had passed, and that midnight was long over. Presently a messenger arrived from the Duke of Bavaria, bringing letters for the holy Bishop of Augsburg, who presented him with a leg of goose as his messenger's fee, which was certainly not befitting the dawn of Friday, on which day fasting was prescribed. The conclusion of the story is represented by some small figures in the background. The messenger is accusing St. Ulrich to the Duke for his infringement of fasting, and as a proof has brought the *corpus delicti* given to him. Yet God does not forsake His own; just as he is about to draw it from his pocket, instead of the leg of a goose, he brings out a fish. What astonishment seizes him! His mouth stands open with alarm. Equally speaking and expressive, in spite of the small proportion of these figures, is the astonished manner and the slightly superior smile of the Duke, with which he despatches the denunciator. The Duke looks royal and stately, in his red mantle, with his fur cap and chain, and his suite behind him. The distinctness and fidelity to life with which the incident is depicted, is equally striking in the front scenes. Just as hastily as he had come, the messenger, planning treachery, is off again, scarcely venturing to look the saint in the face. But the saint fixes his eye upon him, as if he would penetrate into his innermost soul, a true man of God, whose priestly distinction rests on inner greatness and intellectual superiority.

At the same time the artist has thoroughly perceived what a pleasing touch of kindliness pervades the legend, and this he has retained in the whole

[1] 4 Juli. vol. ii. p. 87.

manner in which he depicts it. The ease with which all the subordinate parts are treated and executed is suitable to the subject: the splendid episcopal vestments, as well as the costumes of secular personages; the coloured columns with their gold capitals, which betoken the spacious apartments in which the saint resides; and all the small things belonging to the domestic arrangement,—the well-spread table, on which is the dish with the roast goose, the chandeliers with the lighted candles, the two wooden plates and knives, the wheaten bread, and the pitcher, and the half-filled glass. A little white dog is also lying on the ground, and on the letter just arrived, which the younger bishop is contemplating, the legible and accurately written address, "Dem Hayligem Sant Vlrich," is not wanting.

The Crucifixion of St. Peter is to be seen on the former reverse side of the panel. A preponderance of the terrible here lies in the subject itself, and thus Holbein approaches in the executioners nearer than elsewhere to the manner in which these scenes of martyrdom were treated in the art of the fourteenth century. With horrible truth he has represented the saint enveloped in a bluish-grey coat, bound to the stake with his head downwards, while they draw him up by the feet, and fasten the cords more tightly. One of the men, with a fat beardless countenance, rude and indifferent as a butcher's boy over his work, has the Bavarian arms on his trousers. Some of the spectators look on with malicious pleasure, others with curiosity. The most important figure in the picture is, however, the countenance of the apostle himself. The most fearful violence of physical suffering is expressed in the bald head bent downwards, with its silvery beard and compressed lips.

No more pleasing contrast to this could be afforded than the subject which once formed the outside of the other panel: namely, Anna and Maria with the Infant Christ. "S. Anna selb dritt" was the designation given to these representations. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in connection with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the worship of St. Anna assumed a prominent place. Holbein handled the subject in a truly original manner. The Infant Christ is standing on the seat between the two holy women, who are trying to teach him to walk. The grandmother is supporting his arm with her right hand, while her left hand is resting on the book on her lap, so that the place where she had stopped might not be lost.

Mary, however, whose long fair hair is adorned with a band set in jewels, is leading him by the hand. Boldly and sturdily the boy is stretching out his foot, and looking merrily at her. Deep maternal happiness animates the Virgin's beautiful countenance; at the same time, her hand is resting humbly on her bosom, as though she would say, "How am I worthy of this divine favour?" Pretty angels, most of which however are new, are holding up a green carpet behind the group. In St. Anna's book stands the inscription mentioned before, announcing the name of the donator and the age of the artist.

That Holbein should have completed such works at this half-boyish age, is a matter of astonishment. Even Raphael scarcely developed his art so early; and if we leave Lucas van Leyden out of the question, who, as we have before mentioned, was a truly marvellous child, Holbein rivals Masaccio, who likewise, at a most early age, painted the pictures for San Clementi in Rome, and died when only twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, after having opened new paths to the painting of his native country. Nothing but the immense practice which Holbein obtained from childhood in the atelier of his father, can make this conceivable. He may have handled colours and pencil as soon as he could move his hands.

The background of all four pictures is not golden, but simply green. Above, however, in each of the four paintings, luxuriant golden Renaissance ornaments are introduced: these are most rich and brilliant in the two inner pictures, where we find dolphins, horned masks, and small winged angels or Cupids, playing between plants and ornaments, or blowing cornucopiæs. Thus the spirit of the new age not only found its way into his own art, but also into the architectural ornament.

But how could Holbein have become acquainted with these elements—that of painting as well as of architecture,—he, the half-mature youth, who, we can scarcely suppose, had at this early period even crossed the Alps? The interchange with Italy, especially with Venice, which was more lively in his native city than elsewhere in Germany, may have contributed to this. Not only among the articles of commerce which came over, matters repeatedly occurred which furnished evidence of this taste; but in the collections of art which the Fuggers established, the Italian masters were specially represented. We also hear that in the Imperial city itself, Italian masters now and then appeared. Titian's visit there occurred indeed somewhat later, in the year 1530, and the wall-paintings by a Venetian hand in the bath-room of the Fuggers' house were not executed until the year 1572. That in Holbein's youth, however, artists from the South came to Augsburg, appears from the chronicles, which take no notice of art as such, but which communicate to us the fact that in the year 1500 an Italian painter, who was to sketch a stag in the town moat, was killed by it.

Augsburgers on their side, however, also went to Italy. Not only of many of the Fuggers do we read that they were sent by their father to Italy and other foreign lands with their preceptors, but young artists also were allured across the Alps. Among these was Hans Burgkmair, who exercised artistic influence upon his young countryman Holbein, although Stetten's statement that he was his uncle on the mother's side cannot be proved.

Hans Burgkmair, son of Thomas Burgkmair, who died in 1523, belongs to the first German painters of the time, and is undoubtedly, after the young

Holbein, the most important artist that Augsburg has produced. He was born about the year 1473,[1] and died in 1531;[2] he was educated under his father, and certainly experienced some influence from Albert Dürer, but even with regard to him he perfectly retained his independence. His journey to Italy, however, produced a great change in his ideas and powers. In 1508, when he must have returned, his most brilliant period begins: then appeared paintings such as St. John at Patmos, in the Munich Pinakothek, or the Crucifixion of 1509, in the Augsburg Gallery, in which, especially in Mary Magdalene's passionate appearance, in the majestic king and the bold knight, and in the saints Heinrich and Georg, who are standing under the pillar-supported dome on the outer panels, the Italian spirit entirely prevails. In splendid wall-paintiugs, of which at the present day scarcely recognizable remains are left; in the woodcuts for the "Weisskunig," and for Maximilian's triumphal procession, in which he worked together with Dürer, he gives evidence, moreover, of a rare truth and boldness in the observation of actual life. Religious subjects never truly belonged to him; he felt himself entirely in his element in delineations from court life, in knightly tournaments, in battles and camp scenes, or in bold and splendid allegories. In his earlier works he was rather forcible than beautiful, but the South cultivated in him that which most needed cultivation, namely, taste. While, however, generally the Germans and Netherlanders who travelled to Italy readily fell into over-nicety, characterlessness, and mannerism, he sacrificed nothing of his healthful German reality. His prevailing characteristic is a peculiar heaviness in the whole appearance, pervading both the fall of the drapery and the colouring. He has not the brightness of the elder Holbein; his colouring is sometimes almost heavy, yet in the way in which he places brilliant tints side by side, he exhibits rare energy. His figures never stand so feebly on their legs as the elder Holbein's do; we never find in his works that bolder attitudes lapse sometimes into distortion; Burgkmair, in spite of all his roughness, is free from the caricature and exaggeration which Holbein (the father) and German art generally in many cases could not avoid.

In all these respects the young Holbein could learn that from him which his father could not offer him, and thus we see him renouncing in ornament the degenerated Gothic, as it is almost always to be found in his father's works, and devoting himself to the new vigorous Renaissance style in which Hans Burgkmair delighted. In the certainty of execution which marks everything in Holbein's youthful works, in the good and well-drawn hands, in the occasional almost heavy brown flesh tint, differing from the bright yellowish

[1] On a portrait of himself and his wife in the Belvedere, at Vienna, he calls himself, in the year 1528, "LVI IAR ALT;" on the medal with his portrait in 1518, there is written, "Ætatis suæ; xliii."

[2] According to the "Augsburger Malerbuch."

MADONNA WITH THE LILY OF THE VALLEY.
(Ragatz.)

;int of the elder Holbein, Burgkmair's influence is evidenced. It was just ;he years immediately preceding the independent productions of the youth, n which he could lay himself open to the effect of those ideas brought by Burgkmair direct from Italy. That Burgkmair spent the next few years in Augsburg is certain; on many paintings of that date, for instance, on a small Birth of the Saviour, executed in 1511, now in the Berlin Museum,[1] he has :xpressly stated that he painted it at Augsburg. And not merely the new style did Holbein learn from him, but he imitated him also in artistic versa- ility as regards the subjects, as well as the medium of his art. He learned rom Burgkmair to enlarge his range of view according to the measure of the ime, and to represent secular subjects side by side with religious ones: inci- lents from daily life, allegories, and subjects from classic antiquity, taking him is a model in drawing for woodcuts, and in executing wall-paintings in a grand style.

Among the works of Holbein in the period immediately following, belongs he Madonna with the Lily of the Valley, shown in our woodcut, and which s in the possession of an ecclesiastic, Herr Schmitter Hug, at Ragatz. The nfluence of the Flemish paintings of Memling's school is not to be mistaken. The picture had suffered extremely, and was quite painted over, but it has been carefully restored by Herr Eigner, at Augsburg. The Holy Virgin, scarcely half life-size, and a half-length figure, appears behind a balustrade. On it there lies a pillow of a beautiful gold embroidered pattern, and here the Child is sitting, with the Virgin's arm round him, and her hand softly touching him. In his right hand is a rosary, which, in playing, he allows to drop on the balustrade; his left hand is touching the peach which his mother is holding out to him. Her hand which is holding the fruit, is seen in very difficult foreshortening, and perhaps a little too strongly so, but the attitude is graceful, and the idea is good. A study for this position of hand, but from the reverse side, is to be found in the collection of the Archduke Albert in Vienna, on a sheet, which on the one side contains the profile of a man's head, and on the other side several hands, this among others. The body of the Boy is somewhat thin, but the action manifests a certain effort after elegance. His countenance, which is too old and thoughtful, appears somewhat alien to Holbein's style; yet this is to be ascribed to the restoration of the work. But the Virgin's head is of the utmost beauty. We are already familiar with it; the features are just the same as those of the Virgin in the picture we have last discussed in the Augsburg Gallery, in which St. Anna appears. The eyes are cast down in the same soft and sweet manner, the eyebrows are just as tender, the oval of the face is as elegant, the mouth is equally enchanting; only the expression is more earnest and thoughtful, and has in it a touch of sweet melancholy. Just as in the other, the fair hair is

[1] Picture Gallery, No. 584.

falling down, and is confined by a band across the brow. Only slight circles of gold mark the halos; the rich ornament, the Virgin's jewelled brooch and the gold embroidering of the fur-edged garments, are executed with the utmost perfection. A vase with lilies of the valley is standing on the balustrade, as a symbol of the spring-like youth and innocence of the Virgin herself. Simple Renaissance architecture forms the background; above, in brown, there are two genii with other ornament. The colouring is bright; the flesh tints are brownish. No date is on it, but on the pilaster to the right there is an inscription, which in very faulty Latin orthography informs us that Johannes Holbein painted it in Augsburg. Equally remarkable is the inscription on the other pilaster, "Carpet aliquis cicius quam imitabitur" (It is easier to blame than to imitate). What naïve impudence in the young painter to write such words upon his work! A similar inscription appears again on a subsequent painting, the portrait of Erasmus at Longford Castle. What the initials in the two medallions above indicate, we know not.

If evidence as to the genuineness of this picture were necessary, it would be furnished by an interesting fact; namely, the architectural framework accords with that of two others of the artist's works. The one is the portrait of the painter Herbster, which we shall subsequently mention; it is in the possession of Mr. Baring, in London, and it bears the date of 1516: the pilasters in it, however, support a circular arch. The second, the similarity of which is complete, is in the possession of Count Casimer Lanskoronski, in Vienna; a portrait which, from its date, is the earliest likeness by Holbein's hand known to us, and shows great similarity with Herbster's portrait. It has the advantage of the Madonna picture in its faultless preservation. In consequence of this, the architecture is not dark as it is in the other, but shows the colour of white and green marble. The medallions on the frieze, placed on both sides of the genii, and which in the Ragatz painting contain four undeciphered initials, here bear the date, 1. 5. 13. On the two pilasters stands the inscription: ALS. ICH. WAR. 52. IAR. ALT. DA. HET. ICH. DIE. GESTALT. Who the personage represented is, we are not told, but that he was no unimportant individual we may infer from the fact that two copies of the work are to be found in the Ambraser Collection in Vienna. The one is the exact copy of the original, and is similar in size; the second gives the head only, but is as large as life; both belong to a later period, the work is indifferent, and they are not painted on wood, but on canvas. The inventory, which belongs to a very uncritical age, styles them portraits of Dürer by his own hand, and therefore affords us no clue. They represent a fair man with long hair and a short beard, of healthy appearance, with red cheeks, attired in a fur coat and cap, and almost entirely taken full face. We see the right hand, which is holding a roll of writing, but not the arm, which is not quite correct. Yet this is the only thing that is blameworthy; the execution otherwise ranks surprisingly high. From its life-like

conception, masterly perfection, and wonderful brilliancy in the yellowish flesh tints, the painting equals the famous portrait of Amerbach in the Basle Museum, executed in the year 1519. A red carpet lies in front on the balustrade; blue sky forms the background.

In the grand ducal picture gallery in Darmstadt there is a half-length figure, half life-size, marked with the artist's monogram of two H's, and between them the date 1515. It is not wholly free from retouching. It represents a youth with honest German features and fair hair. With all his composure and simplicity, there is something free and noble in his demeanour; and the scarlet of his attire and cap, which forms an effective contrast with the azure ground, may perhaps indicate higher descent. However splendid is the effect of the colour of this rich attire, it allows preponderating importance nevertheless to the countenance. It is the unfeigned naturalness exhibited in the whole person, which produces its effect and is the source of its beauty. The nose is prominent, the lips are well-formed and full. The eyes look straightforward without gazing at the spectator, in the manner of the present day. Thus the expression is full of thought; and yet what life is there in him in spite of all his repose!

To the same year there belongs a small Madonna marked HANS HOLBAIN 1515, which, according to Herr O. Mündler's opinion, is genuine but not very pleasing, and which he saw at Paris in the years 1845 and 1850, and not since then. It had come from Schaffhausen, and had before been in the possession of Johannes von Müller. The Madonna and Child are painted with striking care; on the other hand, the richly ornamented Renaissance architecture of the background is executed with masterly power and imagination.

Somewhat earlier, perhaps, a painting was executed which may be regarded as an interesting monument in an historical as well as in an artistic point of view; it is in good preservation, and is to be found in the possession of the banker Paul von Stetten at Augsburg, perfectly untouched. It immortalizes a remarkable event in Augsburg history, for it is a votive picture in remembrance of the execution of the Burgomaster Ulrich Schwartz, one of the most interesting personages who appeared in the Imperial city at the end of the fifteenth century. Schwartz, belonging to the guild of the carpenters, was a man of the people, who worked his way up to the highest position, and in 1469 was chosen burgomaster. In this office he obtained a firm footing. He carried out democratic reforms in the constitution of the city, and procured for the guilds and commonalty more votes in council. He gradually united the most different authorities in his own person, and acquired such a power that he not only continually effected his own re-election, but he had the choice of his colleagues entirely in his own hand, and had the wisdom to select from the patricians a companion in office neither equal to him

in understanding nor in power. It is difficult to form a true opinion respecting him; the chronicles are all organs of the patrician party, and the colouring of party feeling is not to be mistaken. They breathe hatred against Schwartz. The most important result, however, of his innovations, lasted even after his overthrow until the surrender of Augsburg to Charles V., and it was indeed a seasonable reform in favour of the people. But as upstarts ever do, he made his power felt, and came forward with a pride and presumption which exasperated the patricians almost more than all his democratic measures. He was the first who in his own family infringed the festive arrangements which restricted luxury; his own attire and his whole style were splendid. Only by strict rule could he maintain his position under such circumstances, and thus his power was often carried to excess. In 1477, chosen Burgomaster for the sixth time, he stood at the height of his power. Two patricians, the brothers Hans and Leonhard Vittel, who had unreservedly expressed themselves respecting him, were apprehended by his order and brought to trial. Although both were of excellent birth, and the former had been himself burgomaster and Imperial councillor, he ordered the sentence of death to be publicly executed upon them in the Perlach-platz. But for Schwartz also, the tables were soon turned. When Leonhard was led to the place of execution, he abused the burgomaster, who was standing at an overhanging window in the Town-hall, as a malicious thief, and prophesied that before a year was over he would be hanging on the gallows. The prophecy was fulfilled. When Schwartz became burgomaster in 1458, and the simple Hans Ohnsorge was elected as his patrician colleague, his adversaries did all they could to cause his overthrow, and contrived to obtain the assistance of the Emperor, who was infuriated at the last deed of violence. In the midst of the council on the 11th of April, the Imperial magistrate took him and his most faithful adherents prisoners, and prevented by his authority the threatening uproar of the citizens. Without delay Schwartz was put to the rack, when they extorted from him all possible confessions, and a week later, on the 18th of April, he was led to the place of execution in the costly attire which he had daily paraded, and was hung on a gallows which had been expressly ordered for him.

This votive picture, which was ordered by one of his sons,[1] cannot have been executed till long after his death. But his history was long remembered in Augsburg; four-and-twenty years afterwards, a man who was suspected of having conspired with him, was not ratified as master of the guild of carpenters. His own family may therefore have remembered him later, and have wished to restore him to honour. It is, under these circumstances, even conceivable that they would not have ventured earlier to have put up a painting of the kind.

Like the greater number of the votive pictures, this was also probably an

[1] Paul von Stetten, Kunst- und Handwerks-Geschichte, i. p. 272.

epitaph, hung up over the family vault in the church, and which united the living as well as the deceased members of a house in some sacred action. The subject of the representation is the same as that of a well-known woodcut by Ursus Graf;[1] namely, God the Father on the point of exercising severe judgment, and softened by the intercession of Christ and the Virgin. Below, the whole family are kneeling, the men on one side, the women on the other. In the front is Ulrich Schwartz himself, a figure full of character, and strong in the confidence of faith, with which he implores the everlasting Judge of life and death for forgiveness of his sins. In this supplication all his family are aiding him. Seventeen are kneeling behind him, sons and grandsons, in the various ages of manhood, youth, and boyhood. The names stand inscribed above, almost all of them: Hans, Lucas, Marx, Ulrich, Simprecht, Sebastian, Matthias, &c. Opposite are the three wives of the deceased, the foremost one being Anna, who survived him, and who was by birth a Friess; fourteen daughters follow. The arms of the three wives, as well as of the Schwartz family, are introduced on the panel. Many of those depicted are designated by a cross as dead. Black and a lively red predominate in the drapery.

Above, God the Father, in a green mantle and a dark blue garment, is enthroned on the clouds, from which countless cherubim heads look forth. The great sword with which He was about to administer justice, He has put back into the sheath, moved by the supplication of Christ and the Virgin. The former, only attired in the purple mantle in which He had once been scorned, is appealing to His wounds; the latter is laying bare her bosom which had nourished the Son of God. The words of their prayer are inscribed at their heads; over Christ is written:

"Vatter . sich . an . mein .
. wünden . rot .
Hilf . den . menschen .
. aus . aller . not .
Durch . meinen . bittern . tod ."

"Father, think on my
wounds that bleed,
And help mankind
from all their need.
Through my death I plead."

And above the Virgin:

"Her . thun . ein . dein . schwert .
. das . du . hast . erzogen .
Vnd . sich . an . die . brist .
. die . dein . sun . hat gesogen ."

[1] Passavant, 114, copied in R. Weigel's Holzschnitte berühmter Meister, No. II.

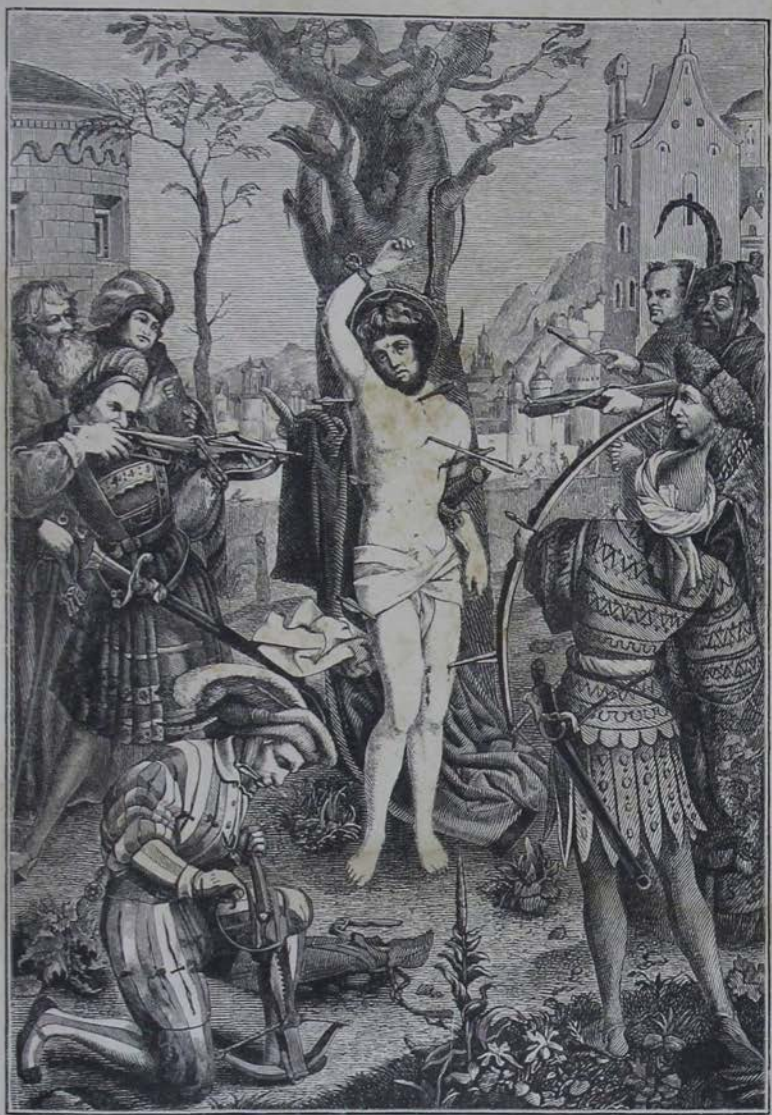
"Lord, put by Thy sword
Ere it has struck,
And think upon my breast
From which Thy Son did suck."

Then follows the answer of the Almighty:

"Barmherzigkait . will . ich . allen . den . erzaigen .
Die . da . mit . warer . rew . von . hinnen . schaiden."

"Mercy to all men will I show
Who with repentance quit the world below."

Simple as are the words themselves, equally simple is the representation, yet it is distinct, touching, and intelligible. The portraits below are conceived with grand simplicity and fidelity. How fixed and serious is the devotion exhibited in the elder figures, how full of charming and touching *naïveté* are the children's heads, how individual and yet how varied are they all! We see the same feeling and the same artistic mind displayed, which subsequently marks the kneeling family of the Burgomaster Meier in the famous Madonna picture. This alone is sufficient to prove that the author of it is not Holbein the father, as is stated in Paul von Stetten's "Kunst- und Handwerke Geschichte," and as is now asserted in Augsburg, but Holbein the son. Still more decidedly is this evidenced in the personages above. While Holbein the father would have invested these with an ideal type, and this all the more as portraiture predominated among the other forms, the countenances of God the Father, Christ, and the Virgin Mary, are here directly taken from reality. Not one is noble in form and expression, but the most original is the rudely cut head of God the Father, with the coarse features and colossal beard. The same model had served for the crucified Peter in the painting of 1512, and for a spectator in the picture of St. Sebastian, presently to be discussed, and it appears drawn in profile, among the heads designated as "unknown" in the Berlin portrait studies, and in a full-face portrait which I discovered pasted on the back of a sketch in the cabinet of engravings of the Prince of Fürstenberg, at Donauschingen. The actions also are remarkably forcible, as, for instance, the sheathing of the sword by God the Father, and the whole appearance and pathetic gestures of the Virgin. The coarse and somewhat masculine form of hand apparent throughout, even in the Holy Virgin, betrays an advanced study of nature. Indeed, compared with his pictures of 1512, the painter has here made a decided advance: the colouring is brighter, and the composition exhibits great skill, and a happy distribution of the subject; a peculiar taste for greatness and decision of idea also manifests itself. The feeling of the sixteenth century appears more and more decidedly making its way. In the hilt of the sword held by God the Father stands the monogram, an H, enclosed by a second H.



DEATH OF ST. SEBASTIAN.

(Altar of St. Sebastian, Munich Pinakothek)

But not only does the artist aim at complete realistic life, at the same time a delicate feeling for grace and beauty asserts itself in his works. This is evidenced in a youthful picture of Holbein's, which Waagen was the first to point out as such, and which is to be found in the parish church at Annaberg, in Saxony. It represents St. Catherine, life-size, with fair hair falling down over the knee, dressed splendidly and fashionably in a gold brocade petticoat, red bodice, green sleeves, and red mantle lined with yellow; pearls and jewels adorn her crown and the trimming of her attire. In her right arm is the sword, at her feet is the shattered wheel, and she is reading in a red book which she is holding with both her hands. Her features exhibit such sweet grace and gentle kindliness that here also we are reminded of the female saints in the Sebastian altar at Munich. In the landscape distance, the destruction of the wheel by the flash of lightning is depicted cursorily, and on a very small scale. On the left, the picture is terminated by a wood; and in the front, on the trunk of a tree, stands Holbein's monogram, the double H, which he usually employs, while his father was satisfied with the single initial. The complexion of St. Catherine's face is pale, the lights are whitish, the drawing is very fine and distinct, and the fall of the drapery is nobly arranged. The part, however, that does not proceed from Holbein is the kneeling family of the donator,—the man and his wife, five boys, the last in a shroud, and four girls, with a coat of arms between them. These are executed in a mechanical style; all the faces have fishes' eyes, and bent noses. This addition was evidently made at Annaberg, by order of the donator, while the panel was executed at Augsburg, where the newly established mountain city of the Saxon Erzgebirge generally obtained a great part of its artistic requirements. The altar also with its marble sculptures, which was put up in the year 1522, was made, according to the chronicles of the city, by a Master Adolf of Augsburg.

The crowning work, however, of all that Holbein produced at Augsburg, and altogether one of the most complete of the paintings which we possess from his hand, is an altar in the Munich Pinakothek, the folding panels of which have been there for a long time, but until recently they have borne the erroneous designation of Holbein the father, whilst the central picture has only lately been brought there from the Augsburg Gallery. Originally this work also seems to have been painted for the Monastery of St. Catherine; at any rate it is said to have been found there on the abolition of the monastery.

The copied extract from the monastery annals, which appears in both Waagen[1] and Passavant,[2] contains a passage referring to this painting. "Item Magdalena Imhoff hat den Sebastian den Neyen von den kunstreich Mahler Holbein, 1515, mahlen lassen, und dafür, 10 gulden geben, weiters noch

[1] Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland, ii. p. 26.
[2] Kunstblatt, 1846, p. 185.

jede Bayschwester, 2 gulden dazu; so vill ist dasselb Bildt gestandten wurde am Kreuzaltar aufgestellt im Jahr 1517, nachdem die Kirche neugebaut war." (Item Magdalena Imhoff ordered in 1515 the new picture of Sebastian of the artistic painter Holbein, and gave 10 gulden for it, and each of the other sisters 2 gulden more; this picture has cost so much, it was placed at the cross altar in the year 1517, after the church was rebuilt.)

The falsity of this extract we have before animadverted upon; but here especially the art of interpretation has been carried so far, that all that was desired has been proved. Art history has allowed itself to be long enough deceived by this forgery, although the misreading of "Bayschwester" instead of "lay Schwestern" is awkward enough. In the original the passage is as follows: "Item St. Magdalena Imhoff hat hergeben an St. Sebastian den Neyen zu dem heil Kreiz auf dem altar 3 gulden. Und die lay Schwestern 2f. Souill ist dasselb bildt gestandten od. zu teutsch dass es Kost hat." (Item Sister Magdalena Imhoff has given 3 gulden to the new St. Sebastian, for the holy cross on the altar, and the lay sisters 2 f. This is the cost of the said picture.)

Here, therefore, there stands no painter's name, and no mention is made of an artistic painter Holbein, nor of any Holbein at all, nor indeed even of painting. No date is given either for the order or for its completion. The passage does not seem at all to relate to our painter. Whoever reads it with a perfectly unbiassed mind, would never think of referring it to him. The painting of St. Sebastian could not possibly be placed "at the holy cross on the altar." It is itself an altar-panel, by the side of which there was no place for any holy cross. The sense appears far rather to be this, that the sisters ordered a figure of St. Sebastian to be added to a carved Crucifixion, an altar group, or an altar shrine, or had an older statue of the saint replaced by a new one. This agrees with the extremely small price, altogether 5 gulden. This is impossible for a painting, and the forgers therefore saw themselves obliged to heighten it in the copy. For a wooden sculpture the money was however perfectly sufficient, for carved work was at that time paid far worse than painting. That there is no mention made in the annals of the Sebastian altar must not astonish us. The nun Dominika Erhardt gathered her records from the old accounts, and was obliged to adhere to that which she found in them. When she is silent, it is because she found nothing recorded. She says indeed nothing of the altar-panels of the year 1512, which belonged to a donation of the prioress Veronica Welser.

Passavant speaks of the date 1516, which stood on the painting of St. Sebastian. It may be an error. I have not been able to find it. The dates of 1515 for the order and 1517 for its completion likewise belong only to the false annals and not to the original sources, and thus all information with regard to the time of its origin fails us, certain as this had once been

considered in art-history. Essentially, however, nothing is altered by it; the forgers seem to have hit upon the right. The rebuilding of the church of St. Catherine was urged in 1515 by the prioress Veronica Welser; it was begun in 1516 by the architect Hieronymus Imhoff and the foreman, Hans Engelberg, and was so far completed in 1517 that the altars could be placed in it. The order for the Sebastian altar was, however, evidently connected with the rebuilding of the church, just as the basilicas and other panels had been before called forth by the rebuilding of the monastery for the decoration of the cloisters and the chapter-house. In 1517, at the placing of the altar, the artist was no longer in Augsburg; he must have completed his work before 1516.

The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian forms the subject of the central picture. The disrobed saint is standing bound to a tree; his right arm is fastened above his head with ropes to the stem, his left arm is attached to a projecting branch. From the position of the arms, and the turn given to the whole body, he is placed in an attitude which calls to mind that of some resting Apollo or Bacchus in antique sculpture. This is the case also in many Italian paintings of the Saint. If the noble right arm were only somewhat lower, resting on the head itself, instead of being bound above it, and the left arm were leaning against the stem, instead of hanging down in chains, we should have an Hellenic statue before us. Can this be a mere chance accordance? The Fuggers had antique statues in their art collections. Antiques were also in the possession of Peutinger; and when originals could not be had, travelling painters had brought copies and sketches from Italy. In comparison with all that we elsewhere know of the German art of the period, this figure of St. Sebastian, especially in the upper part of the body, exhibits an understanding of form which is surprising. Holbein was the first of his whole nation who understood how to look on nature with an unfettered eye. The head also of the youth is no less beautiful, with its curly brown hair and the beard about the chin and face, framing as it were the countenance. Pain penetrates deeply both body and soul. His misery thrills through the countenance, yet the slightly parted lips repress every sound of lamentation. Sebastian is not merely suffering, he is enduring; mental power has mastered all physical pain.

All the other figures are worthy of him. How distinctly they express to us what is happening! Subsequently, it is true, the master arrives at still more entrancing action and bolder delineation of passing incidents in his compositions; here everything is more calm and sustained, but in spite of this it is genuinely dramatic. Each has his distinct part, and knows how to play it; each is at the same time a necessary member in the whole, to which these very characteristics are necessary.

With skilful arrangement the moment passed and that to come are combined in the scene depicted. Sebastian's body is already pierced with arrows. One of the murderers, attired in Oriental costume, is on the point of sending his

arrow from the bow; another with red sleeves and a green doublet is choosing his aim carefully; while the third, dressed in red, with a large beard and cap, is placing the arrow ready for a fresh shot; and the fourth, with his arrow between his teeth, is spanning the crossbow at his knee. This figure is one of the best of all, and is wonderfully conceived in the whole body and in every movement. How thoroughly the effort for power is expressed! Hard and cold unfeelingness and an habitual acquaintance with death are expressed in his features. Although the scene requires that the element of wretchedness should appear in it, the artist has sparingly used it and does not overwhelm us with it. The face of the aiming figure is half concealed by his hand and bow. The shooting figure in the fantastic attire, with bow and sabre, is entirely seen from behind. Behind him stands the officer of the Emperor Diocletian, who has ordered the sentence to be executed; he is dressed in a long fur-edged robe with golden chains of office, and looks like a cunning lawyer, who knows how to invest the crime with dignity and an appearance of right. What cold selfishness is there in the delicate well-kept countenance with its protruding under-lip! All the bystanders, however, are affected by the incident; emotion is expressed even in the indolent and fat figure to the left, but still more touched is the stout old grey-bearded man on whose shoulder the other has thrown his arm. He has the same features as those of God the Father in the votive picture of the Schwartz family. In the beardless old man with the thin silvery hair opposite, ardent sympathy has risen to lofty indignation; the near presence of authority alone restrains its outburst; he stands there with folded hands, not turning his eye from the saint.

In one of the executioners, the kneeling figure in front, the patriotic painter again amused himself in dressing him from head to foot in blue and white, the colours of the hereditary enemy of his city. This time, it was not merely the old hatred of the Bavarian neighbours which seems to have caused him to do so. The history of the city communicates to us a circumstance which we may perhaps regard as the special cause for it. At the end of the year 1515, a Bavarian standard was suddenly during the night placed in the chapel beyond the Lech Bridge. This was an insult which necessarily produced a tumult among the citizens. The diplomatic negotiations respecting it, and the expostulations with Duke William, lasted far into the year following. This event certainly did not take place without affecting the youthful painter; he was well disposed to the Imperial city, and thus he assigned a less honourable position in his picture to the hated Bavarian colours, which had been paraded so unjustly.

A modern spirit pervades the action and the figures, and a modern spirit is also expressed in the whole scenery. The feeling for landscape beauty is a feeling that only belongs to modern times, especially as regards the North, where the language of nature was unintelligible until then. Landscape painting

ST. BARBARA.

ST. ELIZABETH.

was first cultivated by the Flemish painters; the constraint of the old spirit long held it aloof in Germany; it was not until the turning-point from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century that it made its way. With the deepest feeling it was represented by Dürer, and Holbein the father also tried his skill in it. More freely and truly and with more delicate feeling the younger Holbein painted it, and in so doing scarcely remained inferior to Dürer. How splendid is the scene, and at the same time how familiar and home-like, to which he here transports us! Proudly standing on the clear broad river, a city appears with its high walls and strong towers, and churches which rise heavenward amid the houses, and a castle looking down from the mountain height. Everything wears the aspect of the German Middle Ages, but some touches of Renaissance are already emerging, here a dome and there two Doric columns, which crown a projecting story. Accessories also are introduced; in the distance we see an angler sitting, and in some very small figures we see the close of Sebastian's history, who has recovered from the arrow-shots, and is now struck to death. In the distance there rises a bold snow mountain. They are the Alps, as they may be seen in bright weather from the walls of Augsburg. Holbein may also have been nearer them, and may have wandered here and there through their valleys with pencil and sketch-book. We have indeed seen a few landscape sketches of wood and mountain among the Copenhagen sheets.

Bright sunshine is spread not merely over the beautiful and pleasant landscape, but over the whole picture. The well-painted body of the saint forms the luminous central point, standing out effectively from the red mantle hanging from the bough behind him. How powerful and harmonious is the effect of the gay and picturesque attire of the bystanders! All is energetic, warm, and transparently bright.

The masterly original sketch of the picture, an etching slightly touched with Indian ink, has been found by Waagen in the famous Florentine collection, though the author was not known. Four sheets of metallic pencil-sketches of separate parts of the painting are to be found in Copenhagen; namely, of Sebastian himself, of the aiming archer, and of the hands of several figures.

Two noble youthful female figures, St. Barbara and St. Elizabeth, occupy the inner sides of the panel. Golden crowns adorn the heads of both, for both had sprung from royal race; they wear costly rings on their fingers, and walk across the marble pavement in rich attire, like princesses of the painter's time. St. Barbara is attired in a blue dress, embroidered with gold, with an ermine border, and wide white puffed sleeves; St. Elizabeth is in a fur-edged dress, and both wear purple mantles. The heads of both are drawn from life. Ideally glorified, they yet do not renounce their portrait character. St. Barbara, the chaste virgin, is bending her head in serious and devotional

thought over the cup in her hand and the host which is hovering over it. An intimate intercourse with God and His wonders is expressed in her features. And as in her *faith* is personified, so is *love* in St. Elizabeth. Love and womanliness are the same, and thus we see in her the highest and purest image of womanliness; she is not as her companion, like a bud yet unopened, but she appears in full, rich, unfolded beauty. Innocence, however, is still diffused over her; and thus she treads lightly, with scarcely audible step, as a messenger from heaven to bring comfort and refreshment wherever it is needed. Gracefully with her right hand she is holding the flowing mantle, in which she has hidden bread, and with the left she is pouring wine into the cup of one of the three beggars who are kneeling at her feet. It is an ancient custom that these should be depicted somewhat smaller than the principal figure, to whom the greatest consideration is awarded. Otherwise, however, there is nothing antique in them; they are delineated with such true, such thorough grasping of reality, as only modern times have produced. Thus, this picture possesses, in a remarkable manner, great importance in the history of painting. In these three beggars, as the celebrated physician Professor Virchow has observed,[1] symptoms of leprosy, both in its tuberose and maculate forms, just as it appears in Norway at the present day, are depicted with the utmost fidelity, thus affording an infallible evidence of a period in which medicinal authorities are entirely lacking. In Augsburg, at that time, there were three hospitals for leprosy. The dwellers in one of these must have served the artist as models. This fact is particularly interesting in an artistic point of view, because it shows Holbein's entire devotion and consistency in his adherence to nature. The question whether a sickness, and especially such a sickness, can be at all a subject for artistic work, has been already answered by Virchow with acute understanding, while he points to the fact that it is only the fault of the prudery of our own day, when we cannot rise to such pure subjects of contemplation, drawn throughout from actual life, and that from an artistic point of view a sick man is just as fitted to help in expressing the ideas of a work of art as a ruined house or a decayed tree. Only because the deepest human misery is here depicted, is the blessing also expressed, which the saint brings into their suffering. With what true, hearty, and touching confidence does the sick youth covered with sores, to whom she is dispensing bread, look up to her. In the thin old man, whose cup she fills, whose leg is bound up, and whose whole head is covered with plaster, silent gratitude is manifested through all the pain that distorts his countenance. But the third, behind him, whose sunburnt face is so wildly overgrown with hair and beard, looks up to her with ardent enthusiasm. This is the finest head of all. In order rightly to depict this comfort in sorrow and pain, this whole fearful delineation of misery and

[1] Virchow's Archiv. für pathologische Anatomie, &c. vols. xxii. xxiii. Berlin.

THE ANNUNCIATION

sickness was also necessary: it was necessary in order to place in full light the supernatural tenderness and beauty of the saint, who was so deeply touched with pity, and who nevertheless stands as if glorified, noble, pure, and peaceful, above all the sorrow, as though she belonged not to the world. There can be nothing more beautiful than this countenance, which is so charmingly encircled with the fair hair and the exquisite veil falling over brow and shoulder, as she bends down so softly and gracefully.

Grace beams forth from her features; it beams forth from her whole figure, heightened rather by that which still remains of the Gothic bias. The hands also are executed as beautifully as the head and neck; they are well-formed, well-conceived, and the grace of their action is inimitable.

If we compare this work with all that German art has hitherto produced, this one figure ranks before all others on account of its pure beauty. The rare fact occurs here, that the general standard of the laws of beauty can be applied to a German work. Not merely *relatively* with respect to the barriers which fetter German art, with respect to that which she can create and has created,—no, *absolutely beautiful* is this figure. Forms, lines, feeling are alike perfect. At the most, quite low down in the folds, some complicated and restless touches appear, which remind us of the state of things out of which the artist has worked his way. Otherwise the drapery is full of noble excellence and refined taste, and at the same time the physical form which it envelopes is always felt.

The sight of this picture always suggests to me a comparison of Holbein's youthful work with the famous one of Raphael, the Sposalizio, a work painted by him at the same age. Both paintings are worthy to be named together. Grace in form and feeling is the prominent characteristic of both. But that in which the Italian must be superior, is apparent to all, and we need not dwell upon it. Holbein, however, with all his loveliness, is at the same time more vigorous. And if we ask in what proportion both works stand to those which preceded them or to those which were contemporaneously produced, the advance made by the young Raphael can scarcely compete with that made by Holbein.

The landscape of the central picture is continued on the side panels. The tower to the left of St. Barbara and the palace behind St. Elizabeth are parts of the building which we see at the edge of the central picture. The palace, which represents the Wartburg, has indeed a decided similarity with the Romanesque architecture brought to light on its restoration, so that Holbein must have been acquainted with a drawing of it.

The outer sides of the panel, in less good preservation, represent the Annunciation of the Virgin. The angel is floating down from the heights of heaven; he is still hovering in the air, and the impetuosity of his approach is shown in his fluttering garment, which is violently agitated. In his left

23087

hand he is holding a sceptre; his right hand is pointing gracefully upwards to the heights from which he came. The Virgin, who is kneeling at an oratory, is all attention. How devoutly she is listening! not a word does she suffer to escape her, but her eye ventures not to gaze upwards at the heavenly messenger; full of astonishment and lost in thought, she is looking straight forward. As yet she knows not what she shall think and say, and so she allows her fingers in charming embarrassment to play with the hem of her mantle, a surprisingly fine idea. Her small head, with the fair hair falling down over her shoulders, has a great family resemblance to that of St. Barbara. She looks like a younger sister of St. Barbara, for her expression and features are still more youthful than hers. As her countenance is seen more in front, it is plainly to be perceived how much the oval of the face, the broadest part of which is the line of the eyes, and the high forehead, call to mind the type of the Cologne school.

Of all the parts of the altar, these outer sides must certainly have been painted first. Here we find most remains of the earlier art; even in the fall of the drapery, which, it is true, generally exhibits style and taste, and is arranged in happy and quiet masses, but which at the bottom of the Virgin's dress somewhat fails in harmony, as her mantle is too widely extended.

The outer sides of the altar-panels generally exhibit a greater simplicity in the colouring. This is also the case here, where white and a pale yellow prevail in the drapery, which is tastefully decorated only with silver flowers and gold borders. The wings of the angels are alone distinguished by greater splendour of colour; they sparkle with deep red, yellow, and blue.

A magnificent colonnade, in the best modern Italian taste, forms the background; slender, richly ornamented columns enclose each panel, supporting a circular arch hung with festoons, and springing from a balustrade which is adorned with reliefs. The inner sides also exhibit a grand Renaissance framework; the figures stand between Corinthian pilasters which support a horizontal cornice; reliefs adorn both socle and frieze: below, fabulous sea-gods, ending in fantastic curves of water-plants; above, a vase between sphinxes, towards whom griffins are spitting out their flowery fire. Compared with Burgkmair's heaviness and exuberant excess, as in the panels of 1512, Holbein has here made a grand advance. This splendid architecture was created and devised by the artist at a period when for many years to come nothing but the Gothic prevailed in German buildings. It was not the architects, but the painters who introduced the new style in architectural matters on this side of the Alps. The architects were not able to free themselves from the Gothic system, as it was too grand and powerful, and once adopted was too constraining in all its details. Complete freedom was, however, necessary; for the mighty internal consistency of the system

admitted of no reform, no gradual adoption and cultivation of the new style. Completely to forsake and sacrifice the old, and thoroughly to adopt the new, its expressed opposite, this alone was possible. This was brought about by the arts of sculpture and painting, to the followers of which the unavoidable necessity of this step must soonest have become apparent. Thus, as they strove and studied to observe nature and to reproduce nature, they could no longer agree with the architectural principle which denies nature, disdains it and fetters it. And as they wrestled after a fresh conception of reality and felt the power of physical beauty, they could no longer have anything in common with the Gothic, in which all that is corporeal is only a necessary evil. So soon as they exhibited the human figure as they saw it in life, in its natural proportions, and in its natural movements, they had no longer scope in an architectural system which models the figure not according to the laws of its own being, but according to those of the system itself.

This work belongs to the best of all those that we possess of Holbein. There is still an element of youthfulness in the picture which peculiarly touches us from its charming *naïveté*, but manly power is linked with the childlike feeling, and in other respects this production is closely allied with the works of the next epoch in his career. When Waagen first proved that these paintings were the work of the son and not of the father, he drew attention to a subsequent drawing by the young Holbein at Basle, in which he has again produced the subject of St. Elizabeth. Also not only this, but the entire conception of the heads in the central picture perfectly accords with the portraits of Holbein's first period at Basle,—namely, those of the Burgomaster Meier and his wife, of the painter Herbster and others; the Renaissance frameworks are also exactly like the architectural borders which we meet with in the woodcuts for title-pages of the following year.

The master never ceased in his continual advance, but with every artist we can perceive a peculiar epoch of improvement; and this epoch, as regards Holbein, is concluded here. In the Sebastian altar he gives his native city a sample of his work before he quits her, and he proves that he had been trained as an artist within her walls and through her influence, and he goes forth freely and joyfully into the world. Never did he see Augsburg again, so far as we know, but the spirit which had there imbued the growing youth never left him during his life. However remotely he sojourned and wandered, he continued chained as by an invisible thread to his native city, the city of German Renaissance.

CHAPTER VI.

Removal to Basle.—Period at which this took place.—Sigmund Holbein at Berne.—His works.—His will.—Ambrosius Holbein and his works.—Hans Holbein admitted into the freedom of the city of Basle.—What Basle could offer him.—Position of Basle and character of its inhabitants.—The University and its teachers.—Book-printing.

FROM the year 1516, Holbein's activity in Basle may be traced by the dates of his paintings. Probably he was there, however, as early as the year 1515. The woodcut of a title-page bearing his name,[1] furnishes evidence of this. According to Passavant, it appeared in the small pamphlet edited by Erasmus, entitled "De Octo Orationes Partium Constructione," in 1515. I have not been able to see a copy of this edition; and as Passavant, who has made several mistakes in these things, does not quote the title accurately, a complete confirmation of the fact is yet wanting. At any rate we meet with the woodcut in the brief of Pope Leo X. to Erasmus, without a date, but with a preface dated "Pridie Calendas Januarias, anno MDXVI," *i.e.* 31st December, 1515, so that the paper must have appeared tolerably early in the year 1516. That among Holbein's metallic pencil sketches Ulrich Fugger's wife appears, whose marriage did not take place till the 28th May, 1516, seems, indeed, to render it probable that the painter resided for a longer time at Augsburg; there is, however, no actual proof of this: the lady may have been sketched while still a girl, and there is nothing in her costume to indicate especially a married woman. The inscription, which states her as such,—written in an old hand, it is true, but retouched with ink,—may have been subsequently added to it.[2]

From Joachim von Sandrart's statements, it has usually been supposed that the whole family of Holbein, both father and sons, removed from Basle to Augsburg. The statements of artist biographers that the father had educated

[1] Passavant, 103.

[2] The portraits of the Augsburg Patrician Rehling and his child, executed in 1517, are not by Holbein. Hegner has endeavoured to prove Holbein's earlier activity in Basle, from two works in the Museum there, dated 1513. Apart from the fact that their appearance at Basle does not establish the place of their origin, it is quite sure that neither proceeds from Holbein. One is a now generally acknowledged portrait by Hans Baldung Frien; the second, a drawing with three foot-soldiers, bears the monogram of Nicolaus Manuel.

his son Hans in his own art at Basle, and had inscribed him as his pupil in the guild-book there, cannot be accurately relied upon, for a special book of pupils does not exist until 1675, and in the large guild-book the pupils are only registered until 1487. But Hans Holbein, the father, in order to be able to enter a pupil, must have been himself previously inscribed by the corporation as a master, and this is not the case. In the guild-book only one Hans Holbein appears, and that is the son. Here, as in the town register, his name is mentioned at a time when we know authentically that the father had long been dead. Besides Hans, and according to time, before him, only his brother Ambrosius is mentioned in Basle. There is also no trace to be found at Basle of the father's activity as an artist. He was, it is true, and this probably in his later life, as we gather from an authentic record before mentioned, at no great distance from Basle, at Frenheim, in Alsace. But he evidently retained his residence at Augsburg, otherwise his death would certainly not have been registered in the painters' book.

The desire of the father to be independent, and the wish to avoid all competition with him, may have induced the sons to settle in another city. Perhaps they came to Basle in the travels which they, like every genuine German artisan, undertook, and remained there because the place afforded them suitable employment. That here, as we have seen,[1] they had probably kinsmen, may have been another inducement.

Moreover, another Holbein had already made his fortune in Switzerland, namely Sigmund, the uncle of Hans, who died in 1540 as an established citizen, and must have resided there earlier, for in 1509 he appears for the last time in the rate-books of Augsburg, and after the year 1512, in which his portrait was taken by his nephew Hans, no trace of him is to be found in his native city. We know nothing of the time of his birth, but as he calls himself very aged in his will of 1540, and seems not to be much more than forty in the portrait sketch, he must have been born about 1470. We possess only one authentic work by him, namely, a small Madonna painting with several angels in the Castle of Nuremberg, bearing the inscription S. HOLLBAINE, but this is so beautiful that it alone is sufficient to secure him a place in the history of German art. It bears some similarity to the picture of the Virgin by his brother in the Moritz Chapel at Nuremberg, but it far surpasses it. The Child, who is enveloped in a light veil, is full of grace. The head of the Virgin, with its oblong oval and flowing fair hair, reminds us of Flemish models, as also the harmony of the colouring, the treatment of the accessory parts,—the embroidered footstool, the vessels, the apple, and the timepiece, which are introduced, and the throne, which, in its form, belongs to the Renaissance style; only the fall of the drapery is more pure and noble in style than we see it in Flemish pictures.

[1] Cf. chap. iii.

No other work is it possible with certainty to ascribe to him, although here and there in the galleries a work is marked with his name. There are two German portraits, by different hands, in the Belvedere at Vienna, where Christian von Mechel, in arranging the collection, has named them entirely according to his fancy, and has especially aimed at having represented all the members of the Holbein family. Whether the warmly coloured and pleasing half-length portrait of a young woman, marked "Hoferin," in the London National Gallery, formerly in the Wallerstein Collection, bears with better right the name of Sigmund Holbein, it is difficult to ascertain. She wears on her head a large white handkerchief, on which a fly is resting, painted so delusively, that one almost imagines it can be driven away,—an ingenuity in painting which repeatedly appears in old anecdotes of artists, and also in one told of Hans Holbein.

We cannot trace this subsequent activity at Berne, yet it cannot have been quite unimportant, as appears from a passage in his will, a highly interesting document, preserved in the archives there. The document is as follows :—

SIGMUND HOLBEIN'S TESTAMENT.

"I, Sigmund Holbein, the painter, established citizen of Berne, declare by this testament, in order to obviate all strife and dissension which may arise in my family after my death, on account of the small property I leave behind, and which may not come to those to whom I give it, that I have made this my last will with perfect consideration, sound mind and judgment, and sound body, neither persuaded thereto by any one, nor urged to it by threat, but of my own free will, as is due to me, as to any other free citizen and vassal of the city of Berne, having possessed my property freely and without mortgage, and having accumulated and hoarded it entirely by my works. I am induced to make my will at this time from the circumstance that I am inclined to journey to Augsburg to my family, and the consideration that before my return from such journey death in some manner may have befallen me, subject as we all are to the will and providence of our gracious Lord God, and that, as I am moreover now old and full of days, death may be all the nearer to me. Hence I determine, that so far as this will is not revoked by myself, it may be entirely complied with.

"In the first place, I will and bequeath to my dear nephew Hans Holbeyn, the painter, citizen at Basle, both as my blood relation and my own race and name, as well as from the especial love I bear him and from the affinity in which he stands to me, the free gift of all my goods and property which I have and leave in the city of Berne, namely, my house, and court-yard, and the garden behind, standing in the Brunnengasse, on the sunny side, above by the Trom wall, near Görg Zimmerman, the tailor's house. The said property is free from taxes, with the exception of five pounds interest, including the commutation-capital, which I owe out of it to Herr Bernhard Tillman, treasurer of the council at Berne, for money lent. Item, my silver utensils, household furniture, colours, painter's gold and silver, implements for painting, and other things, nothing excepted, that he shall appropriate the same as my appointed heir, have it in his possession, do with it and live as with his own possession and property, unmolested by my sisters and by any one. What I have here bequeathed him, will be found noted on a separate roll, so that my cousin can better inquire after it.

"Further, however, my sister Ursula Messerschmid, at Augsburg, owes me capital which I have lent her and put out at interest, and the unpaid interest of this, which amounts to about fifty gulden. This debt, and what I elsewhere have belonging to me at Augsburg, house rubbish, and implements for my trade, whatever it be, without exception, this is to be

divided equally between my sisters and the other two,—Anna Elchinger, at St. Ursula Am Schwall,[1] and Margreth Herwart, at Esslingen; and they shall be satisfied with this, and not inquire after the rest, nor annoy my nephew Hans in any way.

"And thus I conclude this my last testimony, reserving to myself, according to custom, the right of altering it, lessening it and increasing it, wholly reversing it and appointing it otherwise, so long as I am in the possession of my senses and my understanding. And as my last will is found, it shall be followed out, and observed in all points, and all danger and cunning shall be avoided by virtue of this document.

"The witnesses thereto were the cautious, good, and wise Bernhard Tillman, treasurer of the council, Anthony Noll, member of the council, and Hans Adams, the tailor, citizen of Berne. And for the true authentication of all this, I, Sigmund Holbeyn, the testator, have requested my dear master, the afore-mentioned Bernhard Tillman, publicly to place to it his own seal for me and mine. Upon which, I, the same Bernhard Tillman, whom he names in his bequest, declare my presence at the transaction, and seal the testament with my seal within and without. Yet no injury shall accrue therefrom to me and my heirs. Done sixth of September, 1540."

That the death of the testator followed soon after the drawing-up of the testament, is shown by the following notice from the Raths-manual of the city of Berne, under the eighteenth of November of the following year: "To write to Augsburg and Basle, that Sigmund Holbein is dead, leaving behind him a testament, in which he bequeaths sundry things to several people in these cities, and to mention to the same, that if they would apply for it, and send an authorized agent for it, on the Sunday after Twelfth-day, the will should be given to them."—Here follows the confirmation of the testament:—

"I, Hans Franz Nägelz, mayor of the city of Berne, do hereby announce that this day, in presence of the councillors whose names follow below, the honourable and wise Franz Schmid, citizen of Basle, came to me, and laid before me a procuracy and a letter from Elsbeth, the wife of Master Hans Holbein, the painter, citizen of Basle, and also a letter from the burgomaster and council of the town of Basle, and thereafter by the help of his legal advocate has informed me, that as Master Sigmund Holbein the painter had died here, and had left behind a testament, which is in the hand of Master Hans Adam, the tailor, he desired that this should be produced, read, and declared valid, and as such recorded in the testament register of the city. Upon which, the afore-mentioned testament was produced by Hans Adam, read aloud, and acknowledged valid, according to legal manner, because the said Sigmund Holbein had been under the protection of the city of Berne, and hence enjoyed the freedom which belonged to the city, and thus his testament is valid in law, and is to be carried out, and inscribed in the city register. The above-named Franz Schmid desired to receive a record of this verdict. This is acknowledged under my, the above-mentioned mayor's, seal of office; and the gentlemen of the council who have expressed their opinion on the matter, are the noble, good, and prudent Hans Jacob von Wattenwil, former mayor, Sulpitius Haller, treasurer, Peter Nuttag, Anthony Noll, Peter von Werd, Chrispinus Vischer, Nicolaus Schwungharn, Matthäus Knecht, and Hans Kichtz. Monday, the tenth of January, 1541."

In this testament, beside the nephew Hans, no other nephew is mentioned. This seems to indicate that Ambrosius was at that time no longer alive. He only once appears authentically in Basle. In the redbook of the guild, "zum

[1] Am Schwall is a street at Augsburg, in which, on an arm of the Lech, the church of St. Ulrich stands.

Himmel," to which the bakers, saddlers, and barbers belonged, the following stands recorded: "Item Ambrosius Holbein, painter from Augsburg, was admitted into the guild on St. Matthias Day in the xvii. year;" that is, on the 24th February, 1517. Soon after he must have gone away, or more probably have died. There was an order of the council issued in 1487, according to which each man who entered a guild was obliged upon oath to purchase the freedom of the city within a month, "without any opposition or contradiction." Ambrosius, however, did not comply with this regulation. His name is not to be found in the list of the newly-received citizens. Upon his works also, no other dates but 1517 and 1518 are to be found. These dates are to be seen on metallic pencil-sketches in the Basle Museum, executed just like similar works by the brother, only by far softer; the first date is on the head of a youth in a hat, the second is on one of two female heads, a child-like and round countenance on which stands the name of "Annl." A fine and charming conception in portraiture is exhibited also in two small portraits with a simple stone framework, which appear in the Amerbach inventory as "two little boys in yellow dress." Besides these the Basle Museum has two small pictures by him, namely, two death's heads behind a trellised window, which were first named by Remigius Fesch as the work of Ambrosius, and which indeed accord in the framework as well as in the execution with the other pictures; and, lastly, there is a Suffering Saviour, sitting with His legs crossed and His hands clasped together, after Dürer's well-known title-page to the great Passion woodcuts. Instead, however, of sitting on the stone and before a mocking soldier, He is seated on clouds; above appears God the Father distributing blessing, in a glory of cherubim-heads, and numerous angels, with instruments of torture, people the heaven. This is not quite an intelligible reproduction of his great model, and the treatment with all its care is somewhat deficient in power; the colouring is not devoid of the decision and depth seen in pictures by his brother.

In the Belvedere at Vienna, a picture is ascribed to Ambrosius, but this also has arisen from an unauthorized denomination of Mechel's. A genuine picture, bearing a monogram formed of A. and H. intertwined, is in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich; it represents Potiphar's wife sitting on her bed, and endeavouring to seduce Joseph. It is pretty though insignificant; the action of the woman is not wholly understood, but it is deep and warm in colouring. We can appreciate the artist best, especially as regards the imaginative part of his works, in the woodcuts from his drawings, which we shall presently mention when we are discussing similar works by Hans.

At this place we must, however, mention another group of pictures in the Basle Museum, grand representations from the Passion on canvas, thus probably painted as procession standards or for other passing ecclesiastical decorations. The two most excellent of these pictures, the Scourging of

Christ and the Last Supper, are mentioned in the Amerbach inventory as youthful works by Hans Holbein; the three others—Christ on the Mount of Olives, the Betrayal, Christ before Pilate—are subsequent acquisitions, made under the name of Holbein the father. In style and execution, they have nothing to do with the latter; they belong with the two first mentioned to *one* group, and are only less able in their execution and also in less good preservation, because they have not been entirely finished by the same hand. Some types of head alone recall to mind those of Holbein the father, but the composition, action, and style belong to an artist who is not standing on the threshold of the sixteenth century. In both Scourgings of Christ we see the most regardless delineation of all that is terrible, but at the same time also an especial ability in depicting the most extreme and violent passions. The Saviour fastened to the column, covered all over with marks of blood, seems starting with pain under the blows of the three rough men, and is violently pressing His left leg over the right. Equally forcible, but not so revolting, is the Last Supper. The scenery is formed by a colonnade in the Renaissance style, in the background of which the washing of the feet may be seen. The Saviour's countenance is somewhat vague in expression, and St. John is lying very awkwardly on His bosom. All the more important are the other apostles, manifold as they are in expression; some are thoughtful, others talking eagerly together, others loudly asserting their innocence. Judas, in a yellow garment, has jumped up to take the sop which Christ is handing to him from the dish. His overwhelming consciousness of guilt could not be more speakingly expressed. St. Peter, however, who is sitting opposite, has placed his two clenched hands on the table, and is looking at him as though he were thinking, "Would I had you, and you should feel it." Great ability for dramatic representation is here exhibited, but the composition suffers somewhat from overcrowding. The way of handling the brush, although unequal, is in many parts bold and free, but the colouring is less delicately balanced than in the works of Hans Holbein the younger; the combination of glaring yellow, dull red, and dirty blue not producing an agreeable effect.

In these works, especially in the two more accurately described, many characteristics meet us which remind us directly of Hans Holbein the younger; others, however, stand in contrast to him, and are in opposition to the perfection and taste which we have already perceived in the paintings of his Augsburg period. We must not, therefore, exclusively credit the statements of the Amerbach inventory, in which various errors have already appeared. One thing is certain respecting these works, and this is, their origin in the Holbein family. Many characteristics remind us also of Ambrosius, especially the somewhat dull tone of colouring and the architecture in the Last Supper, the Renaissance style of which appears just as in title-pages after his drawings.

We may therefore regard these works probably as productions of the common Holbein atelier, in which both brothers, and perhaps other assistants, took part. In his earlier period, then, the younger brother Hans cannot have come to Basle otherwise than as a worker in his elder brother's atelier, for he alone belonged to the guild, and it was not till three years afterwards that Hans was admitted.

On the 3rd of July, 1520, Hans was invested with the freedom of the city of Basle. "Item, Tuesday before St. Ulrich's day, Hans Holbein from Augsburg, painter, has received the right of citizenship, and has sworn in the usual form." Such is the authentic document. Not long after, on the 23rd of September of the same year, he was admitted into the guild "zum Himmel." This is stated in the passage in the guild-book: "Item es hat die zunfft Empffangen Hans Holbein der moller uff Suntag vor sant Michels dag im xvcxx jor vnd hat geschworn der zunfft ordnung zu halten wie ein ander zunfft bruder der moller." (Item, Hans Holbein the painter has been received into the guild, on Sunday before St. Michael's day, 23rd September, in the year 1520, and has sworn to preserve the statutes of the guild like every other guild brother of the painters.) His arms, quickly and ably executed by his own hand, are preserved in the guild chamber. They are a bull's head on a yellow ground, with a red star over it; "Hans Holbein the painter" is inscribed above. That the other members of the guild early showed honour and confidence to the highly gifted artist, appears from a fact related. Some months before his admission into the guild, on the 25th of July, 1520, he was elected chamber master of it, as we find in another book belonging to the guild, "the treasurer's account." There may have been simply some formal grounds which yet delayed his definitive reception; perhaps at the moment it was inconvenient for him to pay the fee of one pound and three shillings. As, however, he had entered the list of citizens, and thus was sure of the guild, there was no hesitation, when the yearly election of treasurer and chamber master occurred, in appointing him to one of the offices.

What could have induced Holbein the Augsburger to settle in Basle, sprung as he was from a city which in wealth, culture, and art, in his day stood alone in the whole German empire, and which moreover had been so important and decisive for himself and the development of his art? I believe that which distinguished Basle at that time was, that, formally separated from Germany, it shared with it character, culture, and tendency of mind, but it had no part in its political misery. It knew how to combine the good of Germany with that of Switzerland. This had given the city what Germany could not give to hers; namely, freedom, that healthy atmosphere of life in which everything in Basle gladly breathes and thrives.

It was said by the people that it was not easy to find a house in Basle in

which there was not a learned man. But one thing was especially grand and beautiful: Basle preserved her spirit of freedom even in scientific matters. To those who were driven away elsewhere in Germany it became an asylum, just as we still see in the Swiss universities.

And as in Basle itself, so also in the neighbouring cities, with which she was in constant intercourse, were the sciences cultivated. At Freiburg, in the Breisgau, there lived Ulrich Zasius; born at Constance, he was first notary, and then city recorder and rector of the Latin school, and in 1500 was professor of the University, ranking high as a jurist, while at the same time he zealously carried on his classical studies. He taught both law and classics, and as a teacher was especially distinguished. Erasmus called him the only German who understood how to speak and to write. In Schlettstadt there was a learned school founded in 1450, which, under Dringenberg's direction, produced extraordinary results. Here, as in Strasburg, there were learned societies, established by Wimpfeling, who, from the gentle and loving manner in which he pursued his studies and made them accessible to the public, obtained great influence in the whole of the Upper Rhine districts. In Basle itself, the Rhenish Society, with Beatus Rhenanus at its head, stood in decided opposition to the clergy and scholastics, the Sophist party as they were called; and this humanistic spirit soon found a more decided support and an important centre, when the great Erasmus took up his abode there.

Equally important, however, as its university, was the trade of book-printing, for the carrying on of which Basle was at that time a principal place, although perhaps not *the* principal place within the range of the German language. In this especially Basle shows her greatness, that she cultivated that branch of industry which is the most important element in the revival of human culture. It was also an evidence of true understanding in the citizens and town council, that they endeavoured to promote the art of book-printing and permitted printers to be admitted into all guilds. Bernhard Richel set up the first printing-press there, and the first printed book bears the date of 1474. The first paper-mill in Germany was also established there.

While we have regarded the spirit of freedom that prevailed in Basle as the general reason for Holbein's attraction to the city, we may look upon the immense trade of printing as the especial reason for it. The earliest Basle printers possessed one thing in common: they combined a pure taste for art with a scientific interest based on solid culture. Cratander, Johann Petri von Langendorf, Johannes Amerbach, and especially Johannes Frobenius, were especially great in this way. They stood in connection with the most distinguished scholars, who gave them their works to publish, and undertook for them the correction of the newly edited classic authors. At the same time, these publishers took care that their works should be beautifully finished, and in this another art took part, as the books, especially the title-

pages, were adorned with woodcuts. Earnest love for the work was far more prominent with them than any striving after material gain, which in Froben's case, for example, was very small. Noble zeal and devotion were applied to the perfecting of their art, "and thus," as Johannes von Müller[1] says, "they deserve greater fame than many great statesmen and conquerors, whose cunning and success have thrown the world into confusion, and have brought a part of the human race into unutterable woe."

The attraction that kept Hans and Ambrosius Holbein in Basle after they had once entered the city, was certainly, to a great extent, nothing else than the favourable opportunity of finding easy and certain gain in working for publishers. Here there was none of the competition which had made similar employment difficult to obtain at Augsburg, where, with many others, Hans Burgkmair and Hans Scheuffelein made drawings for grand woodcuts, even at Imperial order.

Immediately after their arrival they began these works, in which we shall find one of the most important branches of their artistic activity.

[1] See p. 353.

CHAPTER VII.

Holbein in Basle and Lucerne.—The schoolmaster's signboard.—Portraits of the Meier couple.—Portrait of Herbster.—Traces of Holbein in other parts of Switzerland.—The lost table in Zürich.—Painting of the house of Hertenstein at Lucerne.—Historical representations, and subjects chosen from antiquity.—A journey to Upper Italy doubtful. —Influence of Mantegna and Leonardo.—The Last Supper at Basle.—A doubtful work : the Fountain of Life at Lisbon.

AMONG Holbein's earliest paintings at Basle, a work appears which evidences, in the most distinct manner, how thoroughly united art and handicraft were at that time. Holbein, who shortly before had completed in Augsburg a work of the first rank in the altar of St. Sebastian, was here called upon to paint the sign-board of a schoolmaster, of no great importance and of no higher value than the sign-boards to be seen at the present day in our streets.

" Wer Jemandt hie der gern welt lernen dütsch schriben vnd läsen vsdem aller kürtzisten grundt den Jeman erdenken kan do durch ein Jeder der vor nit ein büchstaben kan, der mag kürtzlich vnd bald begriffen ein grundt do durch er mag von jm selbs lernen sin schuld vff schriben vnd läsen vnd wer es nit gelernen ban so ungeschickt were den wil ich um nüt vnd vergeben gelert haben vund gantz nüt von jm zu lon nemmen er sig wer er well burger oder hantwercks gesellen frouwen vnd junckfrouwen wer sin bedarff der kumm har jn, der wirt drüwlich gelert umm ein zimlichen lon. Aber die jungen knaben vnd meitlin noch den fronuasten, wie gewonheit ist, 1516."

(Whoever wishes to learn to read and write German in the shortest time conceivable, so that any one who does not know a letter before may shortly be able to acquire means by which he may thereafter continue to learn by himself and to write what he needs and to read; and whoever is so awkward that he cannot learn, I shall have taught him for nothing and will take no pay from him, be he who he may, citizen or artisan, woman or girl. Whoever needs learning let him come here, and he shall be taught for a tolerable payment. But the young boys and girls at the beginning of each quarter of the year, as is usual. 1516.)

So runs the inscription, which is repeated, only with slight orthographical differences, on the reverse side, which is now removed. Naïve as the words themselves is the appearance of the pictures, which are on each side under the

invitation in a narrow strip. It is as though they were intended to confirm the words. In both pictures we are introduced to the school-room. In the first picture we see the schoolmaster at his desk, on the left, instilling the A B C into a small boy, with the rod in his hand at the same time, ready when occasion offers; two other boys are sitting with their books on a bench, and at a small desk opposite is the schoolmaster's wife, who is instructing a little girl. Like the children in this picture, the opposite one represents the adults in the school, two great youths, who are scarcely accustomed to sit still so long. The teacher is instructing them in writing, and is obliged to use all his energy to make them understand to some extent the difficult art. These scenes are depicted merrily, boldly, and with great humour. Hastily dashed off as the painting is, it shows everywhere the bold character of Holbein's hand. When he painted this, Holbein certainly never imagined that the city of Basle would keep it in its museum for centuries, among other evidences of his art and his fame.

That at the same time he received other commissions, can be also seen in the Berlin Museum. Holbein was allowed to take the portrait of the most important personage in the whole city, the newly-elected burgomaster and his wife. This burgomaster was Jacob Meier, surnamed "zum Hasen," from his house, to distinguish him from others of the same name; he is the Jacob Meier who subsequently ordered him to paint the famous Madonna picture; the name of his wife was Anna Tschekapürlin. The painter's early and lasting acquaintance with this man must have certainly been serviceable to him. Jacob Meier plays an important part in the history of the city. Until the year 1516 master of the guild, "zum Hansgenossen," he was then elected as the first burgomaster from the commonalty, the highest office of the city having hitherto been held only by persons of knightly birth. Every other year from this time he was elected, for the same man might not hold the highest office for two years in succession; and as his election was the fruit of great innovations in the municipal government, so the most important changes in the constitution mark his official rule. It was under him that five years later the bishop and nobles were deprived of all their former privileges, that it was decreed that no oath was henceforth to be taken to any bishop, that he was not to fill the post of councillor, and that none of his liegemen were to be suffered in the council. Thus the most important historical change in the city was accomplished without external disorder. A man who was elected at such a time, and thus carried out his task, cannot have been without importance. His countenance, as Holbein has preserved it to us, is pervaded by an air of superiority, and exhibits an energy kept in check by moderation and judgment. The scarcely parted lips are especially beautiful and full of life. He is holding a piece of money in his left hand; perhaps this may only be intended as a mark of his opulence, but it may also possess special historical importance. On

THE BURGOMASTER JACOB MEIER ZUM HASEN.
(Basle.)

the 10th January, 1516, the Emperor Maximilian issued from Augsburg a charter to the people of Basle for the mintage of gold coins.[1] The right hand was not painted until later. We may still perceive in the original picture the outline of the hand as Holbein painted it. The monogram and date, 1516, are introduced in the Renaissance architecture of the back-

WIFE OF THE BURGOMASTER MEIER. (Basle.)

ground. The corresponding picture is enclosed with this in one common frame.

The delicate features of the young wife—who, like her husband, is seen at almost three-quarters face—are pervaded by a certain embarrassment, a reserved and childlike expression, which invest her with a peculiar charm and a thoroughly German character. The woodcut is one of the worst in the whole book, and almost contradicts the description. We advise our readers to look at Braun's excellent photograph instead. She is attired in a red dress trimmed with black, and the delicate care which marks the whole execution

[1] Ochs, v. p. 314.

is shown especially in the embroidering of her dress. The man wears a black coat and a red cap. The bright and somewhat brownish flesh tints, and the blue atmosphere which forms the background behind the architecture, increase the decided effect of the colouring. The clever studies in metallic pencil belonging to both pictures, are also in the Basle Museum. The delicate execution of Meier's curly hair is unsurpassable. On both drawings there are manuscript notices respecting the colours. This at once affords us information with regard to Holbein's mode of work, information which is confirmed by the portraits of his English period, and even by an authentic record. He certainly never tormented the people whom he painted with long sittings, but depicted them accurately in his sketches, so that, aided by his remarkable memory of form, he could execute the paintings for the most part from these studies.

To the same year belongs the masterly portrait of the Basle painter, Hans Herbster, in Mr. Thomas Baring's collection in London. It represents a stately, original-looking man, with long hair and a great brown beard, dressed in a dark smock frock and a red cap. An architectural framework, pillars supporting a semicircular arch, and columns upon which little genii with hanging garlands are sitting, surround the picture. The name of the individual represented stands below, with the addition "Oporini pater," alluding to his son, the famous Basle publisher Oporinus, who has thus Latinised his name. On a votive tablet in the pendentive stands the date; the corresponding tablet, which may have contained the name of the painter, is effaced. A portrait of a youth of twenty years of age, with the initials G. E. on his cap, and painted, according to inscription, in 1518, accords with this work in its whole execution, as well as in the Renaissance framework; it is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and has been described by Dr. Waagen. There is a painting of 1517 in the Basle Museum, half-length portraits of Adam and Eve, ably painted after nature, and brownish in colour. Adam's head is striking from the great moustachios.

The great interval which occurs between Holbein's first appearance in Basle, and his admittance into the guild and privileges, is partly explained by his absence from Basle, and by his wanderings and works in other places. We are almost entirely without information on the matter, but it corresponds with all we know of the custom and habit of the German painters of that day, if we regard it as probable that at this time he led a kind of wandering life. It was a custom for painters and for every other artisan, after the completion of his apprenticeship, to set out upon his travels, to obtain work here and there, and thus to see the world and to return rich with impressions. Hegner mentions paintings in Courtrai, Zürich, Altorf, and Berne, which make it probable that Holbein may have lived and worked at these places.

Most of these, however, erroneously bear the name of our artist. In Zürich alone there was formerly a work in the town library which, to all appearance, must have been executed by him, but even in Hegner's time it had disappeared. Joachim von Sandrart[1] describes it thus: "In particular, there is a large table which is worthy of inspection, entirely painted by our Hans Holbein the younger, on which, in artistic oil colours, he has represented the so-called Sanct (Nobody) sitting sadly on a broken tub, his mouth fastened up with a great lock. Around him, torn old books are lying, earthen and metal vessels, glass pans, dishes, and various other utensils, but all broken and destroyed. An open letter on which Holbein's name stands, is so naturally represented, that many people have seized it by mistake, thinking it a real one. The rest of this table is ornamented with various hunting scenes and foliage." Less detailed is Patin's description: "A square table, about five spans broad, on which are depicted dancing, fishing, hunting, fish-spearing, represented for the most part playfully."

Holbein's residence at Lucerne is alone really to be proved. In the Gesellschaftsbuch of the brotherhood of St. Lucas there, he is mentioned among the painters admitted, but unfortunately without any statement of the year: "Meister Hanns Holbein het j. gulden gen." (Master Hans Holbein has given one gulden.) Patin mentions numerous church paintings of Holbein's at Lucerne, one alone of which, however, is now to be seen, namely, the Mourning over the Body of Christ on His Descent from the Cross; it was formerly in the church of the barefooted friars, but it is now in private possession[2] at Basle, and the picture is certainly *not* by Holbein, but by Hans Baldung Grien. A drawing, however, of Holbein's in the Basle Museum points to Lucerne, namely, a Virgin and Child, probably the sketch for a picture with a landscape in the background, which is unmistakeably taken from Lucerne, and depicts a city standing on the shore of a lake, with the well-known covered bridge, with walls and towers, and crowned with heights.

One work the artist completed there, which without doubt belongs to the most important which he has produced so far as we can judge, although it also has perished, not by the hand of time, but by that of barbarism, which destroys more than time. Holbein decorated the newly-built house of the Mayor Jacob von Hertenstein,[3] a man well known in the history of the city, with wall-paintings, within and without. The family of Hertenstein is one of the oldest in Switzerland. His ancestral castle stood near Weggis, on a steep rock on the shore of the lake of the Four Cantons, and thus gave rise to their name. They had ever been the friends of the confederates, and their citizen-

[1] Teutsche Akademie, vol. ii. p. 80; Zürich.

[2] Herr Kellermann, the heir of Herr Maglin, in whose collection the picture was formerly.

[3] Not Hartenstein, as we see it written since Hegner's work appeared.

ship dated from 1370. Jacob von Hertenstein, the founder of this house, was the son of the Mayor Caspar von Hertenstein, who led the rear-guard at the battle of Murten; he was himself mayor in the year 1515, and in the same year commanded the men of Lucerne in the battle of Marignano.[1] The house was in good preservation until the year 1824; in this year, however, it was pulled down in order to make room for a new building. An art-loving officer, Colonel May von Büren, in order to preserve at least some remembrance of this most magnificent monument of the city, had some drawings rapidly made from the paintings, and entered into correspondence with Usteri and Ulrich Hegner, to arrange about a publication of them. The publication never came to anything, probably because the copies were very inadequate. Colonel May presented them at length, on the 23rd June, 1851, to the Lucerne town library.

It was Herr Knörr, the greatest banker of the city, who committed this outrage; but still more blameworthy than the private man who commits the act, is the town itself which allowed such an act to take place, and does not use every means to save such a common treasure. Usteri expresses himself very plainly but very truly on the matter in a letter of the 20th April, 1825: "If this house had not gained a celebrity by this copying of the paintings, probably no inhabitant of Lucerne would have gone there to examine them, but they would have been torn down and demolished, just as one would tear down and demolish a pigsty, without taking notice of it."

A similar lot has befallen everything which Holbein has produced in wall-painting, a branch of art in which he was so especially gifted. We must not, however, imagine that in Germany at that time, the position held by wall-painting was similar to that which it enjoyed at the same period in Italy and at the present day with us. The German artists of past times did not regard such commissions as "monumental tasks," the highest that could be offered to them. In no other branch of art did they employ so much mechanical assistance; they were works merely designed to fulfil a decorative object. They were not particularly esteemed nor particularly well-paid. The public opinion respecting them appears most plainly from a subsequent letter of the Basle Council (dated 1538) to Holbein, in which he was told that his art and his work were worth far more than that they should be lavished on old walls and houses. The old masters never expended much care on these works, whether they were to be applied to the interior or exterior of buildings. When Dürer had to paint the triumphal car in the Town-hall at Nuremberg, he left the whole thing to be executed by his pupils.[2] Holbein neverthe-

[1] Kasimir Pfyffer, Geschichte der Stadt und des Cantons Luzern; Zurich, 1850. V. Balthasar, Historische, Topographische, und Oekonomische Merkwürdigkeiten des Cantons Luzern; 1785.

[2] The woodcuts, by Andreani of Mantegna, belong to the end of the sixteenth century.

less shows himself even in this animated by modern feeling, and approaches nearer to the masters of the South, for he conceived wall-painting in a totally different manner to that which was usual in his native country.

What disjointed, scanty, and doubtful remains are the copies from which we have with difficulty to spell out the tokens of the former splendour and beauty of these works! We can only form a judgment as to idea, composition, and general arrangement.

Highly interesting, however, are the choice of the subjects themselves, which belong partly to classic antiquity. The façade, irregularly built and in no way distinguished, was used by the artist for the display of a brilliant carpet of pictures.

In such a painted façade, splendour of representation must be the one thing aimed at; this demand was met by scenes from secular history, by proud pageants, and by a bold display of ornament and arms, which in the contest of the children was combined with an element of light and graceful humour. All that existed of the wall-paintings of the interior at the demolition of the house—much had before perished through alterations in the building—may be divided into two parts; in the first place, religious pictures, and in the second, scenes from ordinary life or of extravagant humour. The former were to be found in an apartment which had probably formerly been the domestic chapel. In a beautiful landscape scene the so-called "fourteen saints," surrounding the Infant Christ, are appearing to a shepherd, who is conceived in highly realistic manner, kneeling in faithful devotion and sudden amazement. The adoration of the fourteen saints rests on no ecclesiastical appointment, but on a predilection of the people, and is connected especially with the beautifully situated church of the "Vierzehnheilige," in the neighbourhood of Bamberg, well known to travellers at the present day. The fourteen saints are said to have appeared to a shepherd there in the year 1445, just as they are seen in Holbein's picture. The Abbot John von Langheim upon this ordered a chapel to be built to them, and Pope Nicolas V. subsequently conceded to the desire of the people for pilgrimages and connected privileges and indulgences with this spot, although the Catholic writers of the sixteenth century speak of the whole matter as a famous idolatry.[1]

A second painting contains the family of the donator, husband, wife, a youth and two boys, who are kneeling before seven saints,—St. Sebastian, St. Rochus, Peter Martyr, St. Hieronymus, St. Leodegarius, the patron saint of Lucerne, St. Benedictus, and the patron of the church, St. Mauritius. A third

[1] G. Bruschii Chronologia monasteriorum Germaniæ; Salzbach, 1582, p. 284: "Sub ejus [the Abbot Friedrich Heuglin] gubernatione cœpit anno Domini 1445, celebre Idolion 14 Auxiliatorum in monte Staffelsteino prope Frankhentalense Abbatis Lankheimensis prædium, quod privilegiatum ac indulgentiis donatum est a Pontifice Max. Nicolao V."—Roppelt, Topographische Beschreibung des Hochstifts; Bamberg, 1800, i. p. 374.

depicts the fragment of a procession, which is coming from a town situated in a mountainous district.

A large hall, which at the time of the destruction was wholly in its original condition, contained several hunting scenes; in the landscape background, a picturesque castle situated on a lake frequently occurs, probably the Hertenstein castle. By the side of the chimney, the favourite representation of the fountain of rejuvenescence was introduced. This is a subject frequently attempted by German painters. The most popular of all these attempts is a picture by Lucas Cranach, in the Berlin Museum, one of the best specimens of his art which we possess. We must here concede to Lucas Cranach, who usually ranks so far below Holbein, that his picture is scarcely placed in the shade by the work of this same Holbein. The lascivious humour, affecting to be innocent and yet not disdaining mirth, better suits the Saxon court painter. It appears charmingly in Cranach's work, and we cannot see it without always receiving fresh pleasure from it, as in the great basin, over which Venus and Cupid are standing as statues, the old beggar-women, the further they come from left to right, become even more and more youthful, then as modestly as possible step out again *in naturalibus*, are received by gallant knights and slip into the tent for their toilet, to abandon themselves afterwards afresh to all the joys of this world, to feast with cavaliers at the well-spread board, to dance on the meadows and to escape with the gentlemen behind the thicket.

In Holbein's picture, in comparison with this, no such merry droll playfulness prevails, but a more solid and coarser humour. The most noted of all the fountains of health is not reserved by Holbein for the fair sex alone. Men and women are sitting side by side in it, some still old, others already made young. In the centre of the round basin stands a pillar, the weathercock on which is adorned by the arms of the Mayor von Hertenstein, joined with those of his fourth wife, through whom he had received the water of rejuvenescence. Numerous old people of both sexes are coming up on all sides, driving in carts, carried on backs, or riding on donkeys. The most charming of all is an ugly old woman in a basket carried on the back of a man having in her arms a dog equally ugly, that the good beast may join in the same bath of rejuvenescence as herself. Another painting stands in relation to this one, depicting a cart with four horses which is dragging along another old man and woman to the miraculous spring; a lame man has got on behind, and a second is limping wearily on after it. War scenes, ornaments and the like in other rooms—there are altogether five apartments with paintings more or less in a state of preservation—were only to be found in fragments, so that no copies of them could be taken. Once under the Hertenstein arms appeared the date 1517, which may refer to the period at which the pictures were executed, or at any rate to the building of the house.

An original sketch is only to be found of one of the façade paintings, namely, Leæna before the Judges; it is in the Basle Museum. A fragment is also left of Lucretia's hand with the dagger and of Tarquinius Collatinus, who is standing before her, besides some architecture in the background. These remains are built into the stable-wall of Herr Knörr's house. Tarquin's head has grown darker, but it is otherwise in good preservation, and at any rate it furnishes us with a slight evidence of Holbein's broad and vigorous touches. Hence it is of great value, however insignificant it may appear in itself, and its safe and lasting preservation were much to be desired.

Twice in Lucerne, we find portraits of the Mayor Jacob von Hertenstein; there is a small one in the Library and a large one in the Town-hall. They are later copies, but with tolerable certainty we can see in them that a Holbein picture was their original. In Hegner's time an original was still in existence; it has now disappeared.

It has been much disputed whether Holbein went to Italy or not. We must relinquish the hope of seeing this question really decided. That he was influenced by Italian art is an established fact, but we know not whether he received this influence on Italian soil, or whether his acquaintance with Italian works in his own home was sufficient to produce it.

Carl von Mander expressly declares that "Hans Holbein never travelled to Italy." But this does not render a visit of the master to the other side of the Alps entirely improbable. We know how far we may rely on Mander as an authority, and assertions that something did not happen are always to be received with greater precaution than statements of a positive character. All that Mander can actually have known, and which essentially guided his judgment, in which we can indubitably agree with him, is that Holbein made no actual residence in Italy for the sake of studying, and was not, like the German George Pencz and several Netherlanders of his time, the pupil of some great master there. It is another question, however, whether he may not perhaps have paid a visit, though only a passing one, to Northern Italy, especially to Lombardy. This possibility, upon which Dr. Waagen has laid great stress, is by no means a remote one: in a few days, especially when he had already advanced as far as Lucerne, he could walk over the Alps; and if we only assume that he reached Milan and its neighbourhood, this is sufficient to explain much. In the record of Holbein's orders from the Basle Council (in 1538), permission is given to the artist, with the special consent of the council, "to carry and to sell to foreign gentlemen in France, England, Milan, and the Netherlands," the works of art which he had executed in his native city, once, twice, or thrice in the year. This shows in the first place that such business journeys were usual for the Swiss artists who lived so near the

frontiers of foreign lands, such as Germany, Burgundy, France, and Italy; in the second place, however, the words contain another intimation.[1] Holbein has been, as we shall presently see, in France, in the Netherlands, and in England; and may this not also have been the case with Milan, mentioned as it is in the same list? The whole passage sounds like a kind of answer to arrangements made by the artist himself, who, when he requested leave of absence, may have mentioned, as the object of his future journeys, places which he had before already visited.

We have seen that Holbein at an earlier period had received impressions of Italian art in his native city Augsburg, which possessed such various points of contact with the South. At a later period we can trace essentially two distinct kinds of influence; in the first place that of Andrea Mantegna, and in the second that of Leonardo da Vinci and the Milanese school.

Mantegna is an artist who, more decidedly than any other, exercised a teaching influence upon his younger contemporaries. Not only the great Italians of the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as Raphael and Correggio, learned from him, but he, more than any other Italian master, influenced the artists of the North, such as Dürer and Holbein. In him they found what they most of all needed; that consistent and strict examination of form and its refinement by the study of the antique. At the same time they found in Mantegna a harmony with that which they themselves possessed, in the unqualified and conscientious realism which aimed at the most exact reproduction of nature. In spite of all the classical feeling, pervading form, bearing, and attire, what a strict delineation of "the present," to use Goethe's expression, lay in his pictures! In order to reach his aim, Mantegna was however capable of using those means which the artists of the Germanic north lacked; namely, that complete mastery over form and action, the application of chiaro-oscuro, perspective effect carried even to optical delusion, in short everything which the strictest theoretic study could procure. If this realism, combined with the preponderating use of plastic models, often led the artist into hardness, although often the study of these models appeared too prominently, and his works, as Goethe says, have a somewhat severe, industrious, and laborious character; still this was fitted to attract rather than repel the painters of the North, for a certain austere beauty was that which they best understood. Holbein, however, was drawn to Mantegna by a special feature of mental affinity; there was an element in Mantegna which had indeed slumbered in Holbein during his earliest youth, but which afterwards broke strongly forth; the impulse, namely, to depict the violent and the passionate, and to delineate the most vehement feelings, often even to the extremest limits of endurance. From Mantegna, therefore, Holbein not only learned much as regards form, but also the bias of his own

[1] Mr. Wornum was the first to draw attention to this, p. 164.

nature became stimulated by the great Paduan, and at the same time purified and preserved from degenerating into the ugly and ignoble.

Holbein may have become acquainted with Mantegna from his engravings. The subjects which appear in these, he borrowed as his model when he painted the triumphal procession on the façade at Lucerne. Nevertheless, much would be explained could we assume that Holbein had also seen Mantegna's paintings. Many of his works seem to declare that he must himself have seen productions of the Milanese school. It was at this time in its utmost prime. It is true, the mighty Leonardo da Vinci, who had opened a new path to it, had for some time been no longer among its pupils. He had quitted Milan to sojourn here and there in Italy, until at length he had obeyed the call to France, and had ended his life there in 1519. But his mind still continued to live at Milan in his works and in his school. Besides, the German artist, if he visited Lombardy, could also become acquainted with splendid specimens of the architecture of the early Renaissance. Bramanti had executed buildings in Milan at the end of the fifteenth century; Pavia was not far distant, with its Certosa, the façade of which exhibited the most magnificent work in this style; and smaller specimens of a similar kind were to be seen in the cathedrals of Como and Lugano on the highway from the Alps. In these buildings, the painters—not only Mantegna, but also the masters of Lombardy—introduced in colour on the background of their fresco paintings that abundance of architectural fancy which they had no opportunity of producing on stone. If we do not assume that Holbein had seen such models, the perfect Renaissance architecture of many of his paintings must appear almost inconceivable.

A work of Holbein's is in existence, which seems to evidence that he must have seen Leonardo's famous masterpiece, the now almost destroyed painting which was at that time in all its beauty; namely, the Last Supper, in Santa Maria delle Grazie, in Milan. There is a Last Supper on wood in the Basle Museum;[1] "it has been cut in two and joined together again, but badly," says the Amerbach inventory. In recent times the pieces have been more carefully joined together; yet it is plainly to be seen that it consists of two parts, and besides on each side there is a piece wanting, so that only nine apostles remain, and only the hands and legs of the others are to be seen. It has recently been excellently restored, and thus the uniform and harmonious perfection of the work, and the warmth, distinctness, and strength of the colouring, have again come to light. The scene is placed in a simple Renaissance hall, through the windows of which the blue sky and an old tower may be seen. Holbein, like his model, has chosen the moment in which Jesus is speaking the words, "One of you shall betray me." The whole composition is similar to that of Leonardo's, and the principal figure closely adheres to it in features

[1] Holbeinsaal, No. 21. Engraving in Mechel's work.

and expression, in bearing and in the action of the hand; but it is not equal to its model. In the other figures, also, Leonardo's style is evidenced in the greater delicacy of outline, in the form of the head, especially in the brow and length of nose. St. John, who is seen in profile, with his expression of anxious solicitude, and the lively St. Peter, who is placing his hand familiarly on St. John's shoulder, are excellently characterized. Holbein's inclination to exact realistic characterization breaks forth, especially in the figure of Judas. He is sitting quite in front, attired in yellow, his right hand leaning on the seat, and his chin resting on his left hand; a hardened countenance, in which coarseness is expressed with almost supernatural power. He has felt himself pierced to the heart by the words of Christ, and it seems as if he must at any moment jump up and rush away. In contrast to his former painting of the Last Supper, which hangs in the same hall, and which we have regarded as a work from the common atelier of Hans and Ambrosius, we see the advance from the naïve expressions of a youthful and overflowing power to the well-weighed and well-executed production of a master, who takes every touch into account.

Perhaps it also may indicate a sojourn on Italian soil that Holbein about this time delights in introducing fig-trees and fig-leaves in the background of his paintings. Beyond this, it is however a matter of surprise that we see, it is true, the influence of North Italian art in Holbein's work, but so little of the influence of Italian landscape and scenery. Only one work bearing his name shows this influence in an unequivocal manner. But its Holbein origin is not without doubt. It is a large painting at Lisbon, in the possession of King Ferdinand, called the Fountain of Life; but our estimate of it rests alone on a large photograph of the original.[1] The principal subject of the picture is the betrothal of St. Catherine of Alexandria, with the Infant Christ. In the centre the Virgin is sitting with the child; behind her throne stands her mother St. Anna and her husband Joseph, who is the only male figure in the whole picture.

The whole work is a masterpiece of composition, in which we can but admire the beautiful proportion of the figures to the scenery, and the arrangement of the figures as regards each other. The law of symmetry is strictly adhered to, but within these conditions all is free and full of action; a warm and varied life counterbalances all regularity. Religious feeling is expressed in the tone which pervades all the figures. Every countenance wears an air of solemnity and sublime enthusiasm, often peculiarly combined with a touch of reflection and longing. According to the account of Herr Fournier, formerly *secrétaire interprête* to the Prussian embassy at Lisbon, the delicacy

[1] A small photograph in the Holbein-Album of the author, Berlin: published by G. Schauer, 1865. The engraving in the 7th vol. of E. Förster's "Denkmalen Deutscher Kunst" is not quite true.

of the touches and the warmth of the flesh-tints are especially worthy of attention. The more central parts, the heads and the principal figures, are in remarkably good preservation, and only on the lower edge are retouchings and restoration perceptible.

The picture, which only recently has been removed from the castle chapel at Bemposta to the old monastery at Lisbon, in which King Ferdinand resides, was alleged[1] to have been brought to Portugal from England by Queen Catherine, daughter of John IV. of Portugal, and widow of Charles II. of England. The grounds for its having been ascribed to Holbein lie in the inscription which appears on the outer edge of the fountain to the right:—

IOANNES
HOLBEIN
FECIT
1519.

Careful investigation, nevertheless, infused some doubts into Herr Fournier's mind with respect to this inscription, which is inserted in small black letters. The letters are careless and uncertain, and the whole passage is distinguished from the surrounding part by a strikingly bright tint. Herr Fournier supposes that this inscription originally stood there, but that it was retouched by some ignorant hand, as is the case also with the inscription on the inner edge of the fountain: PVTEVS AQVARVM VIVENCIVM. This appears twice, for the older writing, white on a brown ground, may be seen under the more recent one. We can scarcely imagine an actual falsification; even Guarienti, the superintendent of the Dresden Gallery, who was in Portugal from 1733 to 1736, mentions the name and the year 1519, only that he reads "Holtein" instead of Holbein, and adds that this must have been a pupil of the well-known Holbein, from its style, from its careful execution, and composition.[2] That he did not quite distinguish the name may arise from the fact that the inscription was at that time not renovated, and was therefore unintelligible.

Yet there are many things which excite great doubt as to Holbein's having executed the work. Without any external testimony we should scarcely, so far as we could infer from the photograph, have imputed it to him, but should rather have regarded the painting as a Flemish work. Even the

[1] Comte A. Raczynski, Les Arts en Portugal; Paris, 1846, p. 295.

[2] Abecedario pittorico del Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi accresciuto da Pietro Guarienti (Venezia, 1753), p. 252: "Giovanni Holtein, nome da me veduto in un quadro, ch'è in una regia capella di Lisbona, in cui si rappresentano gli attributi di Maria Vergine, il qual quadro è perfettamento bello, bon disegnato e colorito con quantità di figure. Dalla maniera, diligenza, e composizione di detto quadro e dell' anno 1519, posto sotta al nome di lui, pare che possa dirsi esso esser stato scolare dell' Holbens, che circa a quel tempo fioriva e che morì nell 1554."—Raczynski, Les Arts en Portugal, p. 325.

subject belongs rather to Flemish than to German painting. The architecture is Italian to a greater extent than ever appears in Holbein's works; and we have already seen that there is no other instance in Holbein's paintings of such an Italian landscape as we here find. Several heads also, especially those of the saints in the background, many of which are by no means beautiful, are of a type little according with that of Holbein. On the other side, some of the principal characters, such for instance as St. Dorothea, exhibit rather an affinity with his figures, and in many the type might be considered rather as Upper German than Flemish. In the Madonna, a certain influence of Schongauer's Madonna in the Rosenhaag may be perceived in the oval form of the face and in the bearing, which would indicate that the painter was from this neighbourhood. Lastly, in the Lisbon painting, the Child is sitting astride on the arm of His mother. This striking feature appears also in an authentic drawing by Holbein, namely, in the Madonna picture with the view of Lucerne, which we have before mentioned. The examination of the original, in which the testing of the colouring and the execution is possible, can alone solve this doubt. So long as this is not undertaken by an art-investigator well acquainted with Holbein, Holbein's execution of this picture must remain an open question. If this picture should be found not to be genuine, no other circumstance, it is true, not even the Last Supper before alluded to, would be able to furnish a really cogent proof for Holbein's visit to Northern Italy. Nevertheless, we must repeat that it still seems probable to us.

CHAPTER VIII.

Church paintings of the Basle period.—The series from the Passion.—Historical representation of sacred subjects and great freedom of style.—Sketches from the history of the Passion.—The picture of a deceased Christ in the year 1521.—Double picture of the Man of Sorrows, and the Mother of Sorrows.—The organ doors in the Minster.—Paintings at Freiburg and Carlsruhe.—Sketches for paintings.—Drawings for glass-paintings.—Studies from military life and costumes.—Two drawings in Dresden and London.

FOR a long time the series of eight scenes from the Passion, enclosed in a common frame, have been regarded as the principal work among Holbein's paintings in the Basle Museum. In the year 1771,[1] by a decree of the council passed on the 5th of November, it was placed in the library in which the art collection was arranged until the building of the present museum. Until that time the picture, so long as we know anything of it, was in the town hall, and it is supposed that it was painted for this building.[2] This is, however, improbable, as no mention of it appears in the accounts of the council. Thus the opposite opinion obtains,[3] that it originally belonged to an altar in a church, and was in all probability removed previous to the iconoclastic storm. Sandrart regarded it as the best of all the Holbein works he had seen in Basle, and spoke so enthusiastically of it to the Elector Maximilian I. of Bavaria, who was a great art-collector, that the latter offered any price to obtain it for himself, and would have given anything for it that was desired. But the council of Basle behaved differently to that of Nuremberg, who, as is well known, sold Dürer's Apostles to the same elector, though the work had been bequeathed by the artist himself to his native city. It was decided to receive the Emperor's negotiator with all the complaisance possible, and to offer him the wine of welcome, but to refuse his request.[4] Since that time the work of art itself has been held in still greater honour.

In later times the painting has not been regarded with the same esteem as formerly. Such a judge as Rumohr has denied the authenticity of the picture as Holbein's work, and a similar opinion has been repeated in recent times by Mr. Wornum, and this in a still more decided manner. Such verdicts can only proceed from a hasty consideration of the work, which

[1] Not 1776, as Hegner states. [2] Ochs, v. p. 399. [3] Hegner, p. 78.
[4] Sandrart, Teutsche Akademie; Hegner, pp. 80, 81.

demands both time and study to be truly known. Whoever denies this work to Holbein, had better at once assert that Holbein never existed at all, but was a mythical personage altogether. A. Braun's new and excellent photographs after the original, which have met with a wide circulation, will help to prove the untenability of these opinions. And indeed the work can be almost better known in the photograph than the original, especially because in the former the pictures can be studied separately. The general impression of the whole is not so favourable as that produced by each separate picture. If only one of these were placed in a large gallery, it would be considered a pearl, but while each is perfectly harmonious in its colouring, there exists no true consonance in the pictures one with the other, and this is rendered still more apparent by the bright modern gold frame, which neither accords with the colouring of the pictures themselves, nor with the dead gold ornaments by which Holbein divided the upper and lower series of scenes. Altogether the colouring is designed for a somewhat lively effect, probably because the picture was originally intended for a dark chapel. Added to this, throughout the painting the green colour has changed, and all the shadows in this colour have faded. With the exception of this, the picture is in excellent preservation, and throughout in the execution Holbein's own hand is apparent, and the sole restoration which it has experienced by the painter Grooth of Stuttgart in the year 1771, who two years previously restored the other paintings in Basle, must have been limited to careful cleaning and sparing retouching. This is confirmed expressly by the existing records in the minutes of the University.[1]

Under the circumstances alluded to, it is not easy to estimate the picture in the measure it deserves. This experience has been made by the author in his own case, as it needed profound study and a repeated visit to Basle to enter fully into the work, and even in the first German edition of this book it has not been by far ranked high enough. The judges and artists of the seventeenth century, who prized it so highly, had in this respect therefore a far more correct judgment than we have at the present day. Sandrart's words still hold good: "The most excellent and the crown of all his art is the Passion of Christ, painted on a panel in eight compartments, and preserved in the town hall at Basle; a work in which all that art can do is to be found, both as regards the devotion and the grace of the persons represented, whether religious or secular, or of a higher or lower class, and with respect to the figures, building, landscape, day and night. This panel testifies to the honour and fame of its master, giving place to none either in Germany or Italy, and justly bearing the laurel wreath among ancient works."[2]

[1] Communicated by Professor W. Vischer in the journal *Basler Nachrichten*, May 4, 1861.

[2] Teutsche Akademie, ii. p. 82 et seq.; Basle. The Passion is, however, not painted on one panel, as Sandrart says, but on four panels, each divided into two compartments.

The period at which this painting was executed, is not decided, yet it is evident that several years must have elapsed since the completion of his former Basle works. Holbein here displays that grand historical style in the representation of religious subjects, which characterizes the greatest Italian masters. Passion scenes had long been the favourite subjects of German art in contrast to that of Italy and the Netherlands. The religious ferment which Germany had for a long time endured, was expressed in the terrible and distorted manner in which the indescribable sufferings of the Saviour, and the hatred and the cruelty of His adversaries, were depicted. We have seen this already the case with Schongauer, and with Holbein's father. And even Albrecht Dürer, although his pictures are pervaded by quite another spirit, and his Passion scenes, whether as sketches, woodcuts, and engravings, are composed as profound religious epopees,—even he still adheres in many externals to the old mode of conception: he cannot control the tendency to depict ugliness and distortion, showing here and there that the burlesque types and ideas, familiar to artists and to the public from the sight of the religious dramas, were also influencing him. Holbein's Passion, on the other hand, is pervaded by a new feeling. He endeavoured to forget the customary mode of representation both in drama and painting. He no longer regarded any rule of delineation, but the words of Holy Scripture. Impartially he studied what is there given, and according to it he endeavoured to depict the events as he imagined they must have happened. To produce devotional pictures came no longer into his mind; they were historical pictures. The purely human element is evolved: this alone determines everything, and gives a motive to everything that occurs. Here are nothing but human passions, human actions, human characters, and the actions are developed from passions and the passions from characters. Each scene has within itself the motive for its action. And the result of this grand truthfulness is that no picture of deep religious feeling affects the mind so violently and so profoundly as these.

Throughout, the highest freedom and the boldest life prevail, both in appearance and action. Every trace of confusion and uncertainty has disappeared. In bold positions and foreshortenings—for example, in the Scourging scene—errors in drawing may perhaps occur, but such instances are isolated. Here and there a certain superabundance of figures and ideas may be perceived but even in such cases, the artist knows how to give prominence to the principal matter. Thus Holbein here affords a splendid example of such a religious painting as would be possible, even in recent times, in spite of the change in the tendency of the human mind; instead of the monotonous repetition of old types and ideas, he grasps with independent power the historical substance that lay in the sacred traditions. It is, at the same time, that art of religious representation which agrees with the spirit of Pro-

testantism. It was only the adoration of pictures which the Reformers opposed; and not merely Luther, but also the Swiss Reformers, Zwingle and Calvin, justified historical representations from the Scriptures.[1] Holbein's truly historical conception shows itself also in the fact that he here frequently deviated from the old practice, of introducing the costume of his own age. In many of the subordinate figures it still appears, yet few of his soldiers exhibit the steel armour worn in his day, but most of them wear the old Roman dress, as is the case in Italian representations, especially in those of Mantegna. Lastly, not only each separate scene has its complete dramatic stamp, but in the relation of the pictures to each other a truly dramatic development is expressed, and an effective gradation from scene to scene is introduced.

In the Basle Museum there is another series of Passion scenes, etchings in Indian ink, evidently made as models for glass-paintings, as is shown by the character of the Renaissance framework. This is intentionally kept extraordinarily coarse and bold, in order to make a decorative effect possible from afar; and the figures, as is suitable, in spite of modern abuse, are subordinate to the general architectural effect. The first of these considerations necessitates that the subject itself should be unusually simplified, the figures few in number, and the actions lively and expressive. Thus, on the whole, the character of these sketches differs in many ways from the Passion painting. Although by no means so perfect a study in the smallest detail, although psychologically the heads are not so finely executed, yet these representations have a bolder stamp; and their greater simplicity, combined with a power which at once carries away the spectator, causes the public of the present day to be almost more easily acquainted with them than with the paintings. The reprints of seven of these ten sheets, slightly touched with Indian ink by the hand of the master himself, are in the King's library at the British Museum. They have an almost more tender and spirited effect than the original drawings themselves, and are probably that incomplete series of scenes from the Passion which Sandrart possessed and extolled so highly.

Whilst the scenes from the Passion, painted in eight pictures, depicted the events from the Mount of Olives to the Crucifixion, the sketches which occupy these ten sheets give the history of Christ before Caiaphas until his Death on the Cross, and therefore range through a narrower scope and recount the incidents far more in detail. Thus, events appear bearing close affinity with each other, but the artist ever attacks the subject so acutely that he gives to each an impress of its own. The Scourging of Christ is more nobly depicted than in the Passion paintings. Here, as in the Crowning with Thorns and the Mocking of Christ, one special peculiarity may be observed. In Christ's

[1] Grüneisen quotes many declarations of this kind in his paper, "De Protestantismo artibus haud infecto."

PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS.
(Sketch. Basle.)

tormentors, the evil and wild passions of men are delineated with fearful truth; but Holbein has freed himself utterly from the repulsive and caricatured figures at that time prevalent, and which appear in representations of a similar kind even by Dürer. His realistic tendency aided him in this. We see no longer a rabble of distorted figures, but actual men, such as he daily saw in his own surroundings. They are German soldiers of that day, although only partially in the costume of the time; soldiers such as soon became the terror of Europe in the destruction of Rome. A great art also lies in the fact, and it appeared before in the Sebastian painting, that in all these sheets the faces of the executioners are always concealed or only shown in strong foreshortening. Holbein avoided multiplying too much the expression of coarseness and wild passion. The Mocking of Christ belongs altogether as a composition to the most beautiful works which we possess of Holbein.[1] How justly is the space filled and used, how entirely is the symmetry preserved throughout, while, nevertheless, the most lively action pervades the whole, and how wondrously beautiful and finished are the principal contours! How happy, too, is the relation in which the architectural scenery stands to the figures! Throughout we find the most delicate combination in every part, and yet there is an air of ease as though it could not be otherwise. Everything is, however, subordinate to the great spiritual purport of the whole. Though the eyes of the Saviour may be bound, the whole figure, which so expressively appears through the drapery, and the convulsed lips, speak plainly enough and proclaim the Divine Sufferer, exalted above tormentors and torment.

An especially grand feature in the whole series is the gradation from sheet to sheet. The realism of the delineation becomes more and more bold, the life-like character increases. A most violent excitement is expressed in Pilate Washing his Hands. Washing his hands is no mere ceremony with him. We see the struggle in his mind, and the inward anxiety lest he should be called to account for the blood of Him who was just led away to death. (Compare the woodcut.) In the Ecce Homo the features of Christ express the utmost effort of strength to repress pain and anguish. In the Bearing of the Cross, the whole procession, hastening rapidly along, is just emerging from a high arched Gothic gateway, through which we catch a glimpse of the street of the city with its mediæval houses. Foremost are the two disrobed murderers, figures of such grand beauty of form that in every feature we can discern the healthy study of the antique. There is here no group of women, no Simon of Cyrene offering assistance, but only the soldiers, who seize the Saviour and urge Him forward. The Sufferer uses His utmost effort, but His steps already totter, and we see that He must soon give way. In this scene, as in the Unrobing of Christ, the artist shows that, in spite of the abundance and crowd of figures, he yet understands how to give the action its full distinctness. The extreme of

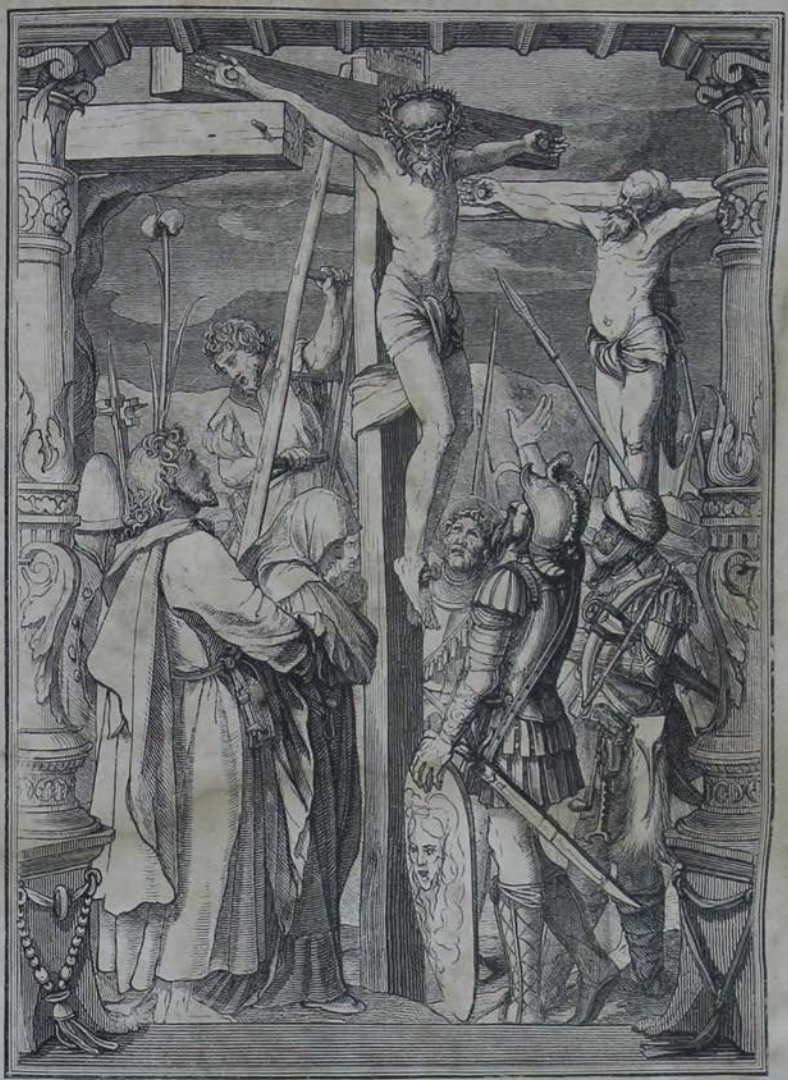
[1] This picture is given in a small woodcut in Lübke's "History of Art."

misery is afforded by the figure of the Saviour as He kneels at the cross, while His clothes are torn from Him. But the next sheet, the Fastening to the Cross, exhibits even an increase of the terrible. The people, with the most various expression of countenance, are crowding round; the soldiers are casting lots for the garments of the Saviour, and the cross, on which one of the thieves is hanging, is already erected. One of the soldiers is holding the right arm of the Saviour with both his hands, as He lies stretched on the wooden beam, while a second is driving the nail through His hand, and the third is pulling the body with all his might towards the left. The head of Christ, which has fallen back, bears the impress of extremest pain and the most fearful agony of death. The imagination of the painter has entered entirely into the feelings that would overwhelm a man on the point of being crucified.

The last sheet, the Death of Christ, is conceived in a similar manner to the same scene on the painting; here also the three crosses are placed obliquely, and here also the Saviour has just finished His suffering. A man is already ascending the ladder to take down the body. St. John is supporting and embracing the mother of the Lord. As if to declare that "certainly this was a righteous man," the believing centurion is raising his right hand, and a rude soldier, with coat of mail and cross-bow by his side, is thrilling through every limb. Involuntarily his hands are clasped as if for prayer, and his otherwise hardened face betrays unsubdued emotion.

Holbein had already depicted all the terrors of death in the figure of Christ in the Entombment sheet of the Passion scenes, but still more unreservedly does he yield to his realistic tendency in a picture of the dead Christ marked with the monogram and the year 1521—a picture as large as life in the Basle Museum, and which probably once formed the Pudella of an altar.

If the old frame did not bear the inscription "Jesvs Nazarenvs rex Judæorum," and if between the words there were not some curiously painted angels with instruments of torture, no one would be here reminded of the crucified Son of God. It is called in the Amerbach inventory, "Ein todten Bild. W. H. Holbeins . . . cum titulo Jesus Nazarenus rex," &c. It is nothing else, and can be nothing else, than the likeness of some one who had died by violence, depicted as truly as possible, and delineated with terrible truth. The age was not yet quite overcome in which religious art was the sole art. If Flemish masters depicted market scenes, they introduced an incident from Holy Scripture into the background, in order to legitimate the picture; and thus Holbein added the name of Jesus to his picture of a corpse. Outstretched on a white cloth in a green stone coffin lies the stiffened form. The head, which has fallen back, with flowing hair and fixed half-opened eyes, haggard cheeks, and strongly projecting cheekbones, is extremely ordinary in its form; it is diverse from every type of Christ, and the features are entirely taken from nature. All the terrors of death are expressed in this



CHRIST ON THE CROSS.
(Sketch. Basle.)

mouldering countenance, in these decaying hands and feet, these scars, and the bloody holes which have pierced deeply into the limbs. The body is horribly thin; but all the more striking is the excellent execution of the muscles, &c. They appear the more rigid from the stiffness of death. What observation of nature is here!—and this is the more remarkable because Holbein, as the skeletons in his *Dance of Death* evidence, can have made no anatomical studies. The foreshortenings, for example, in the feet, are excellent, and the manner in which the highest plastic roundness is obtained by chiaro-oscuro reminds us of Leonardo da Vinci, and even in other points we here see a certain affinity with him, for he too started with absolute truth to nature, and occasionally yielded to a certain delight in depicting even repulsive and terrible scenes; but while Leonardo often indulged in this tendency with a sort of passion, he knew on the other side how to produce a magic beauty and tenderness, and Holbein also did not stop at this corpse-painting: such an experiment as the dead Christ only marks a distinct stage in his development. He often certainly appears as if he at that time carried two souls within him, one of which was yearning to separate itself from the other, the one apparently urging him to nothing but absolute and natural truth, and the other to the delineation of exquisite beauty. But unwearied work and effort rendered it possible for him to reconcile both elements, and to produce perfect truth, containing at the same time purified beauty.

This spirit we find pervading all the other religious paintings of this epoch, the remains of which correspond indeed undoubtedly but little with that which once existed. It appears especially pure in a small double picture, probably originally a folding altar, now in the Basle Museum,—Christ as the Man of Sorrows, sitting with the crown of thorns on His head, and the Madonna, as the Mother of Sorrows, kneeling with uplifted hands,—simply painted in yellow tint, with whitish lights and a blue atmosphere in the background. Even the art-collector Remigius Fesch remarks that these two panels are in no wise inferior to any other Holbein work. After Swiss fashion, Mary's mantle is arranged in small parallel folds, but it nevertheless falls freely and flowingly; and the light noble bearing, the beautiful hands, and the pure sublimity of expression, breathe a style which appears truly Italian. The architectural background, the "Ghus" as the Amerbach inventory calls it, is formed in both pictures by a domed hall, in splendid Renaissance style, with columns, arches, ornaments, and friezes. Holbein, whose understanding in matters of building is extolled in a paper of the Basle Council belonging to the year 1538, here especially shows that, after the manner of the great Renaissance painters of Italy, he was also master of architectural knowledge. What would not such a man on the other side of the Alps have not only painted but built for popes, princes, and republics!

Equally monochromatic are the representations painted on canvas on the

former organ-doors of Basle Cathedral. Even after the Reformation and the iconoclastic storm they remained in their place; they were mentioned in Merian's Topography[1] in 1622, and in 1775 Emanuel Bückel inserted copies of them in his collection of the most remarkable tombs, sculptures, pictures, paintings and inscriptions of Basle Cathedral, now to be seen in the Basle Museum. From this copy we see that they were on the insides of the folding doors. Only recently, when the organ was replaced by a new one, they were removed to the public art collection, and now stand in the entrance room of the Museum. A retouching of the year 1639 has disfigured them, but the mighty figures, more than life-size, are still imposing in their effect, and the more delicate touches which the painting has entirely lost we can still perceive in the sketch, a spirited bistre drawing.

The patron saints of the cathedral stand opposite to each other on the two wings. On that to the right is the Virgin, round whose neck the smiling Child has thrown His little arm, similar in bearing to the Child with the Meier Madonna, only perhaps still more pleasing. On the left, opposite to her, is the Emperor Heinrich, with the crown, the flowing royal mantle, and long beard, with a firm tread, his right hand placed against his side, and the left holding the sceptre. His consort, Kunegund, is walking behind him, wholly absorbed in the contemplation of the crucifix; the model of the minster, founded by Heinrich, is seen, on the choir side, between them both. At the end of the other wing, corresponding with the Empress, appears the first bishop of Basle, St. Pantalus, in deep meditation, having in one hand the bishop's crosier, and gesticulating with the other as if in soliloquy. Legend places him in the time of St. Ursula. When the saint with her 11,000 virgins made a pilgrimage to Rome, he joined them and met with his death at Cologne on their return, from the arrows of the Huns. Between him and the Madonna there is a group of angels singing and making music. Three angels are blowing trumpets with all their might: four others, quite in front, are gathered round a sheet of music paper; one is beating time, the others, round and sturdy little boys with curly heads, are singing.

Wherever a space is left free, it is filled with ornaments of leaves and flowers, differing in the sketch on the two doors, so that the donator could have his choice of the two. The forms are simple, strong, and almost heavy, in order that they may be full of effect from their high position. The same consideration is also apparent in the figures, which are seen from below in effective perspective foreshortening. The old Gothic tendency still pervades them, but under Holbein's hand it has become something wholly different: it heightens

[1] Topographia Helvetiæ, p. 39: "Es hat inn dieser Kirchen noch ein feine Orgel die man schlägt, vnd von dem berühmbten Mahler Holbein gemahlet ist." In another volume, the "Topographia Franconiæ," there are two figures from these pictures, the Emperor Heinrich and St. Pantalus, introduced on the title-page.

ORGAN DOORS OF BASLE MINSTER. LEFT PANEL.
(Sketch Basle.)

ORGAN-DOORS OF BASLE MINSTER—RIGHT PANEL.
(Sketch. Basle.)

the splendour and richness of the figures, which seem almost like the anticipation of a master who did not appear till a century later; namely, the great Rubens.

One thing, however, is peculiar to this work, and this was reached not even by a Rubens. Holbein expresses in the figures which are to adorn the organ, a feeling which corresponds perfectly with organ music. This feeling animates all as with some noble enthusiasm; it is stamped on the deeply serious royal countenance of Heinrich, as well as on the Virgin's thoughtful brow, and the sweet smile of the Child; it pervades every figure, whatever their characteristic. They seem to hear the tones of the organ, before which they stand. And this, also, in the picture itself, is indicated in the group of angels making music. "Quam pulchra es amica" (Behold thou art fair, my love) is inscribed on the sheet of music. These words of the Song of Songs are raised by their clear child voices; the blast of the trumpets comes between, and thus through the vast minster the hymn resounds with which they do honour to the Virgin Queen of heaven.

Two altar-panels by Holbein are to be found in Freiburg Minster, in one of the small chapels round the choir, the so-called University chapel. Centuries ago, they were famous, and therefore they have made many not very advantageous journeys. During the Thirty Years' War, they were safe at Schaffhausen. From thence, Maximilian of Bavaria had them brought, for inspection, to Munich, and the Emperor Ferdinand III. to Ratisbon. In 1796 they were carried away by the French, and they did not return from Colmar until 1808.

They represent the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Kings. In a narrow compartment at the bottom of both panels, the family of the donator is introduced. On the one side is the man with six boys and youths, on the other the wife with four daughters of various ages. On his side are the arms of Oberriedt, on her side those of Tscheckapürlin. From this it appears that the donator was the Basle councillor, Hans Oberriedt, who was elected to this dignity in the year 1513, but who subsequently, in the Reformation disturbances of 1529, was dismissed from the council as an adherent of the old faith, and shortly after renounced his citizenship and repaired to Freiburg in the Breisgau.[1] The two paintings, however, belong decidedly to an earlier period; Holbein may have executed them in the early years of his sojourn at Basle:

[1] Ochs, v. pp. 647 and 661. This fact is more accurately stated in some documents from the Basle Archives communicated to me by Herr His-Heusler: "Das Rathserkenntniss über die Entsetzung (Warumb nachfolgende Personen des Raths entsetzt) vom 9 Februar, 1529 (Mandatenbuch, fol. xxxv); die Nachricht über Oberriedts Bürgerrechts Aufgabe von Montag nach Palmarum, 1529 (Oeffnungsbuch)"; lastly a letter to "den ersamen, vnsern guten frien Hansen Oberrieten, Burgern zu Friburg im Prisgow," of the 11th July, 1533 (missive 1529-35). Answer as to the reclaiming of Tscheckapürlin's inheritance.

in this case they may have been rescued from some church there previous to the iconoclastic storm, and may have been taken by the family to Freiburg. In all probability, the pictures were originally placed in the Carthusian church in Basle. In this monastery there lived a near relation of the donator, the famous Prior Hieronymus Tscheckapürlin, whose property had been bequeathed to the monastery, and was subsequently reclaimed by Oberriedt during his residence in Freiburg. The members of the Tscheckapürlin family seem to have been buried there, as is shown by the inscriptions mentioned by Tonjola.[1] The monastery lay in Little Basle, where the Catholic party preponderated, and it succeeded in secreting pictures and in conveying them away. Any pictures that were here could therefore be easily preserved. Hans Oberriedt is also mentioned once in authentic records in connection with Holbein. A sum which the council had to pay to Holbein was transmitted to him on the 14th September, 1521, probably because the painter owed it to him.

In the one picture, the Birth of Christ, the same effect of light appears as has made Correggio's "Night" so famous. The light emanates from the Child. Holbein's work was however executed long before Correggio's, for the latter was not completed till 1528, although the contract respecting it bears the date of 1522. The common source from which both artists drew the idea is a passage in the Apocryphal Gospel of the childhood of Christ,[2] where it says, when Joseph is coming with the woman whom he has fetched for Mary in her travail: "And behold the cave was filled with a light, surpassing the brilliancy of tapers and torches and greater than sunlight." It is a remarkable coincidence that the same representation is also to be found in the high altar of Freiburg minster, a magnificent work completed in 1516 by Hans Baldung Grien. However high this master and his productions may rank, Holbein far surpasses him in effects of light. The stream of light from below touches the head of the Virgin. Small angels, who join the parents in the adoration of the new-born Babe, exhibit the utmost grace both of position and gesture. The figure of a shepherd is also especially striking; it is full of vigorous life, as he looks out curiously behind a column. In the background we see angels on the field. The light, which is reflected on the faces of the bystanders with masterly effect, is subdued and gradually lost in the surrounding architecture. It is a splendid and fanciful building in which the incident is depicted—marble columns and half-fallen arches, through which the moonlight streams, and by contrast with its mild glimmer, the other light is rendered still more brilliant.

In the Adoration of the Kings, the Madonna and Child are enthroned in front of a splendid half-ruined building of the Italian style, which stretches out far into the distance in grand perspective, with its arched halls and towers.

[1] Basilea Sepulta.

[2] Evangelium Infantiæ ex Arabico translatum, iii.

In the background there is a bridge, across which we see the train of princely pilgrims returning. The kings are noble figures, especially the old man who is kneeling in front with the golden vessel. A greyhound is standing by the side of the Moorish king. The people in their train attract us by their ever new and lively attitudes, which are nevertheless simple and natural, and by their effective heads. One of these followers, who, looking up at the star, is protecting his eyes by his hand, especially engages attention. Touches such as this are delineated with the most charming ease. Throughout there is a perceptible effort to depict the scenes as agreeably and attractively as possible; an idyllic side is extracted from them compared with which the religious element recedes. Mary's peculiarly beautiful head is also, in both pictures, entirely secular in its character.

These two pictures, however, do not belong to the highest class of works produced by Holbein. The same also may be said of two paintings, similar to them in many ways, in the Kunsthall at Carlsruhe, containing two figures of saints; namely, St. Ursula with the arrow, and St. George with the dragon. On the first panel stands the name of the artist and the date 1522. The countenance and bust of St. Ursula are delicately finished, but the lower part of the figure and St. George on the second panel are slightly inferior. They may have been finished by the hand of a pupil.

Some drawings in the Basle Museum seem to be sketches of paintings not now extant. In a drawing of St. Elizabeth the artist again takes up the idea which he had realized so beautifully in one of his last Augsburg paintings.

It is true, the same enchanting countenance is no longer delineated, but a lady with a projecting chin, evidently a portrait; her head is not, as in the picture, covered with a crown, but with a crape cap. In her bearing she is likewise not so gracious, but more noble. A beggar, to whom she is dispensing wine in a cup, is kneeling somewhat lower; opposite to him is a praying knight, evidently the donator. Around her stands the semicircle of an open-domed hall, resting on light columns connected by festoons.

Highly remarkable is the figure of a Madonna, with the lively Child on her arm, evidently intended as the imitation of a statue in wood, for she is surrounded by a glory of wooden beams "mit der Sonnen bekleidt," as it is called in the inventory. She is standing in front of a Renaissance niche, and before her a knight is kneeling, who is raising his hands in prayer. The Madonna figure alone is repeated in a glass-painting, still preserved in the Church of St. Theodore, in Little Basle.

Among the sketches in the Basle Museum, several designs for glass-paintings may be named, coarsely and strongly drawn, like the before-mentioned Passion scenes; among others, single figures of saints, every two and two of which correspond, and which are placed under massive Renaissance architecture. Coats of arms are to be found with most. Some panes of glass,

which may have been executed after Holbein, although no sketches for them exist, are to be found in the Basle town-hall and in the Minutoli Collection at Liegnitz.

Not only religious subjects, but also secular, appear among the sketches for glass-painting; and panes bearing coats of arms, lions, peasants, and mythological figures are chosen as supporters. A very beautiful sheet in the Basle Museum exhibits two soldiers in a splendid architectural frame; another repetition of which, in the cabinet of engravings at Berlin,[1] depicts on a coat of arms with two pears a splendid military figure, bearing his sword over his shoulder. Above the framework a battle scene is introduced. A still more beautiful and slightly coloured drawing in the Berlin Cabinet is given in our woodcut. It represents a portal in the most solid style, on each side of which there are two columns, on the entablature of which Judith and Lucretia are standing. Medallions containing heads appear by the side, and in the frieze Hercules and Samson are introduced, while between them are depicted a battle and a pursuit, both on horse and foot, across a shallow stream. Under the arch of the gateway, engaged in lively conversation, appear two soldiers, an old and a young one, both figures full of power and elasticity. The view opens upon a pleasant country, with a village and lofty Swiss mountains in the distance.

In other works also, the life of the soldiers—"Reisläufer,"[2] as their Swiss companions called them; "die frommen Landsknechte," as they were called in Germany—played a part in the Holbein sketches. The painter may have met them frequently in familiar intercourse, these bold strong fellows, who readily hazarded their lives, and who enjoyed existence on their return home; great figures in splendid attire, full of pleasure and wine and happiness, who allowed their booty to go just as lightly as it had come. Holbein depicts them in peace and war, at peril of death, and in the enjoyment of life. A sheet which was in Leipzig, in the collection of the now deceased Herr Rudolf Weigel, exhibits a military figure in front of a niche, decorated with reliefs of Tritons; he is attired in elegant costume, with his sword on his shoulder, and is engaged in conversation with a young girl, wearing a plumed hat, pocket pistol, and pouch. A seated soldier is to be seen among the drawings of Herr Süermondt, at Aix-la-Chapelle. In a sheet in the Albertine Collection, we find eleven warriors at a banquet, which a maid is serving up. Frequently at Basle and Erlangen, and in a large sheet in the Albertina, in Vienna, battle scenes are depicted. Everything is delineated here, just as Gustav Freytag describes it in a paper of his "Pictures from the German Past."[3] The mighty masses surge against each other; each party aims at

[1] 3. Portfolio of Holbein sketches.

[2] "Reisen" signifies the same as "in den Krieg gehen," to go to war.

[3] Vol. ii.: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times.

TWO SOLDIERS.

(Glass Painting. Sketch. Berlin.)

STUDY OF COSTUME.
(Sketch. Basle.)

breaking through the solid foremost ranks, which oppose the enemy with their long spears. In front of the foremost rank stand the "Katzbalger" (wrestlers), desperate fellows, for the most part men who had incurred punishment, and who gained their ransom by a service from which few escaped alive. They are armed with halberds, which they wield obliquely at the points of the opposing spears, seeking to make breaches through which the soldiers at their rear might penetrate. Then on both sides begin a rush and an encounter; the rear, comparatively safe, urges forwards unremittingly the foremost ranks. Success belongs to the mass which can best sustain the shock.

Like these military scenes, there are five sheets in the Basle Collection,[1] containing female figures, taken from daily life. They seem principally to be costume studies, and they depict all the beauty, grace, and luxuriousness that marked the dress and appearance of that day. There is a woodcut in Mr. Wornum's book, of a graceful, lightly treading figure; and another, no less beautiful, is represented in our engraving. Her bearing and manner of walking are in accordance with the rules of mediæval deportment, which remained in force until the beginning of the sixteenth century, in spite of the change in manners and costume. With light and small steps, she comes forward erect, and beautiful as a "Wunschetelgerte" (magician's wand), and this comparison of the mediæval poet is entirely just, for the slight swing in her bearing recalls to mind some slender wand. She "bears her charming head modestly erect," without neglecting the prescribed casting down of the eyes, and holds herself according to the advice:

"Din cleider edel und reich
Trac vorne mit der hende embor,
Daz si niht hangen in daz hor."[2]

("Hold up thy noble and rich attire in front with thy hand, that it may not hang in the mire.")

There is something majestic in this female figure, with her becoming hat, her upper garment with its puffed sleeves and heavy material. All the detail of the rich attire, all the laces and ornaments, and especially the necklace, are executed with the utmost exactness.

Some large drawings also of historical purport, executed during the Basle epoch, are still to be mentioned. A large sheet, in the cabinet of engravings in the Dresden Museum, represents the son of the unjust judge, disgraced on account of his venality; the Emperor has just appointed the son to be judge, and over his chair he has stretched the skin of his father, as a warning. This narrative appears in the twenty-ninth chapter of the old

[1] A sixth is scarcely original.

[2] These passages are quoted in the excellent paper by Alwin Schmidt: "Quid de perfecto corporis humani pulchritudine Germani sæculi XIImi CIXIIImi senserit;" Breslau, 1866.

"Gesta Romanorum," a book of novels and anecdotes, from which Holbein had already taken the subjects for one of the Lucerne façade paintings. The story was originally told of King Cambyses,[1] and it has been also treated by Netherland painters.[2]

There is a large drawing in the print-room of the British Museum which is similar in character, and full of energy and life. In the foreground there are seven figures, in the military and civil costumes of the artist's time, sitting at a well-spread board near a tent, in which a young king is on the throne. He is holding an instrument, which at the first glance is like a whip, but which is probably a sceptre, indicated by the painter in a few hasty touches. In the distance, outside the wall which encloses the foremost group, there are bands of soldiers and burning buildings. Perhaps a subject from some old book of tales here also forms the basis of the design; perhaps, however, it may be a scene taken from the Old Testament. It would suit Adonijah, the son of King David, who placed himself on his father's throne, and invited the king's sons, as well as the captains of the host, to a banquet with him. (1 Kings i.) The gesture of the king's left hand, as well as the motion of the hand to the figure sitting at the left, might indicate the question: "Wherefore is this noise of the city being in an uproar?" as Solomon's troops approach.

[1] Herodotus, v. 25. Valerius Maximus, vi. 13, De Severitate.
[2] Two pictures by Gerald David, in the Academy at Bruges.

CHAPTER IX.

The Solothurn and the Meier Madonnas.—The newly-discovered work: the Virgin between St. Martin and St. Ursus.—Holbein's wife and child probably served as models.—The Madonna of the Burgomaster Meier.—The picture at Darmstadt the original, not that at Dresden.—History of the two paintings.—Their differences.—The fate of the donator.—The picture perhaps an epitaph.—Erroneous interpretations, and true purport of the representation.

To the year 1522, the date of a painting of Holbein's, at Carlsruhe, which we have already mentioned, belongs one of his greatest masterpieces, which moreover, after having been wholly unknown, appeared new on the scene, only a few years ago. It was an altar-piece in the church of the little village of Renchen, near Solothurn, and was in a state of the greatest neglect. A private individual at Solothurn, Herr Jetter, got possession of it, and had it restored by Herr A. Eigner, keeper of the gallery of paintings at Augsburg, who had before excellently restored others of Holbein's works. The painting was removed from the worm-eaten panel, and newly mounted; I saw it in the autumn of 1866, at Augsburg, cleaned, but not yet restored. The photograph shows that the complete restoration was effected with success, and this is confirmed by the opinion of competent judges of the matter. Only the head of the Madonna is, according to Herr O. Mündler's statement, not free from retouching. The professor has the intention, we hear, to preserve the work for his native city. Thus this picture, the existence of which was not dreamed of, and which is now offered to us as an unexpected gift, may be regarded as a kind of compensation for the numerous productions of Holbein, formerly so extolled, and which have been lost to us.

Next to the Madonna of the Burgomaster Meier, of which we shall presently speak, this work is perhaps Holbein's most important church painting. It is almost equal in size to the Meier Madonna, and it exhibits a similar form, a rectangle, the upper narrow side of which terminates in a semicircular arch. In the centre sits the Madonna with the Child; the knightly saint at her left[1] is evidently the patron saint of Solothurn, St. Ursus, one of the heroes of the Theban Legion, while at her right stands St. Martin, bishop of Tours. Under the feet of the Holy Virgin, the stone steps

[1] To the right of the spectator.

are covered with a carpet, the pattern of which is formed by white and red cross lines, on a green ground. At St. Ursus' feet appears the monogram H.H., and underneath is the date 1522, as if chiselled in the red sandstone. Above the figures, there rises a simple semicircular arch, which rests on two strong pillars with feebly profiled capitals, and supported by iron cable anchors. Through the arch we see into the open air, and from the lines of the architecture and the skilfully arranged position of the arm in the two standing saints, a circle of light is formed round the head of the Virgin, increasing in brightness as it approaches it, and thus naturally supplying the halo, which here, just as in the Meier Madonna, was opposed to the realistic feelings of the master.

A beautiful gold crown adorns the Virgin's head; the circlet is set with large jewels, and the points are ornamented with pearls. She wears a light red dress, which leaves the neck and the upper part of the breast bare, and over it is an ultramarine-blue mantle, without sleeves, fastened at the shoulders with a cord. It hangs full and wide, lying on the steps in large tastefully arranged folds; we must bear in mind that Mary's mantle is the mantle of grace, which is spread out in order, as in the Meier Madonna, to gather under it those who are praying and who are placed under her protection. Here, indeed, it overshadows only the two family arms of the donators, which are woven into the carpet. The Virgin's beautiful countenance, with the pleasing tendency to a double chin, which appears also in the Meier Madonna, is bordered above by a veil which, with similar delicacy as is shown in the pictures of Leonardo's school, reveals through its transparent texture glimpses of the hair and forehead. Her features are glorified by an expression of the deepest and sweetest maternal joy over the fine naked little Child who is sitting on her knee, and whom she is embracing with her beautiful and characteristically formed hands. Her right hand holds the little leg of the Child; her left hand is placed below His shoulder and is pushing up the chin slightly. The little fat hands and feet of the Boy are delightful; the right foot is seen foreshortened from its small toes, the left foot is seen from the sole, with exquisitely delineated little wrinkles in the skin. The palm of the left hand is turned outwardly, an action which is common to little children, and which Holbein here, as in other instances, has copied from life. The fingers of the right hand are joined together as if in the gesture of blessing, and this is in accordance with the serious but in nowise precocious expression of the Infant, which is ever perfectly childlike.

St. Ursus is standing firm and manly, like a knight of the painter's time, lofty of stature, covered from head to foot in dazzling steel armour, which is depicted just as truly in its outward details as the armour of Dürer's Knight with Death and the Devil. White ostrich feathers are waving from his helmet; his left hand with its gauntlet is resting on the mighty sword-hilt; his right iron fist is holding a large red standard with a white cross, the colour of

which is reflected on many parts of the armour, especially on the visor. The nobly formed countenance of the saint shows ability and power in every feature; the glance of the eye is keen and fiery, the lower lip expresses decision, and the large military moustache, delicately executed in every hair, as Dürer is especially wont to do, projects beyond the iron cap, and stands out effectively from it. Conscious of his own power and trusting in God, the brave champion of the Lord here keeps watch by the side of the Highest.

The contrast of the spiritual saint to the knightly saint is conceived with great artistic delicacy. St. Martin's beardless countenance, with its noble form, and his whole style of appearance, proclaim the ecclesiastic of high rank, and exhibit sublime repose combined with intellectual superiority, and mildness linked with decision. His vestment as well as his mitre are probably faithfully copied from some distinct earlier model. The cæsula, which is violet, lined with red and richly ornamented with gold, exhibits the interwoven representation of the Centurion of Capernaum before Christ, and in the embroideries of the broad middle border there are representations of the Saviour before Caiaphas, of an Angel, and of the Crowning with Thorns, all faithfully given in the antique style. The mitre, with its embroidery of gold and pearls upon a red ground, exhibits the figure of St. Nicholas. With his left hand, which bears a ring outside the glove, and which is seen in difficult but thoroughly just foreshortening from the middle joint of the finger, St. Martin is holding the crosier and also the glove of the right hand, which is just placing an alms in the small wooden bowl of a beggar who is kneeling before him. The painter, with fine consideration, makes the figure of the latter disappear behind the large mantle of the divine mother, for, for his own sake, he has no place by the throne of the holy Virgin in that ideal place where there is no more earthly need and sorrow; he is only there as an attribute of St. Martin, for the sake of characterizing him. The art of the earlier style would therefore have introduced him on a far smaller scale, but this was opposed to Holbein's realism and to his taste, formed as it was in the school of Renaissance. He finds, on the other hand, means to conceal the poor man as far as possible, only exhibiting what is absolutely necessary—the imploring countenance and the receiving hand. We feel involuntarily reminded of Holbein's St. Elizabeth, in St. Martin's manner of advancing and dispensing, and even in the inclination of the head, with its expression of deep sympathy and yet of internal freedom from all the sorrow of this world. Here also we see how deep is the comfort which his mere presence brings to the sad and the suffering. The hand of the emaciated beggar affords a fine contrast to the well-formed one of the bishop, as does his browned countenance to the whiter complexion of his benefactor. In general, the tint of the complexion varies in all, according to sex, class, and age. The light falls, as is often the case with Holbein, from the right. No real gold is

ever introduced, but the effect of gold is produced by colour. With all its power and rare wealth of tints, the colouring exhibits the most beautiful harmony, every part blending with the whole, and showing the utmost delicacy of execution. The composition and pervading idea, and even the inclination of the Virgin's head and her manner of holding the Child, remind us of the woodcut in the Freiburg statute-book, which appeared two years before, and of which we shall presently speak.[1] In this picture also the sacred representatives of the spiritual and temporal classes, Bishop Lambertus and the knight St. George, appear on either side of the Virgin, and there also the whole is so composed that the central sitting figure, though in complete symmetry, towers far above the standing subordinate figures. In the Solothurn painting, this idea is accomplished in a still more perfect manner. Without sacrificing any of his Northern realism, Holbein here arrives at a freedom of style and grandeur of arrangement, such as is only possessed by Fra Bartolommeo, Andrea del Sarto, and Raphael, in their devotional works. Moreover, Holbein has here made possible that which was almost unattainable; namely, to give due prominence in the composition both to the outline and to the colouring.

Admirable, however, as this work is in all its parts, the eye ever turns with especial pleasure to the two principal figures, the Mother and Child. The fine little boy, in whom as a true type of genuine child-life he seems to have reached the utmost possible perfection, is moreover an old acquaintance. In the Basle Museum there is a copy of him executed by Hans Bock, in which he is depicted with a serpent, so that he is represented as a little Hercules; in the Amerbach inventory the sketch is mentioned as "Ein nackend kindlin sitzt auf einer schlangen kompt von Holbein's gemeld durch H. Pocken auf Holz mit olfarben mehrteil nachgemolt." (A naked child sitting on a serpent, a copy after a picture by Holbein, copied exactly in the greatest part on wood and in oil colours by Hans Bock.) We find the head of the same child in a metallic pencil-drawing engraved by J. C. Loedel in R. Weigel's collection, and this drawing (which is an unusual occurrence) is marked with the full name of the artist, and the same year as the Solothurn painting:

HANS HOLBEIN,
1522.

We see the little head almost in profile, and under the left shoulder is the hand of the mother, who is holding the child. It is the same short neck and high brow, the same form of nose and lips, as in the child of the Solothurn painting. Surely Holbein here as well as in the sketch took his own child from life. According to the custom of the period, the master could scarcely have had opportunity to paint from models of children, if his own household did not furnish him with them. The child whom he depicted in 1522 may

[1] Chap. xii.

have been born a few months before, and was probably Holbein's first offspring; the marriage of the master may be placed about the year 1520 or 1527, the period at which he was received as a citizen and was admitted into the guild. We do not indeed know whether the same guild arrangement prevailed in Basle as in Breslau, where a painter, who intended to be a master, must be married, or at any rate, under pain of a fine of ten marks, must have taken a wife within a year and a day.[1] Yet these two steps towards the establishment of an independent home can scarcely have been widely sundered in Holbein's case. If we now compare the drawing of the Weigel Collection, which is almost a profile, with the profile head of the boy in the painting of Holbein's family at Basle, we find here also the peculiar cut of the mouth, the position of the eyes, and the form of the nose, while the high brow is only lowered by the hair which is combed over it. This picture, as we shall subsequently show, belongs to the year 1529, and the boy in it may very well be the same. In these children of 1522, as well as in the two children in the family painting, there exists a great similarity with many other children in Holbein's paintings, with the Holy Child in the Virgin's arms in the Meier Madonna painting, especially in the Darmstadt copy, and with the somewhat older-looking Cupid beside the "Offenburgin," who appears as Venus,—a painting probably executed in the year 1526, and of which we shall speak subsequently. We do not maintain that in these drawings and paintings it is ever the same child, that is, the elder boy in the family painting, who is depicted; we do not think to perceive indeed throughout personal resemblance, but only family resemblance. The recent investigations of Herr His-Heusler have afforded us information regarding a far more numerous Holbein family than we hitherto knew of; and from the great mortality among children at that time, we must on an average reckon a fair amount of losses among those of his children who arrived at maturity.

And as Holbein painted his own child as the Infant Christ in the Solothurn picture, so, we believe, he took his own wife for a model for the Holy Virgin. From the records respecting Sigmund Holbein's will, her name was *Elsbeth*, and another document with which we have become acquainted proves that Franz Schmid, who appears in the ratification of the testament as her authorized agent, was her son. Holbein thus married a widow, and the before-mentioned family picture seems to infer that she was a few years older than her husband. If we compare this in no wise pleasing portrait, which bears the marks of much sorrow and many cares, with the lovely Madonna head, we shall, in spite of the difference in the first impression, perceive the similarity of the features. Seven years before, years which must have been doubly long to her, owing to the various troubles of life, Frau Elsbeth may have

[1] Alwin Schulz, Urkundliche Geschichte der Breslauer Maler-Innung, 1866, p. 31.

looked just as the Virgin here. The comparison is assisted by a drawing from the Jabach Collection in the Museum of the Louvre, which hangs there among the "Inconnus, Ecole Allemande," but which to an eye familiar with Holbein proclaims itself at once to be a work of this master.[1] It is a metallic pencil drawing on tinted paper, effectually touched with Indian ink and red pencil, like the numerous sketch-book sheets belonging to Holbein's Augsburg and early Basle period. That we here see the same person as in the Solothurn painting, we perceive at the first glance: in the drawing she is represented naturally, with the utmost exactness and fidelity to life; in the painting, as the case requires it, she is elevated above common reality. In the drawing, as well as in the family picture and the Solothurn painting, it is a full-face portrait, only that her head is inclined a little towards her left shoulder; the head is uncovered, the hair hangs down behind in two plaits, while in front the braids are somewhat loosened. Her broad chest and neck are uncovered, as they are also in the family picture, where the bosom has already become too full, and is no longer charming. A necklace adorns the young wife, which is identical with the necklace of St. Ursula at Carlsruhe,[2] and in the border of her dress the constantly recurring device ALS IN ERN[3] is embroidered. The rather feebly opened eyes, with their heavy upper lids, the large nose, which produces from the skilful turn of the head no disagreeable effect, the somewhat strongly developed chin, and the straight cut of the mouth with its full lips, are to be found in all three faces.

The young woman in the Louvre stands before us as a genuine daughter of the citizen class of that day, vigorous, round, and youthful in appearance, with a pleasant smile, which is not exactly intelligent, but very attractive in expression. In the painting of the Virgin, on the contrary, her personal appearance is raised beyond the limits of reality, and, in a manner in which Holbein is unsurpassed, she is idealized without in the least losing the stamp of individuality.

This work is only surpassed by a Madonna picture which is not dated, but which can scarcely have been executed much later than the painting we have just discussed. Every German, when he hears the name of Holbein, thinks of the Madonna with the Meier family, just as the name of Raphael recalls the Sistine Madonna.

And yet the painting at Dresden, which he has in his mind, is not the original. This is to be found at Darmstadt, in the possession of the Princess Charles, by birth Princess of Prussia. That this work is from the master's

[1] Both these suppositions, the similarity with the wife in the family picture and the accordance of this work with Holbein, were first made by Herr His-Heusler, from a photograph by Braun, and he informed the author of them, before he had become acquainted with the original in Paris, which completely removed all doubt.

[2] Cf. the former chapter.

[3] "Alles in Ehren."

own hand, and that it is superior in many parts to the Dresden picture, was first expressed by Dr. Waagen, as long ago as 1830. The most renowned art-investigators subsequently accorded with this opinion. The full evidence of its genuineness we can now, however, adduce, from notices respecting the history of the Darmstadt picture.

The oldest authority which speaks of the painting is a manuscript written by the Basle lawyer and art collector, Remigius Fesch, and which is now in the library at Basle. It was written soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, and bears the title, "Humanæ industriæ monumenta," and the thirty-fifth folio sheet contains nothing but notices regarding Holbein, in Latin, among others the following:—

"In the year 163-, the above-named painter, Le Blond, bought here of the widow and heirs of Lucas Iselin at St. Martin, a painting on wood, about three Basle ells high by three broad, upon which the before-mentioned Burgomaster Jacob Meier and his sons were represented on the right side, and on the other, his wife and daughters. I possess copies of the son and daughter, painted in Belgium from the picture itself by Joh. Ludi. Le Blond paid for the picture 1,000 imperials, and sold it afterwards for three times as much to Maria dei Medici, Queen dowager of France, mother of King Louis XIII., while she was residing in Belgium, where she died. Whither it afterwards went, is uncertain."

These notices Patin made use of in his Life of Holbein, without mentioning Iselin's name. The manuscript, however, contains a marginal observation of which Patin seems not to have known, and which Fesch, therefore, probably added subsequently: "This panel belonged to my grandfather, the Burgomaster Remigius Fesch, from whom Lucas Iselin gained possession of it, ostensibly for the ambassador of the King of France, and paid 100 gold crowns for it (coronatos aureos soluit) about the year 1606."

Genealogical investigators[1] have now, however, proved that the Fesch family is related with the family of the Burgomaster Jacob Meier zum Hasen, the donator of the picture. Rosa Irmi (died 1609), third wife of the Burgomaster Remigius Fesch, was a daughter of Colonel Nicolaus Irmi (born 1507, died 1552) and of Anna Meier, daughter of the Burgomaster Jacob Meier zum Hasen, afterwards wife of a Wilhelm Hebdenring, and who died as a widow on the 14th August, 1558. This Anna Meier is evidently the daughter whom we see kneeling in the painting.

The statements find a direct sequel in the notices of Sandrart, who in his Life of Holbein, when speaking of Le Blon's collection, says, "This gentleman has long ago [that is, long before Sandrart's departure from Amsterdam, which occurred about 1645[2]] sold to the book-keeper, Johann Lössert, at his urgent

[1] The author owes this information to Herr His-Heusler. It rests upon a pedigree in the possession of Herr Burckhardt, in Basle.

[2] Fechner, p. 210.

request, for the sum of 3,000 gulden, a standing figure of the Virgin painted on a panel, holding her little child in her arms, and under her is a carpet on which some figures are kneeling before her, taken from life," the original sketches of which, in our Sandrart sketch-book, enable us to perceive the magnificence of this noble picture. Sandrart therefore possessed the studies for some of these figures. From this we gather that Le Blon had not obtained this picture for Maria dei Medici, at any rate he had not consigned it to her but that, soon after he had himself purchased it, he had resigned it to Lössert of whom we know not whether he desired it for himself or purchased it by order of another.

Hitherto it has been generally supposed that this painting, traceable as it was to Meier's descendants and sold by Le Blon to Lössert, was the picture in the Dresden Gallery. This picture had been obtained by means of Count Algarotti in the year 1744, at Venice, from Delfino, whose father had received it as a legacy from the Venetian banker Avogadro. Algarotti's first letter[1] respecting this affair expresses the conjecture that this Venetian painting was the very picture described by Sandrart. His second letter confirms this idea; an old man of the name of Griffoni, who was in the service of its former possessor Avogadro, had told him that his master had obtained it about the year 1690 as payment of a debt owed him by a bankrupt Amsterdam house.

I have, however, received the following communication from Herr B Suermondt:—"Hoet, Catalogus van Schildergen (paintings), Hague, 1782, contains in vol. i. p. 133 et seq., the Catalogus van Schildergen van Jacob Cromhout, en van Jasper Loskart, verkogt den 7 and 8 May, 1799, in Amsterdam."[2] Here we find:

"24. Een kapitaal stuck, met twee Deuren verbeeldendi[3] Maria met Jesus op haar Arm, met verscheyde knidende Bulden na't Leeven[4] van Hans Holbein. . . . . fl. 2,000." From the description, it is not to be doubted that this "capital piece" was the Meier Madonna. The price is not quite so high as in the seventeenth century, but quite considerable enough. In the same auction a grand altar-piece by Rubens only fetched 1,000 gulden. The name of Loskart, who is mentioned as one of the two proprietors, is undoubtedly identical with the name of Lössert, to whom Sandrart alludes; and thus the painting—which, according to Algarotti, was said to have been brought to Venice from Holland in 1690—was actually in Amsterdam in 1709, and moreover in possession of the same family who had obtained it from Le Blon.

[1] The letters are published by Fechner, "Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste," xii. p. 223, et seq.

[2] Catalogue of paintings belonging to Jacob Cromhout and Jasper Loskart, sold in Amsterdam, May 7th and 8th, 1709.

[3] Representing.

[4] With various kneeling figures from life.

MADONNA OF THE BURGOMASTER MEIER.
(Darmstadt.)

On the old rich gilt frame which encircles the picture at Darmstadt, and which belongs probably to the end of the seventeenth century, there are, however, two coats of arms. One of these, according to Herr Dielitz, Secretary-general to the Royal Museum at Berlin, who is well-skilled in heraldry, is the arms of the Cromhout family; the same name therefore as that which is mentioned in combination with Loskart in the auction catalogue of 1709. Only one difficulty yet remains. The auction catalogue speaks of two doors. It is quite conceivable that originally the painting was provided with folding panels, which were perhaps designed for arms and inscriptions. On the present frame, however, these are not to be discovered. Perhaps the former doors were separately preserved at the time of the auction, and also sold. This statement, which fell into my hands independently of the former, but at about the same time, furnishes certainly a sufficient proof that the Darmstadt picture is the one mentioned in the documents of the seventeenth century, and it can even be traced to the direct descendants of the donator.

Of the further fate of the Darmstadt picture, we only know that in the year 1822, Prince William of Prussia obtained it for 2,500 thalers from the Parisian picture-seller Delahaute, by means of Delahaute's brother-in-law Spontini. At the death of the Prince, the Berlin Museum, owing to the ignorance of the Director-general of the Museum, failed to obtain the painting, though the matter was urged to the utmost by Dr. Waagen. On the division of the property it was assigned to a daughter, Princess Elizabeth, the consort of Prince Charles of Hesse, in whose private apartment it hangs.

The history of the Dresden picture is certainly not to be traced further than to Venice and to the last century. If the statement which Algarotti received from the old Griffoni is correct, and if it really also came from Amsterdam about the year 1690, we might infer that the Dresden painting was a copy made at that time in Holland.

The difference between the Darmstadt and the Dresden picture is apparent. Any one who is acquainted with Holbein's pictures at Basle, will find that the former accords with them strikingly both as regards painting and execution, and the latter does not. The Dresden picture, although well painted, still lacks much of that freshness and harmony of colour which the Darmstadt picture exhibits, and which is well preserved, though covered with a somewhat heavy and yellow coating of varnish. In the Dresden picture the dark green colour of the Virgin's dress is striking. It neither suits the general tone of colour, nor is it in harmony with the tradition, in accordance with which the Madonna is generally dressed in red or blue. This colour only arose from a misunderstanding of the copyist, for in the Darmstadt picture the Madonna is dressed in blue, but from this same yellow varnish it has assumed a greenish lustre. This very fact is a distinct proof that the

copy at Dresden was not executed at the time of the painter himself or even in his atelier, but was produced at a later period. In the Darmstadt picture, the red girdle and the golden under-sleeves harmonize excellently with the colouring of the dress and mantle, which is of a lighter grey. The red trousers of the elder boy are flat and monotonous in the Dresden picture, but in the other they are effectively rounded. The dark attire of the other figures in the one forms a heavy opaque mass; in the others, on the contrary, especially in the costume of the burgomaster, brightness and variety are introduced into the black drapery. The various materials, cloth and damask, velvet and fur trimming, are all plainly to be distinguished. The Dresden picture moreover gives no idea of the masterly precision in the drawing, and of the bright and pure effect of colour in the carpet. Lastly, where gold and brilliant jewel ornaments are introduced, which are to be seen in the picture at Darmstadt, especially in the head-dress of the kneeling girl, the wonderful perfection of the execution surpasses the other by far. Great effect is produced by the clear, vigorous, and warm flesh tints, which also mark most of Holbein's Basle pictures, and the modelling of the two naked children is especially beautiful. In the foot of the child whom Mary is holding, there is a slight wrinkle in the skin, a wonderful adherence to nature, which is lacking in the Dresden picture. This child is also very diverse in the two pictures. In the Dresden picture there is something poor in its form, and it has that well-known sad expression which has given rise to such strange interpretations; in the Darmstadt picture it is far better formed and the features wear a sweet smile. Equally great are the differences in the head of the Madonna, which indeed is the most beautiful part of the Dresden picture, but which shows a certain modernizing and effeminacy of expression, when compared with the Madonna countenance of the original. In this the features are severer and more decided, the nose is larger, the eyebrows are stronger, and an expression of wonderful majesty is combined with loveliness and gracefulness, making this head, with its charmingly drooping eyelids and fine throat, so incomparably beautiful. The ideal of true womanliness, as the German conceived it, here stands before us; but, as in the Solothurn Madonna, we feel that here again a distinct individual formed its model, and there is no trace here of a repetition of some traditionary type, as is so usual in the Flemish and German Madonna heads of the preceding epoch in the works of Memling, of Meister Stephen Lochner of Cologne, and in those of Schongauer.

Still greater almost is the superiority of all the other characters in the Darmstadt picture. He who has once seen this work, finds the countenances, in the Dresden copy, lifeless and hard in comparison. It is only here that we feel the energy and hearty faithful enthusiasm of the burgomaster; it is only here that we become reconciled with the countenance of the young girl kneeling

in front, which is in nowise beautiful, and in the Dresden copy has in it something repulsive, but which is here truly glorified by the expression of devotion which is diffused over it. The mother also by her side, and the brother opposite, are far more lifelike. Only in the heads of the Darmstadt picture do we find perfect accordance with the three coloured sketches, drawn from life with exceeding exactness and delicacy, which are preserved in the Basle Museum; father, as well as mother and daughter. The latter is conceived here otherwise than in the pictures. Her hands with the rosary are hanging lower down, her fair hair is flowing loosely about her. We see how Holbein has studied in order to gain a more pleasing aspect of this unattractive personage without in any way deviating from the strictest truth.[1] The hands, moreover, as well as the heads in the Darmstadt picture, are also more speaking and lifelike. The treatment of the hands is in general a test of Holbein. In this very respect the Dresden picture stands lowest. Even if no second copy existed, doubts must have arisen on this account respecting Holbein's personal execution of the work. We perceive the master always in the incomparable delicacy with which he makes the female hand emerge from the ruffle; the hand of the young girl in the Dresden picture is, however, far removed from such delicacy. To every artistic eye it will seem impossible that the same artist could have painted the hands in this painting and those in the portrait of Morett, hanging opposite to it, although the latter may have been executed at a later period. No more dangerous vicinity could have been chosen for the Madonna.

Lastly, a striking difference appears in the proportions of the pictures. The figures in both are equally great: in the copy they are evidently made from a tracing of the original, but the Darmstadt picture is some inches shorter than the Dresden, and is heavier and more compact in the architecture seen behind the figures. The substantial and massively formed consoles of the arch are introduced here immediately over the heads of the kneeling figures, while in the Dresden picture their form is somewhat more elegant, and beneath them there is a portion of the pillar perceptible, from which they rise. The arch in the Darmstadt picture terminates immediately over the Virgin's head, while in the Dresden picture a bare space is left above it. In this copy, some of the figures themselves are less compact: for instance, the burgomaster himself, who has raised himself higher, and the Virgin also, who is more erect than in the original, and in whose figure, just as in the organ doors and other works of Holbein, we perceive a touch of the Gothic curve of outline. Herr von Zahn, who first drew attention to this change in the

[1] It has been regarded as a difference between them, that in the Dresden picture the face of the elder woman, next the Madonna, is quite in light, while in the Darmstadt picture a shadow seems to have fallen on it. But it only seems to have done so; it proceeds simply from a dark stripe in the varnish.

proportions, regarded the differences in the Dresden copy[1] as improvements which the artist had endeavoured to make in repeating the subject himself. But, on the contrary, they may be attributed to the misunderstanding of a modern hand. These compact proportions are exactly in Holbein's taste, and give the composition a solid character. In the Darmstadt picture, the bust of the Madonna is most gracefully placed just within the semicircle, while in the Dresden picture the diameter of the semicircle does not intersect her shoulder but her chin, and the beautiful arrangement within the space is thus lost sight of.

If the opportunity were afforded of placing both pictures side by side, the superiority of the Darmstadt painting would become evident to the public at large. Hitherto we have not been able to compare photographs from the paintings themselves. In the Dresden Gallery, owing to the inconceivable narrow-mindedness of the authorities, it is forbidden to take photographs of paintings, and the Darmstadt picture has been photographed recently from a drawing by Professor Felsing, instead of from the original. On the other hand a coloured lithograph of it will shortly appear, by the Arundel Society, from an excellent water-colour copy by Herr Schulz.

We have become acquainted with Jacob Meier zum Hasen, the first burgomaster of the guilds, at the period of his highest splendour. From henceforth he was repeatedly chosen for the highest position in Basle, but in the year 1521 the tables were turned. On the 16th of October he was dismissed from his post, because, belonging to the decided French party, he had received a higher pension than was permitted from the French king. The levies for Francis I., which had been countenanced by him, had resulted in evil. A part of the soldiers raised allowed themselves to be enlisted on the antagonistic papal side, and thus the sons of the same city stood opposed to each other in two hostile armies, bringing the utmost tumult into Basle itself. The former burgomaster was obliged to deliver up all he had received above the permitted sum of fifteen crowns; and when he afterwards endeavoured to excite commotion, he was again imprisoned, and was only released at the request of his family on payment of 100 gulden.[2] We must refrain from subjecting Meier's mode of dealing to a too strict moral standard. Little as the transaction is to be praised, the receipt of pensions was at that time quite usual. In all parts of Switzerland, especially in Berne, we know that the ablest and worthiest men received them. Respecting Meier's further fate we are but little informed. When, in the beginning of the spring of 1524, two hundred free youths set forth from Basle to join the French in Italy, one Jacob Meier was appointed captain, a fact from which Ochs supposes that he may have been our burgomaster. A contemporaneous

[1] Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste, xi. 1865.

[2] Ochs, v. p. 362 et seq.

document, which mentions the Captain "Jacob zum Hasen," confirms this supposition.[1] Meier had before distinguished himself as a soldier; in 1507 he had served as an ensign in some Basle troops which proceeded to Genoa in the service of France, and in 1510 and 1512 he had been captain of the Basle auxiliaries which had been granted to Pope Julius II. Thus a man accustomed to such an active life would be likely in this manner to seek the activity abroad which was denied to him at home. We hear of him again in the year 1527, when he appears, on the 4th May, in the Black Book, as it was decided not to annul the original decree pronounced against him; namely, exclusion from all public offices connected with the oath to reveal nothing concerning the secrets of the Council.[2] In the year 1529, during the disorders which preceded the iconoclastic storm, Jacob Meier zum Hasen was speaker of the armed Catholic opposition party. That he attached himself to this, and was hostile to the new doctrines, which were more and more favoured by his successors, especially by those owning his own name, Adelberg Meier and Jacob Meier zum Hirtzen, is very explicable even from external grounds. It was the Reformers, with Zwingli at their head, who had denounced most forcibly the evil of the French pensions, and he must therefore have borne them a grudge.

If we compare the head of Jacob Meier, in the Darmstadt painting, with the portrait of the year 1516, we shall perceive that many years had elapsed since Holbein had painted him for the first time. But many as were the storms which must have passed over the head of the former burgomaster, it is ever the same wise, refined, and energetic countenance. His wife, Anna Tscheckapürlin,[3] is to be seen in the woman kneeling at the left of the Madonna, immediately behind the young girl. She wears the dress of a married woman, and has a decided similarity with Frau Anna's portrait, which appeared in 1516. The other woman, who is kneeling next to the Holy Virgin, and whose chin and neck are entirely concealed by the kerchief, is much too old to be the same. The elder woman, therefore, must be regarded as the mother, or the mother-in-law of the burgomaster, or even much more probably as a former deceased wife, for such a combination of the living and the dead was quite usual,—we have only to call to mind Holbein's votive picture of the Schwartz Family—and it appears especially in epitaphs. Many things, however, tend to show that the Meier Madonna was also an epitaph. An altar-piece it can scarcely have been, because the religious element does

[1] Communicated by Herr His-Heusler.

[2] Communicated by the same, "Schwarz-buch," fol. 13.

[3] There is no earlier authority for this name than Patin. A manuscript of Remigius Fesch, discovered by Herr His-Heusler, entitled "Statt und Burger Buch," belonging to the year 1630, mentions as Meier's wife a Verena . . . . and assigns to him besides Anna, the wife of Tomi, another daughter, wife of Martin Hagenbach. This, however, as has been subsequently proved, is only a confusion with the wife and daughter of the Meier zum Hirtzen.

not appear sufficiently independently in it, and the Madonna is only introduced with reference to the family. On the other hand, the subject here depicted is to be met with constantly on epitaphs: namely, the Virgin as Mother of Grace, spreading her mantle over those kneeling before her, and taking them thus as it were under her wings. Thus she appears, for instance, in Adam Krafft's monument to the family Pergensdorfer, in the Frauenkirche at Nuremberg, with the Holy Child in her arms, and two angels spreading her mantle over the figures kneeling below her; on the one side, the representatives of all classes, from the Pope and Emperor, and on the other side the family. In the same manner, in the Meier picture, the Virgin's mantle rests lightly on the shoulders of the burgomaster, and is also spread out on the other side, to encircle the woman likewise.

Thus Jacob Meier, in this picture, plainly expresses his sentiments and his old Catholic confession of faith. At a period in which the new doctrines were penetrating with more and more vigour, and even had gained ascendency in the government of the town, he placed himself and his whole house here with intention and design before the eyes of all, in adoration and under the protection of the Holy Virgin, and of the divine Child whom she bore.

Yet, however distinct and simple is the subject of the painting, in recent times it has been much misunderstood, and an interpretation conveyed to the picture which has been widely disseminated, and has even been repeated in the inscription belonging to the Steinla engraving. It arose at Dresden, among the Romanticists, and may probably be traced to Ludwig Tieck. Had the Darmstadt original, and not the Dresden copy, been known to the public, these ideas would never have arisen; for in the Dresden picture, the Child in the Virgin's arms, as we have already said, looks somewhat miserable, and makes a whining face, which is not the case in the Darmstadt painting. A feeling of opposition, therefore, arose against its being regarded as the Infant Christ, and they hit upon the idea that it was a sick child of the family, whom the Madonna, at the petition of the parents, had taken in her arms, while she placed her Holy Child on the ground among the kneeling figures. Besides the appearance of the child in her arms, another circumstance was added, which led to this supposition; it seemed surprising that the boy standing below should be represented naked; and they considered it impossible that the painter should have so painted a child of the family, and they therefore preferred regarding this child as the Infant Christ. At a period, however, at which a naked child belonging to the family would have excited surprise, an unclothed Infant Christ would have been equally objectionable. For the fact that in paintings the Holy Child is usually depicted naked, has its ground in this, that at that time small children were constantly seen in that condition. In Italy they ran naked about the streets, as, indeed,

they also do even at the present day. This may be seen in numerous Tuscan fresco paintings, the representations on which are a faithful copy of the national life of the time.

In Germany, at an age in which there were no night garments, children lay wholly unclothed in the cradle; and just as they were there, the mother took them in her arms. In mere portrait pictures, children, even of a somewhat older age, appear unclothed. We have only to call to mind that painting of a Netherlander which hangs in the Cassel Gallery, and is erroneously designated as a picture of Holbein's family. It was a sense of the beautiful which impelled the Italians to depict the child in a state of nature, and Holbein was so imbued with the happy spirit of the Renaissance, that he never neglected the opportunity of painting a pretty bambino, a task which must have afforded him true delight in the midst of all his figures in the stiff and heavy costume of the time. But the story of the sick child speedily found acceptance with the public, who were ready to regard a modern invention as an old tradition. We know that no trace of any earlier confirmation of this exists: "Maria mit dem kindlein auf dem arm," Sandrart calls it, and the auction catalogue of 1709 styles it, "Maria with Jesus in her arm." The whole thing has a modern sentimental stamp, and no analogy with it is to be found in Holbein's time. Every unbiassed mind must allow, that when the Madonna appears with a child in her arms, this child is at once regarded as the Infant Christ. If it be intended for another child, this is expressly notified. Had Holbein really purposed painting the Madonna as taking a sick child in her arms to comfort or to cure it, he was just the man to depict this in such a manner that no doubt would have existed; he, the painter of dramatic action, would have represented this as an event actually happening, and sudden in its effect.

Doubts as to this interpretation necessarily therefore have arisen on all sides. It appeared extraordinary that the Madonna should have placed her own Child in the midst of the family, that the petitioners should take no notice of him, and that the kneeling elder boy should embrace him in such a brotherly and intimate manner. And so a variation in this interpretation appeared, which in recent times has been repeated and amply defended.[1] The second part of the explanation was relinquished, but the first which was interesting to modern feeling was retained, and it was asserted that the upper child was sick, and that the one below was the same child recovered to health by prayers to the Madonna. It

[1] Mrs. Jameson, "Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts." Second edition, London, 1857. Sighart, "Geschichte der bildenden Künste im Königreich Baiern." 1863. Victor Jacobi: "Neue Deutung der beiden nackten Knaben auf Holbeins Madonna und andere Momente im Dresden Gemälde;" Leipzig, 1865. Fechner, "Ueber die Deutungsfrage der Holbeinschen Madonna: Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste," xii.

was even discovered that the sick part was the little left arm, because both children are making a movement with it.

But it does not agree with Holbein's style to suppose that he has depicted two different moments in one and the same picture, in a painting, too, possessing such wonderful unity of feeling. Former analogies with such a representation have not been found, in spite of all the efforts of the defenders of this view, and one single apparent analogy, which has been adduced,[1] shows the far-fetched and suspicious character of this interpretation in the fullest light. Herr Fechner supposes that in another drawing of Holbein's in the Basle Museum, which is photographed by Braun, and which we have described in a former chapter, there is likewise evidence of the diseased arm; the child, he says, is making a face, the Madonna is clasping its wrist as though she were setting the dislocated little arm, and the knight kneeling below exhibits "surprise at the miracle!" There is just as little the case of anything of the kind here as in the Meier painting. Holbein has depicted the child in the drawing thoroughly naturally as a restless little boy, and the attitude of the knight with his hands upraised in prayer only marks the fervent petitioner. It also renders the matter doubtful, that a second instance of such an abnormal idea should have occurred with Holbein, whilst otherwise art archæology affords no other. This was felt by the defender of the view, and he therefore brings forward the further supposition that this drawing was the sketch for the Meier picture itself. He is not withheld from this hypothesis by the fact that there is not the slightest harmony between the two, either in composition, figures, or scenery, beyond the general requisition of a Madonna and a niche, which however, both in drawing and in form, are perfectly different: and this difference prevails to such a degree that in the drawing of the Holy Virgin, not the whole family, but only one man is kneeling; that he is moreover not attired like a citizen and beardless like Jacob Meier, but wears armour and a large beard. Jacob Meier, says Herr Fechner, also repeatedly went to war, and thus he may perhaps have allowed his beard to grow!

We will not speak further of other attempts at interpretation, for instance that which considers the child in the Virgin's arms as the soul of a deceased infant.[2] When we have once accustomed ourselves to regard the picture otherwise than in a simple and natural manner, the imagination knows no limits. In itself such trifling is harmless, but it leads to a wrong understanding of the true artistic intention of the master, and that is its dangerous side.

We have already said that such delight in interpretations would not have arisen had the public known the original instead of the Dresden copy, for in the former the child is better formed, and instead of the sad expression is smiling sweetly. In the Darmstadt picture also the Infant is in nowise beautiful, but

[1] Fechner, Ibid. xii. [2] Schäfer, Dresdner Gallerie.

this lies with the model, of which the artist made use. The burgomaster's little boy, who is standing below, is more beautifully formed. In the Holy Child he had evidently, as is the case in many others of his pictures, especially in the Solothurn Madonna, taken one of his own children as a model: that family resemblance of which we have before spoken, is to be found here also. Moreover Holbein depicted the child at a very tender age, evidently when only a few months old, while the Italians, from the fact that they generally give to their Madonna Child on an average two years old or more, can better satisfy the taste for the beautiful. The outstretching of the left arm, as is seen in both the children in the Meier picture, is a constant movement with little children, which Holbein copied from nature. It is also to be seen combined with a very characteristic turning out of the palm of the hand, in the Child of the Solothurn Madonna. A similar movement of the arm is also to be perceived in the child depicted in the woodcut of the Freiburg statute-book. The manner is very pretty in which Holbein has combined this movement, which is natural to children, and in the Holy Child of the Meier Madonna is perfectly unconstrained, with that which the situation requires. While it stretches out the little arm, it extends its hand protectingly over those kneeling below.

This, however, is a matter which the subject absolutely required.

In representations of the Madonna with the mantle of grace, the Virgin may be depicted either as the intercessor, or as the dispenser of grace. In the first case she appears in prayer and without the Child, as in Fra Bartolommeo's famous picture, the Madonna della Misericordia in San Romano at Lucca, where Christ, to whom she is turning, appears on high; also in a painting by Fra Filippo Lippi in the Museum at Berlin; in a picture by Hans Scheuffelein in the monastery church at Heilsbronn, in a sandstone group in St. Stephen's at Vienna, and numerous other instances. In the second case, when she is not imploring for mercy, but dispensing grace, she has the Child on her arm, for only through the Child can she do this. An instance of this is to be seen in the Pergensdorfer Epitaph by Adam Krafft, and we see it also here.

The figures kneeling below are not here on a smaller scale, as in Krafft's picture, but they are of about the same size as the Saint herself, for the modern age had passed beyond that antique custom. And the divine Mother does not appear among the clouds, she is not enthroned in heavenly regions, but she treads earthly soil, she is depicted in the midst of pious petitioners, she is standing on the same carpet as that on which they are kneeling. No longer as a vision, but bodily and actually is she represented, and in her attribute as a mother, which we see beautifully expressed not only in her relation to the Child, but which is extended to all who kneel below her. And hence she seems so humanly near to them and to us, in spite of the glittering royal

crown upon her flowing golden hair. With inexpressible affection the Child clings to the mother, leaning its little head on its hand, which is placed on her breast, and with equal affection the Virgin nestles her cheek close to the little one, in perfect self-forgetfulness and wholly identified with the Child whom she is holding. Only to dispense the blessing of the Son of God made man is she there; she is only there as the bearer of the Child. With both hands she holds it, she, the modest handmaid of the Lord, who regards herself as scarcely worthy of the costly treasure resting in her arms. Mother and child are as one figure, fulfilling one function. The Child blesses and she bears Him; not the giver of grace, only the bringer of grace can she be and will she be.

Fully struck, however, with the consciousness of this grace, the faithful burgomaster kneels there with his family, below her; according to the old custom, the men on the right of her, the women to the left. A serious tone of devotion is spread over them all, and each, after his way, takes part in the prayer. Fixed, calm certainty of happiness is expressed in the elder women; believing, enthusiastic conviction in the burgomaster; and serious and pious absorption in the young daughter, though this is indeed only to be seen in the Darmstadt picture. Obediently, as he had been taught by pious instruction, the youth kneels there, and the little brother whom he holds and embraces cannot yet know and understand what is going on; in childlike unconstraint he stands among the worshippers, but he has only an unconscious share in the redemption from above, which is vouchsafed to them all. Praying, they look upwards, yet, full of humility, none ventures to meet eye to eye the Divine manifestation; but full, hearty certainty of communion with the Holy One pervades them all and unites them all, and from the hand of the Divine Child, which is mildly extended over them, His blessing descends upon them: "Peace be with you!"

In no picture as in this do we find more truly expressed that feeling of simple heartiness which we like to regard as specifically German, but the picture is also thoroughly German in external appearance. The simple, absolute, honest truth, which was the artistic aim of the Germanic north, meets us here in its utmost perfection. At the same time, however, the artist rested entirely on the principles of modern representation, as he had become acquainted with them, directly or indirectly, through the influence of Italian Renaissance. This is shown in the nobleness of the drawing, in which all hardness is overcome in the beauty of the lines, and in the masterly style of the composition, which here—where the main figure commands the whole, which is arranged pyramidally, and the masses on each side are balanced with such delicacy of feeling and are yet placed with such life and variety—surpasses even the composition of the Solothurn Madonna. The outstretched protruding hand of the Child is in Mantegna's taste, in whose Madonna della Victoria, in the Louvre,

we see the same idea expressed in the gesture of the Madonna. The foliage of a fig-tree, standing out from the deep blue of the atmosphere, behind the heads of the worshippers, also reminds us of the South. Yet a direct reminiscence of influential models, as we have seen it in the scenes from the Passion, is never exhibited. Holbein fully made his own all that he has received from others.

CHAPTER X.

Works of wall-painting.—Façade paintings.—The house "zum Tanz."—The painting of the great Town-hall.—Holbein's paintings at Basle.—Original documents.—Pictures of Justice and citizen Virtue.—Subjects from antiquity.—Interruption of the work.—The cause for this in the circumstances of the time.—Commencement of the Reformation in Basle.

SIDE by side with religious paintings, Holbein found occasion also for works of a secular purport; and while he painted the former as easel pictures on wooden panels, he adopted wall-painting for the latter. We have already seen him beginning these in Lucerne, and at Basle he carried this branch of art to the utmost perfection. But in the one place as in the other, all that remains to us are only ruins, sketches, and faulty copies, from which we can with difficulty form an idea of the works that once existed.

Façade painting, which was usual in Switzerland, was also practised by Holbein to a great extent at Basle. It is true we have only in *one* instance records of such work; but that this was not the only one, is shown by many sketches in the Basle Museum. There is a slight but masterly Indian ink etching, exhibiting large pillars with arches, which conceal the inequality of the windows by skilful perspective arrangement. Between two of these, an emperor is sitting on his throne.[1] In the collection of drawings in the Louvre at Paris, there is the sketch of a high narrow-gabled house, with child genii holding coats of arms and garlands over the entrance, with rich Renaissance ornament, with columns, which are clasped by bearded Roman warriors, and with reliefs, which contain figurative representations, contests between men and women, and, beneath the window of the ground-floor, two dogs biting each other. Perhaps a passage which appears in the earliest biographical notices of Holbein, in a paper by Dr. Ludwig Iselin,[2] at the close of the sixteenth century, refers to this episode. It is here said, in order to prove Holbein's eminent truthfulness to nature: "He painted a dog, at which dogs running past used to bark." Several sketches show that he was indeed a master in the representation of animals.

A coloured etching in Vol. U of the Basle Collection exhibits the ground-

[1] Hall of Sketches, No. 26.

[2] Discovered by Herr His-Heusler in the Basle Library.

floor of a house; two columns at the side of the Gothic entrance, above the architrave of which a semicircular arch rests, while the tympanum is filled with Tritons and such like figures. Everywhere there is rich ornament. By the side of the door there is a broad shallow-arched window placed high from the ground. This window is enclosed by pillars and columns, while the space below is filled with the painting of a wall, a small breastwork of pillars, and the beginning of a flight of steps. Above the architrave which terminates the framework of the window above, there is a space ornamented with naked boys, playing and making music, and genii who are poising themselves on festoons.

Until the middle of the last century, there was a famous painting by Holbein to be seen decorating a house in the Eisengasse, near the Rhine bridge, which was called after one of the pictures, the "Haus zum Tanz" (the house of the dance). Old records[1] tell us that Holbein received forty gulden for this work, a sum which was small even according to the ideas of that time, not to speak of the present day when such works are paid with thousands. Fortunately we can almost entirely bring to view what has here perished. In the Basle Museum there is a large and highly interesting etching of it,[2] which does not, indeed, seem to be the original sketch, but the tracing of an original; for this clever sheet only lacks power and certainty in the drawing of the lines.

The manner in which Holbein here handles the matter, shows an extraordinary advance upon the Hertenstein house at Lucerne. There, the larger and smaller pictures covered the whole space between the windows, as though it were entirely heavy with tapestries. This no longer satisfied the artist; instead of the picturesque principle, he now allowed an architectural style to prevail in the arrangement. The front was quite irregular, and distinguished by nothing in particular. What the architect had neglected, the painter retrieved; he built in colours. There was no straight line, no window was like another in height and breadth; indeed, in the different stories, one scarcely ever stood over another. For picturesque ornament, this was the greatest hindrance that could be imagined; but where a master is concerned, the difficulties of his task become his triumph. This irregularity and broken character of the front gave the artist occasion to use every means for its concealment. Just *this* became an opportunity for him to give bolder and more brilliant scope to his imagination.

The building was a corner house. The left and narrower side of the drawing represents the façade towards the Eisengasse. The broad pointed arched windows and the narrow entrance door, which was at the extreme end of

[1] "Theodori Zwingeri methodus apodemica," Basle. 1857, p. 199. "Domus privata in platea ferri choream rusticam exhibet; a J. Holbenio, xl. florenorum stipendio depicta."

[2] Vol. U. ii. No. 6.

the front, were enclosed by heavy short columns with Ionic capitals. Garlands passed from one to the other. This façade and the ornaments were so skilfully arranged that the pointed arches, which were in contradiction to the Renaissance style of the decoration, looked as though they had merely arisen from perspective foreshortening. Above the architrave there was a broad strip reaching to the windows of the second story; this contained the *Peasant's Dance*, which gave its name to the house. A little window above the house door intersected this strip. From this a table was made, on which a tankard and glasses stood, and against which two musicians were leaning. They were playing on the bagpipes; to this music old and young, all of them short, stout, vigorous figures, were moving boisterously. They were exulting and tumbling and chasing each other, and not able to restrain themselves in their merriment. The hats of the lads, and the hair of the girls, were wreathed with flowers. The fool, with his cap and bells, was not lacking in the merry dance; one wears it for all. In a few places the jest appeared somewhat more extravagant than would be thought fitting nowadays in the open street. In the last couple, for instance, we obtain too great a view of the legs of the dancing girl.

Between the windows of the second story stand pilasters and antique figures of gods: Mars, Minerva, Venus, and Cupid, and others. Above them, resting on consoles, there projects a splendid balustrade, which passes below the windows of the third story. It is enlivened by many festively dressed figures, who are walking on it or looking down; there is a greyhound among them. The windows of this story with their various heights and breadths are so skilfully placed among the grand columns and arches that they sometimes seem to project and sometimes to recede. Above them are medallions with heads; somewhat higher are friezes with rich ornaments, entablatures on which fabulous figures rest, such as a peacock which terminates in the body of a fish, or a boy ending in a dolphin; and by the side stands the paint-jar of the artist, as if he had left it there at his work. The whole is concluded by a crowning of small battlements, from which the windows of the fourth and last story rise aloft like little towers.

The right side of the drawing represents the front towards a small side-street. In the unbroken portion of the wall, next the corner, there is a proud portal introduced by the painter. It is arched high above, and we can look in through the deep perspective. A broad flight of steps ascends from the portico. Above, we see Curtius brandishing a hammer in his right hand, as he is on the point of plunging into the abyss with his rearing horse. On an off-set below there is a Roman soldier who is stooping and protecting himself with his hand, as if he feared the frantic rider might spring upon his head.

In that part of the ground-floor which joins the painted portal in the side-

street, there are only quite small apertures, and no windows. Probably, therefore, the stabling lay here. At any rate what Holbein here painted indicates this. He deludes us with the most graceful deception. We look in between the arches and the pilasters which support a strong epistyle ornamented with festoons: behind the breastwork we here see a groom and a noble horse. The ring to which the latter is fastened is attached to the foot of a strong column, which extends to the height of the entire horse, and is crowned with a figure of Hebe. Above the entablature of the lower story, between the windows of the next story, stands a fat and crowned youthful Bacchus with the winecup in his left hand; at his feet lies the cask and a second boy who has fallen asleep, because he has already taken too much of the good fare. Not far off from them a cat is stealing softly and slily with a mouse between its teeth. From here, a stricter arrangement of pilasters is continued to the roof cornice. Above the windows there are leaf ornaments and figures of little Cupids; and above them medallions with heads.

Besides this large drawing, there are sketches of separate parts; thus in the same book there is an etching, likewise a copy, in which the lower part of the second half with the horse and groom is to be seen. There is a larger and recent water-colour copy of the Peasants' Dance which has come with the Birmann collection into the Basle Museum.[1] Lastly, however, the Basle Museum possesses an undoubted original; a highly spirited chalk drawing, slightly touched with Indian ink in the shadows, and the outline vigorously and hastily traced with the pen. It represents a part of the façade in the Eisengasse. The whole building here maintains greater architectural strictness. A window of the third story which projects in the other sketch, here more pleasingly recedes behind a large triumphant arch and a splendid screen of three slender Corinthian columns standing in a line behind each other.

Both as regards the handling of the Renaissance style in architecture, and the fresh delight and joyfulness with which he treats profane subjects, Holbein nowhere displays such brilliant artistic skill as in this façade of the house "Zum Tanz." And yet one thing more! While the element of the fantastic ever forms the most fatal rock for northern art, Holbein has here employed it in such a manner that it reveals his power and magic, without his defects. With all his boldness, the play of the fancy is kept in bounds by strict law, charmingly as this is concealed, and little as freedom is limited. Everything is animated with the breath of perfect beauty. We may compare this painting with a brilliant concerto, which sometimes with pathetic seriousness, and sometimes with playfulness and jest, rushes along through a full orchestra. We may also say, it is the alluring fable world of a changing dream with its hundred varied pictures.

[1] No. 295, Picture Gallery.

A still more important work in wall-painting is the decoration of the principal apartment in the town-hall. But this production also no longer exists, and when we seek to recall as well as we can what it was, we cannot enter upon the task nor speak without sorrow of the ruin of so much that was grand and beautiful. Both the task and its accomplishment stand unique in German art.

Wurstisen, in his work which appeared in 1577,[1] mentioned the fact that "Delineations of the choicest things by the hand of the German Apelles" adorned the great council hall. Two years later we hear that the greatest piece of all had been terribly injured by the weather, and that utter destruction threatened it. The painter Hans Bock was therefore ordered to make a copy of it in oils upon canvas, which could be hung over the original. Subsequently we lose tidings of all the paintings; the rest seem also to have fallen a sacrifice to the dampness of the place. All idea of them had vanished when in the year 1817, on the removal of an old tapestry, scanty remains of the paintings were discovered.[2] All that were saved—only a few heads—were preserved in the Museum. Nevertheless it is possible to form an idea of the greatest part of the compositions. Slightly coloured etchings, some of them originals, but for the most part tracings after originals, are in existence, and these pictures again appear in the small modern copies which, on the discovery of the remains, the art-dealer Birmann ordered the painter Hieronymus Hess to make, and which are now in the anteroom of the Museum.

The Town-hall at Basle belongs at the present day to the most interesting monuments of the city. It is irregularly built, and was constructed at very different times, and lying on the slope of the hill, its courts and wings stand on an unequal level. What a picturesque view is gained from the market-place of the romantic late-Gothic structure, the ground-floor of which consists in the centre of a broad open hall, opening in three proud pointed arches, and affording a glimpse of the courtyard, from which there is an ascent by an open flight of steps! The lower arched hall, the open gallery above the steps, and many apartments in the interior, besides a part of the façade, are still adorned with wall-paintings. These do not belong to Holbein, but to the end of the sixteenth century; they are works by Hans Bock and his sons. Only one wall-painting, now completely painted over, can be assigned originally to an earlier period, having even been executed before the time of Holbein, namely, the *Last Judgment*, on the upper open gallery at the top of the steps. It belongs probably to the things which in the year 1519 Hans Dig painted inside the town-hall.[3] A later inscription, it is true, assigns 1510 as the period of its origin. But this must be an error, for at that time the

[1] Epitome Historiæ Basiliensis. [2] Hegner, p. 71.

[3] Rathsrechnungen, Angarienhefte, 1519, 1520; and "Summenbüchlein," discovered by Herr His-Heusler.

building itself was still in progress. It may therefore be supposed that the last figure of the date 1519 may have been erroneously read at the restoration.

The expense at which the building and decoration of the Town-hall were carried on, was the evident result of Basle's political rise which was here reflected on a small scale. In 1504 the rebuilding was decreed, from 1508 to 1511 the front part was wholly renewed, while the restoration of the interior advanced still further. It was Tuesday after Mid-Lent, the 12th March, 1521, when the great Council, who had before assembled at the Augustine monastery, met for the first time in the new apartment in the Town-hall,[1] and the first decrees which were passed on that day concerned the democratic change in the constitution before mentioned.[2] The new apartment could not be dedicated more gloriously. At the beginning of June these alterations came into force. At the same time, on the 15th June, on the day of St. Veit and St. Modestus, Holbein received the commission to paint this very hall.

At this time, Jacob Meier zum Hasen was still in office as burgomaster. Perhaps it was due to his influence that the painter, whom he repeatedly employed in private commissions, and whose importance he knew how to esteem, received this great public work. But even after his deposition, when Adelberg Meier, belonging to a wholly different family, became burgomaster, the work continued undisturbed. This is one of the few cases in which we have authentic records respecting a work of Holbein. The account books of the Council furnish us with information respecting it. It was arranged by contract, that he was to receive 120 gulden for the entire work; at the same time (15th June) the "Drei-Herrn," as the members of the finance college were styled, were to pay him forty gulden of it in advance, amounting, as it was said in the accounts, to fifty pounds, the gulden being as much as one Basle pound and five shillings. The next payments took place in smaller instalments, on the 20th July and 14th September of the same year, as well as on the 12th April, 16th June, 23rd August, and 29th November of the year following. In the winter, when no instalment appears, Holbein was naturally obliged to discontinue his work.

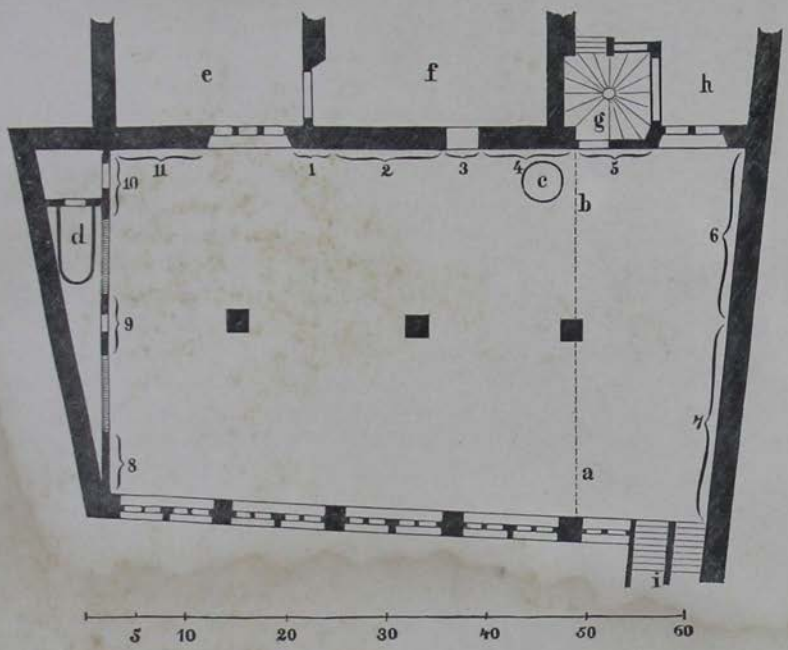
The Town-hall, in which the pictures were placed is now much changed to what it was then.[3] It consisted of an irregular quadrangle, the depth of which, in the inside diameter, was 34 feet, the breadth at the centre 65 feet, the height 12½ feet. The apartment is now almost twice as lofty, but less broad. The part next the house "Zum Hasen," adjoining it on the south, was subsequently altered and arranged for a staircase. Three pillars standing in the centre supported the ceiling. The front of the two long walls contained the large windows towards the front court, as well as the doors leading to the principal flight of steps. The long wall opposite, also broken by two windows

[1] Ochs. v. p. 396.

[2] Ochs, v. p. 346 et seq.

[3] Cf. the woodcut, from a plan given me by Herr His-Heusler, p. 166.

and two doors, and the two narrow walls contained the paintings. The southern part of the apartment adjoining the house "Zum Hasen," which belonged to Jacob Meier, was quite undivided; the northern end, which contained the large stove and the heating-room, was separated by a balustrade, it seems from the plan, from the rest of the hall. The apartment itself was not distinguished in any architectural point of view, and it was therefore for the painter to make up for what the architect had omitted. How well Holbein understood how to do this, we know from the façade paintings. He changed



a and *b*. Present termination of the hall. *c*. Present stove. *d*. Old stove. *e*. Little court. *f*. Chamber of accounts, now anteroom. *g*. Former staircase. *h*. Little court. *i*. Flight of steps to the front Town-hall.

it into a splendid airy hall, open on all sides. Magnificent columns divided the separate compartments; five smaller intermediate paintings contain separate figures, standing in arched niches on a somewhat higher level. They belong to the architecture. In the principal paintings, however, the actions take place further in the distance, either in an open landscape or in a lofty, majestic, columned hall with a vast perspective, which charmingly deludes the eye. Greater delicacy and greater architectural understanding in arrangement, are scarcely to be found among the most famous wall-paintings of Italy.

The present day may take example from this. The monumental painting of the present day cannot achieve what is right, unless the painter also understands architecture.

In subject, the paintings belong to the same class of representations as those which during the fifteenth century had become peculiar to the Germanic north, especially to the Belgian cities. The artists here had decorated the apartments of the town-halls in which judgment was held, with paintings illustrative of strict and impartial justice. Rogier van der Weyden had painted for Brussels the now lost picture in distemper, containing the story of the Emperor Trajan, who even halted on a campaign to sit in judgment on a murderer, and that of Count Erkenbald, who on his sick bed killed his criminal nephew with his own hand, as the order to execute him was not carried out by his people, who knew the count to be near his death. A counterpart to each of these pictures represents the divine recompense which followed the act of justice.[1] Dir Stuerbout painted in 1468 for the Town-hall at Louvain two oil-paintings which are now to be seen in the Museum at Brussels, and which depict the divine punishment upon false witness, illustrated in the story of the consort of the Emperor Otto III. The Council Chamber at Bruges was adorned by two paintings, now in the collection of the Academy of the same city, and probably[2] works by Gerard David; their subject, which was taken from the book "Gesta Romanorum," has been already mentioned as being depicted in a drawing of Holbein;[3] it was the punishment of the unjust judge, and the appointment of his son as judge, over whose chair the skin of the father was hung.

All these representations have in the first place a didactic object in the spirit of the Middle Ages. They are, however, at the same time the first great examples of secular historical painting in the modern sense, and the dramatic element prevails in the subject, although the artists, with the exception of Rogier, possessed really little taste for specifically dramatic matters. In all respects we find the grand perfection of this style in Holbein's representations. The pictures, by which he illustrated these ideas, are more splendid and more numerous; moreover, the ideas themselves are more deeply conceived, and more variously unfolded. Not in separate easel pictures does he carry them out, but in compositions of monumental painting, in which the whole is systematically arranged, and lastly, throughout the mythical element has given place to a purely historical conception.

Throughout the lands to which the German tongue extended, Basle was perhaps the only place where at that time such a work could arise. When

[1] Respecting these works and representations of a similar character, see G. Kinkel, "Die Brüsseler Rathhausbilder der Rogier van der Weyden und deren Copien in den burgundischen Tapeten zu Bern;" Zürich, 1867.

[2] According to Mr. James Whale.

[3] Cf. chap. viii.

the Nurembergers, in the year 1518, had their Town-hall adorned with wall-paintings after Dürer's designs, a picture was, it is true, also introduced there, which exhorted to justice, namely, the Allegory of Calumny, described by Lucian from a painting by Apelles; but the corresponding piece, the Triumphal Car of Maximilian, in which he is driving along, surrounded and conducted by various virtues, which he possessed or did not possess, was only a pompous glorification of this emperor, and instead of the grand ideas which the citizens of free cities generally allowed to influence them in such buildings, a place was conceded here to a purely personal homage. Quite otherwise was it in Basle, which displays in Holbein's pictures its radical character, the inflexible sense of right, and the republican feeling of its citizens.

Let us compare with these the greatest works of true historical art produced by Italy: the famous cartoons of Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo, which the Florentine people ordered to be executed after the expulsion of the Medici, for the very same purpose as that which was fulfilled by Holbein's Basle pictures, namely, the decoration of the hall in which the Consiglio Grande sat. These cartoons were, so to speak, pioneering works for all modern art. In the idea, however, which animated them, they cannot compete with Holbein's work. This is only one side of the matter, but it is a side which we are justified in looking at. That which ought really only to be a means became an aim with the Italians, namely, the boldness of attitudes and movements, the masterly skill in the delineation of sudden incidents, and all that may be classed under the overcoming of difficulties. In all this Leonardo trod a wholly new path, and Michel Angelo far surpassed him. In treatment of form, they raised the art of their nation upon a new platform. But they thought not of illustrating grand ideas; and their subjects were nothing more than the warlike deeds and triumphs of the Florentines. In the places which they were destined to adorn, they could be nothing but remembrances of ancient fame. The paintings at Basle, on the contrary, possessed a far higher and graver value, although they found no enthusiastic present to proclaim their fame through all future time, in spite of their ruin. Holbein's paintings were, moreover, not those which our own age so constantly puts forth as historical paintings; they were no mere chronicle illustrations, no mere representation of events that had occurred, but the actions and incidents are in each only the concrete exhibition of that which is of universal human interest.

The subjects, however, as was the case before in the historical representations in the Lucerne façade, are taken from classic antiquity. Two lawgivers of Magna Græcia, mentioned by Diodorus[1] and Ælianus,[2] are selected as representatives of a grand love of justice and at the same time of a solid republican virtue, which does not hesitate to sacrifice itself for the public

[1] Book xii. 11—21. [2] Claudii Æliani Variæ Historiæ. Lib. xiii. cap. 24.

good. Charondas of Catanea, lawgiver of the city of Thurii, one day returning from the country, entered the national assembly, and had quite forgotten that owing to robbers without he was girded with a sword; it being forbidden by his own law to appear armed in the national assemblies. An adversary made use of this to bring reproaches against him; he, however, exclaimed, "No, by Jupiter! the law shall be master!" and he thrust his sword into his own breast. This is the moment which we see before us; the effect of the deed is expressed variously and vividly in those assembled: a vast hall, the beams of which are supported by lofty columns, forms the scene.

Zaleucus, of Locris, a city of Lower Italy, in which he had been chosen lawgiver, had imposed the strictest laws for the maintenance of morality as well as against luxury, and the punishment of blinding had been decreed for adultery. His own son was found guilty of the crime. "When the king heard this," so says a mediæval record, "his bowels were moved within him, and he commanded that both the eyes of his son should be torn out." Then the great men of the kingdom spoke to their lord: "Thou hast only one son, who is thy heir; it would be an injury to the whole kingdom if thy son lost his eyes." But the king replied: "Is it not known to you that I have passed this law? It would be a shame for me to break what I have once established. As, however, my son is the first who has acted contrary to the law, he shall also be the first who submits to the punishment." Then the wise men spoke: "For God's sake, sire, we beg you, spare your son." But the king, overcome by their entreaties, replied: "Dear friends, as thus it is, listen to me: my eyes are my son's eyes, and *vice versa*. Tear out, therefore, my right eye and the left eye of my son, and then the law is fulfilled." And so it was. The subject here certainly passes so far into the terrible, that it is scarcely endurable, that is, for us, though not for an age accustomed to scenes of Christian martyrdom. But the energy of the artist in thus representing the terrible is wonderful: he depicts the excitement of the people, their prayers, their astonishment, and also the different manner in which both father and son endure the horrible mutilation. The moment is chosen when the pincers are just on the point of seizing the eye. The delinquent, in his court attire, sinks back in his chair, held by the executioners, and expresses in his countenance the utmost anxiety and torment, as though he were going to scream aloud. The father, however, with his venerable silver beard, awaits with the noblest composure what he has imposed upon himself. With both his hands he is holding fast to the sides of the throne, using his utmost power to stand against the pain. The incident is represented in the court of the royal palace, which is surrounded by splendid buildings seen in effective perspective.

The account which we have here given is borrowed from the "Gesta

Romanorum," which probably formed Holbein's authority,[1] as we have before seen him drawing from this book.

The two next pictures are not only pervaded by enthusiasm for justice, but also by *political* opinion. First comes a representation which we only know through a copy by Hess, namely, Curius Dentatus, who, kneeling before the fire, is sending back the ambassadors of the Samnites. He is turning towards the five men who are bringing him golden cups and vessels full of wine, in order to move him to keep aloof from the contest against their tribes, and pointing to the turnips which he is preparing for his meal, he utters the words which stand by his side: "Malo hæc in fictilibus meis esse et aurum habentibus imperare." ("I would rather have *these* in my pot but command those who have gold.")

This incident is represented in an arched hall looking out upon the country, though situated somewhat higher, like a terrace; below it is to be seen a man in rural costume, raising his hand to his hat in salutation, and a small shield, with the arms of Basle upon his breast. What this figure is intended to signify is unknown to me. Three of the heads of the ambassadors are still existing among the fragments of the original, but in a sad state.

To every inhabitant of Basle who at that time saw this picture of republican simplicity and incorruptible love, something must have occurred that made it necessary at this time in his native city to bear such examples in mind, namely, the deeply rooted evil of the French pensions, which had shortly before given such violent offence in Basle itself, and had called forth legal interference against the most esteemed men. Perhaps the choice of this picture was connected with that political event.

A fourth painting, much narrower than the former, represents Sapor, the Persian king, who is making use of the captive emperor Valerian as a footstool to mount his horse. He is placing his foot on the back of the crowned monarch with his venerable beard; the rudest despotism is expressed both in his bearing and countenance; we look down a narrow street, in which the crowd is thronging; in front is the palace, with its Gothic arched portico, which has a certain similarity with the exterior of the Basle Town-hall. The inscription, which does not appear in the sketch, is in Tonjola's "Basilea Sepulta":

"Jratvs recole, quod nobilis ira Leonis
In sibi substratos se negat esse ferum."

("Think in anger, that the noble rage of the lion forbids him to rage against a conquered foe.")

In the original sketch which exists of this picture, Sapor is designated in old writing as a forester of the name of Mathis, and another figure as Hans Conrad Wolleb. Like the Florentines of the fifteenth century, Holbein introduced portraits of his fellow-citizens into his wall-paintings.

[1] Cap. 50. Zaleucus is here called "Zelongus."

The five intervening pictures, single figures standing in niches, are as follows: Christ holding a panel, on which stand the words: "Quod tibi non vis fieri alteri non facias." ("What thou dost not wish to be done to thee, that do to no one else.") King David with the harp; above him there stands on a scroll: "Jvste jvdicate filii hominvm." ("Judge justly, ye sons of men.") Then follow three allegorical figures. Justice with a crown on her head, holding a sword in her right hand, while the balances are lying at her feet; she is standing behind a balustrade, and pointing with her left hand to the inscription: "O vos reigentes obliti privatorvm pvblica cvrate." ("O ye rulers, forget your private affairs and think on public matters.") Wisdom, a figure with a double face. In her left hand she is holding a torch, and in her right hand a book, in which stand the words: "Inicium sapiencie timor domini." ("The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.") A scroll above her bears the inscription: "Experiri privs consilio qvam armis prestat." ("It is better to try by counsel than by arms.") Lastly, Moderation, with the inscription: "Qui sibi plvs licere vvlt qvam deceat sve stvdet rvine." ("He who wishes to enjoy more than is his due, acts to his own destruction.")

Holbein's Moderation is no devotee, and ascetic severity is her smallest fault. She is a charming, round young woman; the light garments cling gracefully to the beautiful figure, betraying rather than concealing the full and magnificent form; her neck and shoulders are left bare, and over them fall the plaits of her braided hair; a wreath encircles her head. High in her right hand she holds a mighty crystal goblet, from which she is pouring wine into a bottle. At the first glance we could easily take her for the opposite of moderation; but whoever studies her more accurately, understands her better. From her large bowl she is pouring her small portion into the smaller vessel. In this manner the northern painters of this period were wont to represent moderation. Thus we find her, for example, in a woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, in an engraving by Lucas van Leyden, and indeed she is acutely and justly devised. Moderation is not far removed from the joys of life—that would be the case with abstemiousness—but while she knows how to estimate their worth, she finds the just limit for them.

Tonjola mentions also, in his before quoted work, other inscriptions, which were in the great hall of council in his time; they are as follows:

"Harpocratem quisquis huc intrat, præstet oportet:
Non nostra arcana promere jura vetant."

("Whoever enters here, keep silence, for the law forbids us to make our secrets known.")

"Muscæ flaminibus veluti capiuntur in istis,
Sed culices rumpunt viribus illa suis:
Legibus obstrictum sic vulgus inane tenetur,
Hasque levi infringunt impetu turba potens."
Anacharsis de Jure Humano.

("As the flies are caught in this tender web, but the wasps tear it asunder, so are the people separately kept by the bond of the law, but it breaks easily when mighty masses conglomerate together.")

EZECHIAS.

"Fecit quod erat bonum coram Domino, ipse dissipavit excelsa, contrivit statuas, succidit lucos et confregit æneum serpentem quem fecerat Moses." 2 Regum xviii. 3, 4.

HEZEKIAH.

("He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord. He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made.")

Evidently pictures formerly belonged to these inscriptions, though no trace of them now remains, but there was space enough for them on the surface of the wall.[1] Under the first distich, the figure of Harpocrates may have been painted, in the position so well known in antique works, with a finger on his lip, as a token of silence. The second sentence is utterly unintelligible without a picture. Anacharsis speaks of "this web;" it must therefore have been represented, as he alludes to a cobweb.

The picture from the Bible passage upon Hezekiah, which had already served as a subject for a drawing in the Basle collection, by the painter Nicolaus Manuel of Berne, had, however, quite another inner purport to that before mentioned. The subject is not taken from antiquity, but from the Old Testament, and in it there lives a spirit, which belongs to a wholly different epoch, the spirit which, in the further progress of the Reformation, removed the pictures from the churches, whether in peace or by force, as was the case in the iconoclastic storm of 1529. For this reason, this picture must not be numbered with those before mentioned, but with two other compositions of which we have not yet spoken, Rehoboam, and Samuel and Saul.

These could not have been executed until many years later. On the twenty-ninth of November, 1522, the Saturday before St. Andrew's Day, the artist received twenty-two pounds and ten shillings, with which the remainder of the sum formerly agreed upon was paid: "Vnnd dwyl," it says further in the accounts, "die hindere wand noch nit gmacht vnnd gemolet ist, vnnd er

[1] There were also two other inscriptions: "Ne quid non e Reipublicæ dignitate constituatur" ("Let nothing be decreed which is not worthy of the State"), and "Ponderandæ magis quam numerandæ sententiæ" ("Opinions are rather to be pondered than numbered"), which belonged to the two carved half-length figures of the prophets, which are still between the windows of the hall, but which formerly adorned two of the central pillars, while the third was decorated with four coats of arms. They were executed by Meister Martin Lebzelter, for the sum of eight pounds. "Item, viij lb gebenn Meister Martin dem bildhauwer für die vier schilt vnnd zwen propheten im sal vnd dem schilt im Höfflin zu schnidenn." Samstag vor Sixti, the 3rd of August, 1521. From the "Usgebenbuch," communicated to me by Herr His-Heusler.

vermeint an dysem das gelt verdient habenn, sol man dieselbig hindere want bis vff wytherenn bescheit lossenn an ston." The master who after two years of honest and laborious work had completed everything but the back wall, believes in the consciousness of what he has accomplished, that he has already merited the recompense fixed, and the council is generous enough to raise no objection to it; they order the remainder to be paid to him, and the further determination with regard to the back wall is postponed. By this back wall, in all probability, the great unbroken wall-surface next the house "Zum Hasen" was intended; for in entering the hall from the main staircase, the back was turned to it. Here, however, Rehoboam, and Saul and Samuel, must have been placed. They adjoined each other, for in the original sketches, which are preserved of both of them, the half of a column in the framework is to be found in each of them, and the two halves exactly coincide. But only on this wall-surface would the two largest compositions have found room together. The original height of the hall amounted to twelve feet and a half. If we reckon the socle and cornice at five feet, the height of the picture remains at seven feet and a half. According to the proportion of the sketches, the breadth of Rehoboam would be about thirteen feet and that of Saul sixteen feet and three-quarters. These two paintings formed also, probably "the large piece," which Hans Bock, in the year 1579, was to copy on canvas, because, as we have seen above, it had perished on account of the damp.

In Bock's petition, in which he endeavours to assign a reason for his unusually high demands, explaining the matter in a very naïve manner, and saying that far more really is due to the copyist than to one who painted merely from his own fancy,[1] he goes on to say, with regard to the picture, "Among all the Holbein pieces in the painted hall, this is not alone the greatest in length, but also contains the most difficult and laborious work, as besides landscape there are 100 faces drawn perfectly or partially, so that I must copy them all piece by piece, besides many horses, weapons, and other things." Length, landscape, horses, weapons, and numerous heads—all this is only to be found in one picture—namely, in Samuel and Saul. Nevertheless, even here

[1] I cannot help quoting the passage here, although it does not really belong to the subject. Hans Bock says: "Dass unter abmolen oder Conterfehten und eim schlechten aus sein Sin Molen ein groser Underscheyd sie, dan in disem einer sinem Sin und Neygung schlechtlich nachvolgen, und wie Im gefellig das verarbeyten kan, aber das Conterfehten erfordertt auch von eim geübten Moler nitt alein grosen fleysz Müh und Arbeytt sonder auch lenger Zydt die wil man vom fordrigen ales erstlich durchzeichnen, und hernoch widerum alles ordentlich nachsächen und abmolen und die Augen nitt minder oder weniger an dem ersten Kunststuck das abgemolt württ, den auf dem so man abmolet heben muss. Derhalben dan ein Conterfeht eins iedlichen menschens zweymol so vil costett als ein derglichen grosz vnconterfehen gemeld verkaufft werden mag," &c., 23d of November, 1579. Communicated by Herr His-Heusler. Partly also from Hegner, p. 73.

there are scarcely a hundred faces, so that possibly the adjoining picture of Rehoboam, only separated from it by a column, was reckoned with it by the copyist.

The size of the two pictures we have estimated at twenty-nine and a half feet. The wall is thirty-four feet broad: therefore, beside the two, there would have been room enough for Hezekiah, if this was a composition of moderate size.

Having been interrupted by the approach of the winter of 1522, Holbein hoped that he should be able to continue his work in the following spring. This, however, did not take place. We find, until 1530, no payments which could refer to the completion of the town-hall. The reason why the work was not resumed in the spring of 1523 is evidently to be explained by the circumstances of the time and by the movements which followed the outbreak of the Reformation.

Holbein himself was on this side; we shall subsequently confirm this when we come to the controversial designs which he sketched, and to which we alluded when speaking of woodcuts. Decidedly, however, as the artist's mind inclined to the side of the Reformation, he had materially to suffer from it, as it for the present deprived him of all opportunity of executing grander works. It was not only that the attention was now too much engaged by religious affairs to think of art; but at such periods men were sparing of means, and therefore the council probably avoided fresh concessions of money for the completion of the wall-paintings. This delay was undoubtedly increased also by the fact that just at the beginning of the year 1523, not only within the city, but also without, the ferment of the public mind had become critical. It was the time of the military enterprises of Sickengen; at what these aimed, and to what they were to lead, no one knew; they must be prepared for everything.

At that time there came to Basle from Landstuhl, Sickingen's fortress, a man who would have adhered to his friend up to the last moment, had his heavy sickness not rendered him incapable of all warlike deeds. This was Ulrich von Hutten, for whose persecuted head Germany was no refuge, and who nevertheless disdained to enter into the pay of the French king, although offered a splendid salary by him. Sick and miserable, deprived of all means, he arrived at Basle and remained there for a time, until at length the Basle Council renounced their promised protection, and he saw himself obliged to proceed further; soon afterwards he closed his suffering and active life upon the Island of Ufenau. At first the Basle Council had received him with kindness and honour, and had offered him hospitality. Men high in office, one after another, people of all classes came to him and sought his society; only one was there who scrupulously closed his house to him, and this was Erasmus, his former friend. Did Holbein see him also? We have no record of this,

and shall probably never find any. But we must remember that both were living at that time in the same place. Holbein and Hutten were kindred natures; we shall subsequently perceive this when we take into consideration how Holbein laboured for the Reformation. Although the knight perhaps paid little heed to the painter, yet Holbein must have surely known who Hutten was, and he may probably have seen him personally. Both partly lived in the same circles. A man, with whom we shall presently become acquainted as a patron of Holbein, namely *Bonifacius Amerbach,* had before promised Hutten his succour in whatever might befall him. He was now indeed at Avignon, but the knightly poet was on terms of intercourse with the elder brother, Basilius Amerbach, and he lived in the famous inn "Zur Blume," a house in connection with which Holbein's name is mentioned in subsequent anecdotes, which we will not indeed bring forward as authorities.

CHAPTER XI.

The portraits of this period, and the circle of Erasmus.—Existing and lost portraits.—Froben.—Bonifacius Amerbach.—The Amerbach collection.—Erasmus in Basle.—His relations to Holbein.—The different portraits of Erasmus.—Holbein's marginal drawings on the "Praise of Folly."—Holbein's character and habits.—His own portrait.

At about the same period as that in which the paintings in the Town-hall came to a standstill, the orders also for church paintings ceased. Even portraits by Holbein occur but seldom during the following years. He began at Augsburg as a portrait painter, and during his subsequent residence in England, portrait painting was his special branch of art, but during his sojourn at Basle comparatively few portraits are in existence by him. Some, which belong to the beginning of his stay there, we have already noticed. In the Basle Museum, there is under Holbein's name the portrait of the goldsmith Jörg Schweiger, of Augsburg, who was therefore a countryman of the painter, and who settled in Basle at about the same time that he had done. In 1517 he was admitted into the guild zum Hausgenossen. In its present condition this portrait is not very like Holbein's work, yet many things prove that it was designed by him, and subsequently retouched by another hand: the delicate sketch is evidently superior to the coarse painting.

A work probably of this epoch is a large portrait in the Basle Museum, which belongs to Holbein's most excellent productions: it is the head of a fair young man of a genuine German type, with a Roman nose, lips which are parted as if speaking, an expression full of mind and ardour, and wearing a broad-brimmed black hat.[1] Several portraits of this period may have been lost. Dr. Iselin knew of a portrait of the printer Oporinus, whose father Hans Herbster, the painter, had been painted by Holbein in 1516. Upon this picture, according to the fashion of the time, the handwriting of the person represented was so strikingly imitated, that all the world asserted that Oporinus himself must have written it. Iselin adds that Holbein himself could neither write nor read, but on this point he is misinformed; for numerous notices are extant in the handwriting of the artist on his drawings. Lastly, from portraits by Hans Holbein, we become acquainted with personages who interest us especially, not only on account of the important position

[1] Hall of Sketches, No. 10, photographed by Braun.

FROBEN.
(Basle.)

which they occupied at that time in the life at Basle, but also because the artist probably stood personally in a certain relation to them: these are Frobenius, Bonifacius Amerbach, and Erasmus.

Ulrich Hegner mentions these men simply as friends of Holbein. We must emphasize the fact that this is in no wise certain. We have only records of a personal connection with the painter as regards Erasmus. At any rate, however, the two others belong to the immediate circle of this great scholar. Moreover the painter stood in close business connection with Froben. Holbein was engaged chiefly by him in preparing designs for title-pages and other woodcuts. Froben, by birth a native of Hamelburg, in Franconia, who had settled in Basle, was one of the first printers of his time. He it was, who, as the publisher of his writings, drew Erasmus to Basle at first on a visit, and afterwards permanently. Both men were united in a close bond of friendship, and we possess a beautiful evidence of this in a letter from Erasmus, addressed with a sorrowing heart to the Carthusian friar, Johannes Emstedt, on the death of Froben in 1527. All the friends of the *belles lettres*, he says, should put on mourning attire and shed tears at the death of this man, and should wreathe his grave with ivy and flowers; and study, he says, in the Latin verses which he dedicated to his memory, is now orphaned, and has lost its father, who nurtured it with art, activity, care, money, favour, and constancy,

Arte, manu, curis, ære, favore, fide.

Never before, he writes, have I felt how great is the power of sincere friendship. I bore with moderation the death of my own brother; but what I cannot endure is the longing for Froben. The character which he sketches of him is touchingly beautiful. So simple and sincere was his nature, that he could not have dissembled had he wished. To show kindness to every one was his greatest delight, and even if the unworthy received his benefits, he was glad. His fidelity was immovable, and as he himself never had evil in his mind, he was never able to cherish suspicion of others. He had no idea of envy, just as little as the man born blind has any idea of colour. He pardoned offences before even asked to do so; no wrong committed ever rested in his memory, but he never forgot the most insignificant matter when he could show a kindness to any one.

It was not a beautiful body which clothed this pure and noble soul. Froben's countenance is thoroughly ugly. That which, nevertheless, makes the beardless man with his scanty hair, his large round forehead and broad mouth, attractive and pleasing, is the trait of kindliness which is so pre-eminent in his countenance. It springs from a sense of inner satisfaction, and this any one may, indeed, possess who acted like Froben. Added to this, he possessed a kindly and gentle disposition, combined with a witty humour.

Thus he appears to us in a profile picture in the Basle Museum, which, however, is in no wise an original, but probably a Flemish copy. Christian v. Mechel, who had procured the picture from the publisher, Enschede, at Haarlem, and who gave it to the museum in 1812, boasts in a letter[1] that it is softer, richer, and more powerful than the usual Holbein style. It is just this stronger laying on of the colour which proves a later origin. The tint is a very heavy brown. In the manuscripts of Remigius Fesch, which we have before mentioned, we find the statement that Holbein once painted a double picture of the friends Erasmus and Froben on two panels connected together. Two portraits of these men as corresponding pictures, but also only copies, with backgrounds by the Dutch architectural painter, Strenwzch, are to be seen in Hampton Court, belonging to the collection of King Charles the First.

BONIFACIUS AMERBACH. (BASLE.)

A splendid original in the Basle Museum, and certainly the most beautiful portrait of Holbein's whole Basle epoch, is the likeness of Bonifacius Amerbach. Amerbach's father was a publisher, and, moreover, one of those who were impelled to devote themselves to this new branch of industry, not

[1] Communicated to me by Herr His-Heusler.

by a desire for gain, but by a true love of science. Born at Reutlingen, he had studied in Paris, had attained the degree of Master of Arts, and had subsequently worked at Nuremberg in Koburger's printing establishment as corrector of the press. In 1484, he, the "Trucker Hans von Emmerpach" (Printer Hans of Amerbach) was admitted as a citizen in Basle, His printing-house soon became one of the first in the city; the distinguished scholars with whom he was connected afforded him assistance. One thing he had especially set before him as the task of his life, namely, the editorship of the Fathers of the Church. He gave such a solid and learned education to his three sons that they were able to continue the work which he had begun. They were all remarkably gifted, Bruno, Basilius, and especially the youngest, Bonifacius, who was born on the 3rd April, 1495. When he was only twelve years old, the learned Cistercian monk, Conrad Leontorius, to whose education at that time the boys in the Engenthal monastery were confided, wrote to his father that he might expect great things of his Bonifacius. The boy was afterwards sent to the famous school of Schlettstadt, where he attracted the attention of the principal Gebwiler, and was the intimate friend of his tutor, Johannes Sapidus, in spite of the difference of age. In Basle, he attached himself, in company with the elder Beatus Rhenanus, to the Franciscan monk, Johann Conon of Nuremberg, who studied Greek, which he had learned at the University of Padua, and who was employed by Amerbach's father in the publication of St. Hieronymus. Bonifacius pursued his university studies at Freiburg, where Ulrich Zasius, in whose house he resided, the pride of this university, not only became his teacher, but also his friend, and showed him paternal kindness. Like Zasius, Amerbach combined the study of law with that of classic antiquity. Subsequently he went repeatedly to Avignon, in order there to complete his legal studies under Alciat, and in 1524 he was appointed Professor of Law at the Basle University.

No one knew better how to esteem the qualities of Amerbach than Erasmus, with whom he soon became intimately acquainted after Erasmus' first visit to Basle. Bonifacius' elder brother, Bruno, who had died in 1519, had earlier enjoyed intercourse with the first of scholars. Zasius, whom Erasmus valued highly, commended to him also his favourite pupil, who felt the utmost enthusiasm for Erasmus. A thoroughly Erasmic being,[1] Zasius styles him in a letter, and he concludes another letter to Erasmus with the words: "Farewell, and love our Bonifacius, who honours you like a god."[2] Amerbach soon became his confidential friend, and had daily intercourse with him, and their connection continued close until death separated them. Erasmus appointed him his exclusive heir. The qualities that must have made the youth so valuable were not only his enthusiastic zeal for science, to which he wholly devoted himself, but also his amiable character.

[1] 9th August, 1513. [2] 7th May, 1516.

Not only does he extol in his letters Amerbach's extraordinary gifts, by which he was one day to become the ornament of his German fatherland, but also the purity of his nature, his manners, and his integrity, which rendered him agreeable to people of every kind. I am ready to die, he says on one occasion, when I have seen any one who is purer, sincerer, and more friendly than this youth. In him, he says in another passage,[1] there is no fault than that of being modest beyond all bounds. Conscientiousness, faithfulness to duty, and strict morality had been instilled into him in his paternal home. And yet he was far removed from anything pedantic. Those gifts also, which are of use in social intercourse, he possessed to a great extent, and he formed the centre of a circle of talented young people. His liveliness, his wit, his poetical and musical genius, made him welcome everywhere. Gladly was he listened to, when he played a new dance upon the lute, or sung to the lute a song written by himself to the melody: "Adieu, mes amors." External physical advantages were added to all others. Contemporaneous records speak of him as a tall man, with a charming countenance, who made use of brave, serious language, and appeared modestly attired in a long coat.[2]

The half-length picture by Holbein fully accords with this. The delicacy and unassuming qualities of his nature, the decision of character which belonged to him, with all his gentleness, strike us at the first glance. The features are noble, the large prominent nose not deficient in beauty, the mouth is finely formed, and the chin is encircled by a fair and delicate beard, in the treatment of which the artist has shown all his masterly power. His eye, which does not seek the glance of the spectator, but is calmly looking to the left,[3] is shadowed by projecting brows, beams softly and yet ardently, indicating his rich inner life.

The panel, hanging on the branch at the side of the picture, contains, besides the verses which extol the art of the painter, the names both of Holbein and Amerbach, and the date, October 14th, 1519. Amerbach, who was about the same age as the painter, was at that time twenty-four years old. He had just quitted Freiburg upon the threatening of the plague, and had returned for some time to his native city.

To posterity, perhaps, nothing preserves the memory of Bonifacius Amerbach better than his interest in art. In this respect he stood nearer to the Italian scholars than to the German, who had but small interest in artistic matters. He collected sketches, paintings, woodcuts, engravings, coins and antiquities; moreover, he examined and drew the ruins of the neighbouring Augst, the ancient Augusta Rauracorum. The Amerbach art collection in the little city of Basle—for his house lay on the right bank of the Rhine—was

[1] To Alciat, especially in that of Easter, 1522, and in another dated May 31st, 1531, &c.
[2] Pantaleon, Heldenbuch, vol. iii., quoted by Hegner.
[3] The woodcut, from Mechel's engraving, is unfortunately taken from the opposite side.

soon widely famed. His greatest treasures, however, were the works of Hans Holbein. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the collection was on the point of being sold, and fortunately his native city obtained them, in the year 1661, for the moderate price, according to our ideas at the present day, of 9,000 rix-dollars. There were forty-nine paintings, among them fifteen by Hans Holbein the younger; vessels in gold and ivory carved work, coins, &c., a chest of thirty-seven drawers, all full of sketches, woodcuts, and engravings, and among these again, Holbein was strongly represented by 104 original drawings, a sketch-book, and the illustrated copy of the Praise of Folly, as well as 111 woodcuts, with two copies of the Bible and the Dance of Death. In 1823, we may here mention, the museum of the jurist Remigius Fesch was united with these. In 1667, from his collection of pictures, coins, matters of art, and antiquities, together with the house in which it was placed, he had made an entail, the usufruct of which was always to be enjoyed by a Doctor of Law of the Fesch family, or, if one no longer existed, it was to become the property of the university. Both collections form the main part of the Basle Museum.

In the Amerbach cabinet, a faithful hand and acute knowledge had collected and preserved all that which would have been otherwise scattered, wasted, and treated with disregard. In spite of this we must not overlook the fact that all that is here preserved is infinitely little both in quantity and value compared with what Holbein produced in Basle, and that in proportion with what has been dispersed abroad and has perished, all that exists forms only scanty fragments.

Of Holbein's paintings in this collection, nothing else certainly was painted by Amerbach's order, than his portrait. By degrees during a period of many years—for Bonifacius lived in his native city till the first of May, 1562,—the other pictures, drawings and prints were gathered together, probably increased by the bequest of Erasmus, for his portrait and a few objects of art were the only things of his property which the generous Amerbach retained, while all the rest, in order to honour the memory of his friend, he bestowed in gifts and charities. The rich correspondence of Amerbach in the Basle Museum has moreover, contrary to expectation, furnished no material with regard to Amerbach's interest in art, and above all with regard to his supposed friendly relations with Holbein.[1] Much of that which is of interest respecting the formation of the collection, has been obtained from correspondences and notes, but these notices are all belonging to a later period, and it seems according to them that the principal collector was not Bonifacius himself so much as his son Basilius. He had inherited the art-interests of his father, the inventory and catalogue of the collection proceed from him, and we gather from his

[1] It was examined by Dr. Fechter of Basle, and recently by Herr His-Heusler, who made several important discoveries.

correspondence somewhat of his efforts to arrive at the possession of some works of art.

It was in the autumn of 1513 that Erasmus[1] first came to Basle. His relations with Froben, who had undertaken the publication of his Adagia and his edition of the New Testament, were the reasons for this journey. No one was more worthy to publish the writings of the greatest scholar in Europe than Froben, who devoted himself to the task with zeal and true enthusiasm. As soon as their connection commenced, Froben looked forward with expectation to the personal visit of Erasmus. His first arrival is prettily described. The stranger announced himself as a messenger from Erasmus, when he entered the house of the famous printer. But he could not long keep up the part; it was soon evident that it was the man himself, whose messenger he had proclaimed himself. Froben was so glad that he would not allow him to leave his house again; he sent his son-in-law to the inn to fetch his luggage, and to pay the reckoning. Erasmus was compelled now, and as often as he returned, to live in Froben's house zum Sessel in the fish market.[2] He was won for Basle. At that time, it is true, Louvain was still his true residence, in his Flemish home, near the Court from which he received a pension. But from henceforth he came almost every year to Basle; in 1514, he extended his residence there to eight months; at last, in 1521, he took up his permanent abode there. Freedom and independence were the elements of his life. The atmosphere of the court, however little constraint was imposed upon him there, suited him not. In Basle he found what he needed, a quiet life of study, which was the principal matter to him, and yet in this repose he had intercourse with those like-minded, and with learned scholars. In a letter to Sapidus[3] he calls Basle the most comfortable seat of the muses. He does not speak, he says, of the great number of scholars, but of their unusual character: "There is no one," he continues, "who does not know Latin and who does not know Greek; most of them know also Hebrew. One is a distinguished historian, another a zealous theologian, a third an experienced mathematician; one pursues the study of antiquity, another of law. Where else do we find anything like this? I, at least, until now have not had the happiness of leading such an agreeable life. And what is of still more weight, is the purity of feeling amongst all, the cheerfulness of intercourse, and especially its harmony."

Erasmus was forty-six years old at his first visit to Basle. He then stood

[1] Works referred to: E. Hagen's before-mentioned work, vols. i. ii., Adolph Müller's German biography of Erasmus, the English biography by Burnet, and the French biography by Burigny. D. Strauss' remarks in his U. v. Hutten (ii. p. 244 et seq.) are excellent. Above all, Erasmus' own correspondence (vol. iii. of his works, both in Froben's edition and in that by Clericus, chronologically arranged however in the latter).

[2] As all the addresses of his letters show (Fechter Amerbach). [3] Of 1516.

at the height of his fame, which at length, after a youth full of trouble and hard privation, had secured him a good outward position in life. The highest in the State and the Church, the first in all lands, emperors and kings, cardinals and bishops, even popes themselves, believed that they were honouring themselves while they honoured him. They endeavoured to decoy him to themselves by splendid conditions, they offered him positions at their Courts, or professorial chairs at their universities. His repugnance to bind himself in any way, made him reject them all; but though he might disdain to raise his name by outward positions, he was yet in intellectual matters the highest authority throughout Europe.

To stand in personal relation to such a man, was of great importance for the painter who occupied indeed, in the artistic world of Germany, a position perfectly corresponding with that which Erasmus occupied in the literary world. His tendency, also, was freer, and more modern than that of his contemporaries. Moreover, from all we know respecting Erasmus, combined with the refinement and superiority of his mind, there must have been something unusually attractive in his nature, and this must irresistibly have drawn to him younger and gifted men, whom he met with gentleness, friendliness, and interest. In an artistic point of view, he exhibited as much understanding as love for their pursuits. In his youth he had himself studied painting as a dilettante. In later years it became a positive necessity to him to supply his home with all that was pretty and comfortable, and in so doing, art of course was not lacking. The right judgment which he generally exhibited, he possessed also here. Among his contemporaries, who it is true have had but little to say with regard to art, it is he who has spoken of Dürer with most understanding.

Respecting Holbein's connection with Erasmus, we have, in the first place, information from the letters of the scholar himself. He mentions him occasionally; never very fully, never in such a tone or manner as to allow us to infer that the painter stood in intimate association with him. A certain superiority in these few expressions is not to be mistaken. This the scholar would certainly have found suitable towards a painter, who, according to the notions of that time, stood many stages below him, in a social point of view. The acknowledgment of Holbein's distinguished gifts is, however, always distinctly expressed by Erasmus. It is a pity, that a letter, of which we know from the answer that it existed, seems no longer extant. It is a letter to Sir Thomas More, in which Erasmus, on occasion of two portraits of himself taken by Holbein, which he is sending to England, must have recommended the artist to his friend, and must have spoken of his intention to go to England. Evidently, Erasmus must have here expressed himself most fully respecting him. This lies in the nature of the matter, and is to be

inferred, also, from the manner in which More answers him. "Pictor tuus," as Holbein is called by him, means, according to the spirit of the Latin language—and a More knew this well—far more than "the painter who has painted thee."

Erasmus frequently had his portrait taken, and indeed, by the first northern artists of his time. The letters of the great scholar show that a certain feeling of his own importance actuated him in this. Moreover, portraits of such a man were constantly required by noble personages who held him in honour, and he, himself, repeatedly presented his own likeness to his friends and patrons, as a gift in return for pensions and generous assistance. A double picture by Quentin Massys is frequently mentioned, in which, in the year 1517, Erasmus and his young friend, Petrus Ægidius, were depicted, and which was sent by them both from the Netherlands as a common present to More. Numerous letters speak of it. Erasmus is represented writing; Ægidius is holding a letter, on which is inscribed his address in More's handwriting, which is strikingly imitated. The picture of Erasmus is not to be authenticated, at least not in the original; that of Ægidius is at Longford Castle, and forms now the corresponding piece to the portrait of Erasmus by Holbein. Besides this, Massys executed bronze casts of Erasmus.[1] Albert Dürer, who became acquainted with him in the Netherlands in 1520, often took his portrait,[2] and published his likeness in an excellent engraving. But of all Dürer's portrait engravings this is perhaps the least successful. We can conceive Erasmus himself complaining that this picture possessed no similarity with him. The excessively plastic rounding which is given to every part has an ugly effect; neither the delicacy of form, nor that of expression is attained. When we look, on the other hand, at Holbein's numerous pictures of Erasmus, we feel a constraining certainty that only thus did he appear, that this must have been the form suited for such a mind, that in every line it is the Erasmus of which history tells.

On the 3rd June, 1524, Erasmus wrote to Pirkheimer: "I have again recently sent two portraits of Erasmus to England, taken by a most tasteful artist. He has also sent a portrait of me to France." One of the portraits sent to England was for Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Erasmus used to call his Mæcenas. Just at this time Warham had increased the yearly pension which Erasmus received from him.[3] Whether this gift called forth this act of generosity, or whether it was intended as an expression of gratitude for the increase already granted, must remain uncertain. "My noble patron," wrote Erasmus to the Archbishop, on the 4th September of the same year, "I hope that the portrait painted of me, which I sent to you, has

[1] Letter from Erasmus to Henricus Botteus, 29th March, 1528.
[2] Ibid., and in Dürer's "Tagebuch der Niederländischen Reise."
[3] "Pro aucta pensione habes gratiam." Sept. 4, 1524.

reached you, so that you may have somewhat of Erasmus should God call me hence!"[1]

For whom the second portrait was intended we know not. In the numerous letters, written between the 4th and 6th September, which Erasmus sent to England at the same time as the above,—to Tonstall, Bishop of London, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Cardinal Wolsey, and the King himself, and to some others—no mention is made of it. Whether, perhaps, Thomas More, to whom in 1517 he had sent the picture by Quentin Massys, now also received one, is not known. At any rate one of the pictures came to his sight, for he writes soon after to Erasmus in terms of the highest appreciation of his painter. The tenor of the letter would, however, rather imply that the portrait had not been presented to himself. The express thanks for such a present are wanting, while for Quentin's picture More conveyed his thanks in the warmest and most hearty manner.

The painter of this portrait mentioned in 1524 is undoubtedly Holbein, many Erasmus-portraits by whom are to be authenticated, and which were painted in the year 1523. One of these is still in England, and a second is proved to have been there formerly.

The first-mentioned is the portrait at Longford Castle, near Salisbury, the seat of Lord Folkestone, obtained in 1754 at the sale of Dr. Mead's collection, together with the portrait of Ægidius by Massys. Erasmus, with hair already grey and blue eyes, is attired in a doctor's hat and a fur coat. His face is taken at three-quarters, and is turned towards the left. The background is formed by a pilaster with elegant Renaissance ornament and a green curtain, which, somewhat pushed back, reveals a bookshelf and a water-bottle. These surroundings, which are represented with delicacy and care, introduce us into the scholar's world, into the quiet life of his domestic existence. The painting is excellent, the conception is full of life and simple truth. His two hands are resting on a book bound in red, which from a Greek-Latin inscription on the edge is designated as "the Herculean work of Erasmus of Rotterdam." One of the books in the background bears on the cover the date M.DXXIII., and on the edge the following distich, now partly effaced:

ILLE EGO IOANNES HOLBEIN NON FACILE . . . . MVS
. . . . MICHI MIMVS ERIT, QVAM MIHI . . . . . T.

We add an attempt at the completion of the verse, which in the first line does not accord in the last letter but two with the word which we have inserted, but which in the second line is perfectly correct:

Ille ego Joannes Holbein, en, non facile ullus
Tam mihi mimus erit quam mihi momus erit.

[1] "Amplissime Præsul, arbitror tibi redditam imaginem pictam quam misi ut aliquid haberes Erasmi, si me Deus hinc avocavit."

This is the sentence which the Greek painters Zeuxis and Apollodorus wrote on some of their works: *μωμήσεταί τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμήσεται*,[1] and which, with some variation, Holbein once before introduced in one of his youthful pictures, the Madonna with the Lily of the Valley. The authorship of such a proudly sounding verse belongs to Erasmus himself, who wishes thus to reward the painter for his care.

The second portrait, smaller in size, is the one that hangs in the *salon carré* of the Louvre; it originally belonged, according to the cipher inscription on the back, to the collection of Charles I. of England, who presented it to Louis XIII. in return for Leonardo's St. John. This is also painted with the utmost perfection, in a warm colour; perhaps, indeed, it even surpasses the other. We here see Erasmus in profile, writing at his desk; his hair, which is somewhat silvery, appears beneath his cap. The background is formed by a dark green curtain, covered with a pattern of light-green lions and red and white flowers. The small and highly characteristic hands of the scholar are especially masterly both here and in the picture in the possession of Lord Folkestone. The studies for the hands of both paintings are to be seen in two beautiful sheets in the collection of sketches in the Louvre, one of which also contains the study of the head for the picture in Longford Castle.

The Basle picture, given in our woodcut, accords entirely, except in the more simple background, with the painting at Paris. It is true the execution in the Basle picture is not quite so excellent; it is, moreover, not on wood, but like a study painted on paper; still, in it also we must admire the nicety and acuteness of the conception and the delicacy of the modelling.

"Ein alt männlein" (a little old man)—thus has Dürer styled Erasmus in the journal of his Netherland journey, and thus he appears to us in Holbein's portraits. He stands before us in perfect reality, with his feeble figure, his delicately formed and yet characteristic features, proclaiming the noble mind that animated them, the air of superiority playing about his mouth, the closely compressed lips, which tell of intense attention, the wrinkled brow, the clear, calm blue eye, which could perceive and penetrate everything; at the same time the upper lid drooping, as though the eye were rather gathering within itself than striving to penetrate beyond. Mild as the general effect is, we can still perceive that the acute and ready judgment is prepared at any moment to assert itself. The whole bearing of the man is equally characteristic. There is no trace of boldness, fire, and energy in the whole appearance. Everything indicates the acute thinker, the keen observer, the sure calculator;

[1] From Herr J. Mähly, "Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinland," 868, p. 269, containing a refutation of H. Grimm's remarks in his journal "Künstler und Kunstwerke," 1867, Nos. xi. and xii.

circumspection and anxiety are diffused over his whole being, and there is a touch also of satisfied vanity.

The inscription on the Paris picture is no longer to be deciphered, but on the Basle picture the words that Erasmus is writing are distinctly to be read:

> "In Evangelium Marci paraphrasis per
> D. Erasmum Roterodamium aucto(rem)
> Cunctis mortalibus ius(itum est)."

It is the beginning of his paraphrase of the Gospel of St. Mark, which belongs to the year 1523. This does not only prove the period at which this picture

ERASMUS. (BASLE.)

was executed, but probably also that of the portrait in the Louvre which accords with it.

This, and the picture at Longford Castle, formed two types, which were

henceforth again and again reproduced, sometimes by Holbein himself, and sometimes by other hands. Especially frequently was the type of Lord Folkestone's picture repeated; thus, for instance, in the copy at Hampton Court, which is used as a corresponding piece to Froben, and in two pictures in the Belvedere Gallery in Vienna, and at Turin, in which the hands, instead of resting on a closed book, are lying on an open one, and the background is quite simple. The Turin picture, according to the opinion of all judges, was painted by Holbein himself; the Vienna picture, at any rate, proceeded from his atelier. The style is very like Holbein's, and although somewhat cold in the head, it is excellent in subordinate matters. A similar conception is exhibited in the small picture in the Fesch collection in the Basle Museum, a good old copy, and in the engraving by Vorsterman. In this latter, we see, indeed, somewhat of the hands, but the plate is not large enough to show a book.[1] This same type of Holbein portraits formed the model of a beautiful picture of Erasmus in Windsor Castle, painted in the year 1537, after the death of the scholar, by George Pencz.

A third type, possessing, however, great similarity with this, is exhibited in the excellent little circular picture in the Basle Museum, numerous copies of which are to be found in various places, showing more or less affinity with Holbein's style.[2] Here also the face is seen at three-quarters, and is turned towards the left, but Erasmus seems to leave the impression of a somewhat older man. Perhaps it may have been executed at a later period, after Holbein's return from England.[3] This picture forms the basis of the famous large woodcut of which we shall speak subsequently, and in which the face is, of course, seen from the opposite side.

It yet remains to be asked what picture of Erasmus was that which, according to his letter to Pirkheimer, was taken to France by the painter himself at the time that two portraits were sent to England, and whither in France was this painting carried. It has been supposed to Paris, but although this is not impossible, still no trace is to be discovered, which can confirm it. Erasmus had numerous friends and correspondents in Paris, but there is no

[1] The original of this engraving was, it is said, in the Arundel collection. According to the auction catalogue of Dr. Meads, the portrait at Longford Castle came from this collection, and it is possible that Vorsterman engraved the latter, without giving the background. Herr O. Mündler considers the picture in Parma as an original.

[2] There is an original, according to Waagen, in the possession of Herr Fabre, Lausanne.

[3] Herr His-Heusler found among the Amerbach papers some interesting letters of Basilius Amerbach, which show that several portraits of Erasmus by Holbein were in Basle in his time. Herr Richard Strein, in Vienna, wished for a portrait of Erasmus, and Basilius requested him to inform him through Joachim König, recorder of Nuremberg, which he wished copied of the five copies that existed, "so von dem fürtrefflichen Hans Holbeinen algemeen gefertiget."

mention in his letters there of the sending of the picture, or of a recommendation of the painter, who took it there himself.

Perhaps as this authority fails, we might find out the matter from another side. Have we, perhaps, besides the portraits at Longford Castle and in the Louvre, a likeness of Erasmus which was certainly executed at this period? Assuredly, the portrait at Basle, which perfectly accords with the Paris picture, and of which we have seen that it was also painted in 1523. It belonged, like the circular picture just mentioned, to the Amerbach collection. One of them had been obtained by Amerbach from Erasmus' property at his death. Of the other, however, it is not improbable that Erasmus may have given it at an earlier period to his dear young friend, his "golden Bonifacius." Where, however, was Bonifacius when the picture of which Erasmus writes was executed? In France.

In May 1522, he went to Avignon for another sojourn there, in order to study under Alcist, and he did not return until May 1524. Is it not most probable that Erasmus should send him such a token of affection during his long absence? That the collection of letters should say nothing on the matter is not at all surprising, for very little of the correspondence with Bonifacius has been printed.

The picture executed with the utmost delicacy on the wooden panel travelled, therefore, to a patron in England, and the first study from life painted only on paper was carried to his most intimate young friend. We shall presently see[1] that Holbein had connection with a town in France, namely, Lyons, a city which more than any other place in the whole land was in constant intercourse with Germany, and especially with Switzerland. With this, also, the supposed direction of his journey would accord, for Lyons lies about midway on the road from Basle to Avignon. This little notice in Erasmus' letter is interesting. Although cursorily dropped, it is sufficient to prove that the Basle painter did not always remain stationary, but that especially at times, when he had scanty employment at home, he crossed the neighbouring frontier into foreign lands, to seek work and to offer his productions for sale.

The portrait, also, of another great German scholar, Philip Melanchthon, was painted by Holbein. It is to be found in the Welfen Museum, at Hanover, and is a small circular picture of most delicate execution, and is evidently the most excellent portrait we possess of the Reformer. The portraits from Cranach's atelier appear feeble compared to it, and Dürer's engraving of the year 1526 is cold and paltry. We see here, more beautifully than elsewhere, the refined and intellectual character of the emaciated youth, combined with great truthfulness to life. The form of the head is extraordinarily fine, and the colouring is cold and delicate on a grey ground. The portrait is in a case, the cover of which is in the same collection, and on the inside, in grey, are

[1] Chap. xiii.

graceful Renaissance ornaments, with figures of satyrs, and as a framework, the following inscription in gold:—QVI CERNIS TANTVM NON, VIVA MELANCHTHONIS ORA, HOLBINVS RARA DEXTERITATE DEDIT. Holbein's name, his artistic skill, and the life-like character of the execution, are here proclaimed in a comparatively simple manner, free from the pomposity usual at that day, and yet flatteringly enough. Perhaps a tribute offered to the painter by Melanchthon himself.

We gather from the whole style of this inscription, that Holbein was an artist of acknowledged repute when he painted the picture. Previous to 1519, when Melanchthon quitted Tübingen, and, in so doing, South Germany, he had not been made so much of. Melanchthon, also, seems (born 1497) to be more than twenty-five. Holbein probably met him in the year 1524, in the spring of which year Melanchthon visited his native city Bretten in the Palatinate. He at that time intended to pay a visit to Erasmus, but he did not carry out his intention, although his companions, among them Camerarius, went to Basle. Erasmus expresses his regret, in his letters, that he did not receive a visit from Melanchthon; but he ever remained, although opposed to the Reformation, on terms of friendly intercourse with the young scholar, who had seriously disapproved of Hutten's unsparing behaviour towards the aged master of science. Holbein, whose works at Basle had shortly before come to a standstill, seems at that time to have been often travelling. It is the period of his journey to France, and his road thither may have taken him by the Rhine. His relations with Erasmus would then have brought about his introduction to Melanchthon.[1]

The most interesting monument of the personal relations between Erasmus and Holbein, and at the same time a monument of the affinity that existed between the minds and efforts of the two men in their different spheres, is the marginal drawing of Holbein to Erasmus' "Praise of Folly." A copy of the edition of 1514, published by Froben, and now in the Basle Museum, is adorned with these drawings. The broad margin which is left round the text, and the commentary of Gerardus Listrius, is covered with figures, lightly etched, sometimes more and sometimes less cursorily sketched, but always full of spirit. Basilius Amerbach, the son of Bonifacius, obtained the book through the mediation of the painter Jacob Clauser, from the recorder Daniel in Mühlhausen, who could scarcely resolve to give up the costly possession to the art-collector.[2] Respecting the former history of the little volume, we are less informed. Only a couple of notices, inserted in the book itself, afford some

[1] Communicated by Fechter from Clauser's Letters. Baseler Taschenbuch, 1858, p. iii. et seq.

[2] Dr. C. Schmidt, Philipp Melanchthon Leben und ausgewählten Schriften, Elberfeld, 1861. In 1529 Melanchthon was at the Diet at Spires, which was concluded at the end of April. At that time Holbein was probably not yet returned from England. (Cf. vol. ii. chap. iii.)

clue. In the general title-page of the whole volume we read, "Est Osualdi Molitoris Lucerni,"[1] while on the title-page belonging to the text, written by the same hand, which also has elsewhere added a great many marginal remarks, we find: "Hanc Moriam pictam decem diebus ut oblectaretur in ea Erasmus habuit."[2] Two former possessors are thus mentioned: the first is Erasmus himself, who possessed it for the sake of his pleasure in the pictures; the second, who informs us of the other, is Oswald Molitor, the famous theologian and pedagogue, well known under the name of Myconius. Born in the year 1488, he lived at Basle till 1516, and then held the position of schoolmaster, alternately at Zurich and in his native city, Lucerne; in 1532 he returned to Basle, where he was appointed antistes of the church, after the death of Œcolampadius, and died as such in 1559.[3] He was a scholar and zealous admirer of Erasmus, who esteemed him highly, and from whom a short but affectionate note to him is still in preservation.[4] Probably he received the book from the property of Erasmus, left at his death; for Bonifacius Amerbach, the universal heir, took care that all the friends of the deceased, even those for whom he had himself appointed nothing, should receive valuable remembrances of him.

Whether Erasmus himself ordered the drawings, or whether some one else ordered them of Holbein as a present for the author, the illustrations seem to infer that the painter possessed a thorough understanding of the work, and had learned sufficient Latin in the school to be able to read it. Scarcely can he have merely followed the direction of another who pointed out to him each time what he was to draw on the margin, and gave him besides the purport of the respective passage. The understanding of it is far too thorough and uniform, and at the same time the selection of the passages illustrated are far too naïve. Not merely is it the actual purport of the satire which was illustrated. Certain phrases and allusions, especially figurative expressions which struck the painter, have given rise to these drawings. In speaking of flattery, there appears the expression *mutuum muli scabunt*, and Holbein depicts two donkeys rubbing against each other. Then the simile is used: to understand as much of a matter as an ass does of music; and the painter has here placed the honest roan beast on the margin, looking with a delightful air and gesture at a youth playing the harp. Another time a many-headed man stands

[1] Belongs to Andrew Molitor, of Lucerne.

[2] This copy of the Moria, drawn in ten days, Erasmus possessed for his own amusement.

[3] H. Pantaleon. "Teutsches Heldenbuch," iii. [4] 26th August, 1518.

by the passage, in which the common people are casually styled a great and mighty monster. Occasionally mythological allusions appear, and the drawing then gives representations of the respective fables which are severally related by the commentator. Thus, a variously compiled monk's sermon is called a chimera, the annotation says what the chimera is according to Homer, and the painter has sketched the monster with a human head, and lion's feet, a fish's tail and eagle's wings. At the expressions "chained by the bands of Vulcan," or "to unravel Penelope's web" (in allusion to monkish disputes,) Mars and Venus are represented on the couch, and round them Vulcan is drawing his fetters, and the consort of Ulysses is depicted, destroying her own work at her loom. Where it says in the text that the yelping of the priests never ceased until a morsel was thrown to them, the commentator relates how Æneas quieted Cerberus by a bait, and the picture exhibits the hero of antiquity in a knight's costume, with a switch in his hand, holding a sausage to the three-headed dog of Hell. Shortly after, it is said, that all were so astonished at the subtle ideas of the scholastics, that they were almost like Niobe. Her story, which is given in the note, is illustrated by a highly burlesque picture. Niobe is stone from head to foot, and her dead children consist of two small and tolerably ugly boys. The tall figure of Apollo, who is slaying them from the clouds above, is no less comical. A star is introduced in the place of the usual fig-leaf.

The travesty of classical subjects, which suits the satirical character of the whole work, is distinctly shown in the two last pictures; these, therefore, afford us a clue in other cases. It is not always true-hearted simplicity, as we generally suppose, when at that time our German artists introduced antique material in the garment of every-day life; designed ridicule had here greater scope than we believe. National feelings could thus assert themselves against all that was foreign, and could make sport of it. Among other instances of such travesties in the Praise of Folly, Cæsar is mentioned in allusion to the fat monks: he is taking the hand of the politely smiling and complacent Antony in his cap and bells, and is pointing with a certain air of repugnance to Brutus, who looks somewhat wild;[1] or Jupiter, who, his crown in his hand, is making a miserable face, while Vulcan is striking his skull in order to let the little Pallas come forth;[2] or another interesting situation of the father of the gods, who is seizing the naked Ate by the hair

[1] ". . . Quemadmodum summi principes nimium cordatos suspectos habent et invisos, ut, Julius Brutum et Cassium, cum ebrium Antonium nihil metueret . . . itidem Christus σοφοὺς istos . . . semper detestat ac damnat."

[2] "His atque id genus bis mille nugis horum capita adeo distenta differtaque sunt, ut arbitror nec Jovis cerebrum æque gravidum fuisse, cum ille Palladem parturiens, Vulcani securim imploraret."

in order to chastise her with his thunderbolt. Ate's chastisement by Zeus was given in a note from Homer's account of it, without any mention of this story appearing in the text, which only casually alluded to her name. Thus this passage also is a distinct evidence in favour of our opinion that Holbein, capable of reading and understanding the book, must have drawn of his own accord whatever struck and amused him, without direction and order.

The character of the pictures is just as genuinely popular as the character of the work. Erasmus himself has only on this occasion adopted this tone, but here more successfully than has ever again appeared in the whole range of humanistic literature. This little book, which he conceived on his journey back from Italy, has been disseminated throughout the western nations. During the life of the author it passed through twenty-seven editions, and exercised greater reformatory influence than any work which preceded Luther. In a manner just as spirited, keen, and cutting as the author wrote, do we see the painter scourging the errors of his age, both in the noble and the lowly, in all circumstances, in all classes, and especially among the clergy. In one respect Erasmus is indeed even surpassed by Holbein. The latter remains consistent throughout, while Erasmus does not always let Folly in eulogizing herself preserve the just position, but sometimes allows her to assume a more serious tone than becomes her.

The happy, hearty humour which we find in these sketches marks the whole illustrations from beginning to end—from the introductory picture, in which Moria (*i.e.*, Folly), a plump young woman with a turned-up nose and cap and bells, has ascended the lecturer's chair, and begins to demonstrate to the little assembly below, to that in which she is descending from the same chair with the most comical grandeur and movement of the hand in farewell, while the auditors to whom she has just spoken her *valete, plaudite, vivite, bibite,* are looking after her with the most various expressions. The folly of

imagination is satirized by the picture of women kneeling before the image of the Virgin, and holding candles before it, which are certainly unnecessary in the clear light of day.

And how well Folly agrees even with the gods is shown in Bacchus, who is sitting under a vine with his bottle, and in Silenus, who is dancing with the goat-footed nymph, and in the uncouth Polyphemus, who, with his one eye and his right hand on his heart, exhibits an expression of the most feeling mirth.

Nicolaus de Lyra is depicted with a lyre or a barrel-organ in his hand, in allusion to his name, and reading the Holy Scriptures. This alludes to the fact that he took literally and not figuratively the passage in St. Luke, in which Christ commands the apostles to arm themselves with swords. Thus the next picture also exhibits an apostle with a lance, sword, crossbow, and sling, and with a cannon by his side.

That it amused Erasmus to see his book thus illustrated we can readily believe, as it was done with such thorough understanding and so completely in his own spirit.

One passage is especially interesting to posterity, because the author and the artist here seem mutually to have mingled their own personality in the jest. Erasmus had, by the way, casually introduced his own name, and the artist here painted the scholar himself on the margin sitting in his study, and

the name "ERASMUS" written by the side. The similarity of the portrait in the tiny sketch was not very great, at any rate Erasmus looked much younger. This amused Erasmus. When he came so far in looking over the book, Mykonius tells us in his marginal annotations, he exclaimed, "Oh, if Erasmus still looked like this, he might truly yet take a wife."[1] And to return jest with jest, he turned over the page and by the side of the passage, "Pinguis ac nitidus Epicuri de grege porcus" (a fat and splendid pig from the flock of Epicurus), illustrated by a wild fellow sitting at a well-spread board, drinking wine and drawing a slovenly female figure towards him, he wrote the name "Holbein."

This jest has done the painter mischief with posterity. It has been inferred from it that Holbein was a drunkard and a morally depraved man. But it is apparent that this jest does not prove this, that nothing is to be inferred from it but a tolerably intimate understanding between Erasmus and the painter, which admitted of such witticism. Nevertheless, solely upon this, and without any contemporary evidence for the fact existing, later biographers have been careful to form a story of Holbein's dissoluteness and immorality. At the present day the anecdotes gathered together in this way have been regarded in Basle as old popular traditions. Whence these traditions arise it is not difficult to discover. They have not afforded material to writers, but they have sprung from the writers themselves. Mander and Sandrart, who never allowed it to escape them when there were stories of this kind to produce, say nothing of it, and Patin is the first to mention it, because he knows the pictures belonging to the "Praise of Folly."

We possess, indeed, no written records with regard to Holbein's conduct and mode of life, but there exists that which refutes such stories more certainly and distinctly than any authentic attestations of morality, namely, the works of the master. By his fruits we know him. There is nothing that is so little compatible with moral degradation as work, and work is expressed in everything which Holbein has left behind for us. Not merely do we see this in the number of his creations and in his mastery of the most various technical knowledge; but also every single work is brought to the highest perfection, with earnestness, fidelity, and care. What a solid

[1] "Dum ad hunc locum perveniebat Erasmus, se pictum sic videns exclamavit, ohe, ohe, si Erasmus adhuc talis esset, duceret profecto uxorem."

grand feeling animates them, proving that it was a whole man who produced them. There is nothing desultory in Holbein's nature; it never appears with him, as is not rarely the case with great artists, that he grew weary of his works, and suddenly laid aside what he had begun, to begin something else. His interest in the matter did not quickly vanish; it increased up to the end. Genius is sufficient for artistic devising and invention; for execution and completion, character is necessary. Holbein had both.

Evidence as distinct in favour of Holbein as that afforded by the works which he produced is exhibited by the men amongst whom he lived. We see him in intercourse in Basle with such a man as Erasmus, whose refinement of feeling repelled far from him all that was coarse and degenerating. Afterwards, in England, Sir Thomas More, a man distinguished for his wisdom as well as for his piety and character, received him into his own house, that house which Erasmus himself styles the school of true Christian feeling. A more brilliant justification than this as regards Holbein could scarcely be given; this, however, speaks not only for his morals, but for his cultivation, and this latter is also expressed, as we have seen in his illustrations of the "Praise of Folly;" while their alleged testimony against his morality crumbles to pieces.

By this we do not, of course, assert that Holbein was a hero of virtue, or that he merits the halo of a saint. He who could have regarded and conceived merry life and the beauty of the world as he has done, must have loved life himself and must have entered the world joyfully and merrily, with a heart appreciating its delights. Without this, his artistic peculiarity would have been scarcely possible. And that this was the case with him is confirmed by his portrait, which affords us a third evidence respecting him, besides that of his works and his friends. The beautiful half-length figure by his own hand (from an excellent photograph of which our woodcut is taken[1]) which is in the Basle Museum, a slightly coloured sketch, belongs to his early period at Basle. It is named in the Amerbach inventory as "ein conterfehung Holbeins mit trocken farben." The character of his appearance accords with the portraits taken in his childhood, with the boy in the Basilica of St. Paul, and with the youth of fourteen in the Berlin drawing. We see the painter before us in a red hat and grey coat with a black velvet border, with smooth nut-brown hair. He wears no beard. In the original we see plainly that he is shaved. He seems to be about twenty-five or twenty-six years old. It is a manly and nobly formed countenance. Seriousness and mental superiority are expressed in his whole appearance, and at the same time pleasingly balanced by the air of a man of the world. Freely, boldly, and with self-consciousness, he is looking forth into the world; but from the manner in which the lower eyelids are drawn up, the clearness of his glance is combined with a touch of softer

[1] The engraving also in Mr. Wornum's book is good; on the other hand, that of Weber's, though skilfully engraved, is not after the original, but from a drawing by Hieronymus Hess.

feeling. A certain look of irony plays about the fine lips, but it is slight; he feels himself raised above his surroundings, yet his perfect repose quickly banishes this feeling within due limits. A noble character is expressed in his

HOLBEIN'S PORTRAIT.
(Sketch—Basle).

features, especially in his fine brow. It seems just as though a slight shadow were just passing across it; but healthful feeling and joyous freshness and power awake and drive it away.—This is Hans Holbein.

CHAPTER XII.

Holbein's designs for wood-engraving.—German wood-engraving in an artistic and historical aspect.—Relation between painter and engraver.—Hans Lützelburger.—T. Fröben as metal engraver.—Designs for title-pages.—Wood-engraving in its relations with humanistic literature.—Subjects from Lucian, treated by Ambrosius Holbein.—The panel of Cebes.—Illustrations of the Utopia of Thomas More.—Designs from the legends and history of antiquity.—Illustrations of the power of women, by Hans and Ambrosius Holbein.—Illustrations for geographical and astronomical works.—The arms and the patron saints of Freiburg.—Moral pictures and illustrations from popular life.—Peasants' dance and fox-hunt.—Children's dances.—Alphabet, with peasants' and children's games.—Initials of every kind.—Signets of the printers.

Of the works which Holbein executed during his sojourn at Basle, one entire class has still remained unnoticed, namely, the woodcuts which were made after his drawings. We alluded only briefly to the fact that Hans Holbein, as well as his brother Ambrosius, was attracted to Basle by nothing so much as by the opportunity of making designs for woodcuts—especially for the ornamenting of books—and of finding in this work an easy and certain gain. Immediately after they had both set foot within the city, they undertook these works, for which manifold occasion was afforded them by the numerous publishers in this capital of German printing.

At the very beginning of this work we have intimated the artistic and historical importance of German wood-engraving. Until the close of the fifteenth century, its importance in the history of civilization is far superior to its artistic value. We cannot say that up to this time wood-engraving had attained so high as many of the achievements of the age in an artistic point of view. These works stand far below the contemporary productions of painting and sculpture, and from the middle of the fifteenth century, those of copperplate engraving. The stamp-cutters ("Formschneider") who were at the time card-makers and card-colourers, that is, editors of calendars and pamphlets, formed a special trade in the cities, and carried on their work on a manufacturing scale. But rough and clumsy as their productions usually were, they are of great value from the fact that in the first place they show the range of view open to the people, allowing us to gain a glimpse of their habits, manners, and views; and in the second place that they comprise that amount of the artistic ideas of the epoch which had become the common property of

all. In this respect, wood-engraving stands in the same relation to the sculpture and painting of that day as antique vase painting did when compared with the higher branches of the artistic work of a contemporaneous period.

In a time like our own, it is difficult to understand what part, in an age of more primitive civilization, was played by pictures as instruments of intellectual communication. The need for these called forth the invention of the multiplying arts. Thus, picture-printing preceded book-printing, and was the preliminary step to its invention. In one of the oldest books printed with wood-blocks, the precursors of those printed with moveable types, it says expressly in the introduction: "In order that this subject may bear fruit for all, it is placed before the eye in writing, which is only of use to the learned, and also in pictures which are serviceable to the unlearned as well." [1]

While the higher branches of the representative arts were almost entirely occupied with religious subjects, wood-engraving satisfied far wider demands. It owes its earliest culture and development to the making of playing cards, and it was thus essentially directed to secular subjects, though the monks and ecclesiastics had even pictures of saints on their cards. But not merely card-playing penetrated from the palace to the cottage, so that costly executed and ornamentally painted cards were necessarily superseded by those prepared cheaply, either by printing or stencil; pictures, also, of a religious purport, were desired by the poor as well as by the rich, for edification and instruction, and thus they were produced in immense masses by the stamp-cutter and were sold at church-doors and market-places. Religious books appeared printed by wood-blocks, such as the "Biblia Pauperum," the "Apocalypse," the "Salve Regina;" yet, at the same time, there appeared also xylographic prints of a secular purport, such as "die acht Schalkheiten," "die zehn Lebensalter," "das Glücksrad," and many others. The stamp-cutter prepared letters of indulgence, new year's congratulations, and pamphlets of every kind, tending not only to serious objects, but also to humour and satire.[2] When letter-printing was invented, picture-printing followed in its wake, adorning the most various productions, books of a serious purport, as well as poetical writings, house-keeping books, calendars, and chronicles. If we wish to become acquainted with an especially splendid specimen of the abundant and extensive scope opened to representations on wood, we must look through Hartmann Schedel's "Weltchronik," which was published at Nuremberg, in Latin in 1493, and in German in 1494. Side by side with Biblical personages, we find the kings and heroes of antiquity; we see depicted historical incidents of

[1] "Sed ut omnibus ista materia sit fructuosa . . .; tam litteris, tantum litterato deservientibus, quam imaginibus laico et litterato simul deservientibus cunctorum oculis obicitur."

[2] For the early history of engraving, see the splendid work of T. O. Weigel, "Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst, in Bild und Schrift."

the most different kind; we find the fantastic figures with which popular imagination invested the beings of other quarters of the globe, and more or less true delineations of the most various cities and countries. We might say, that almost everything that is representable is here depicted.

At that time, however, wood-engraving had almost reached a new stage in its development. At the close of Schedel's chronicle, it is observed that the book was printed with the co-operation of the painters, Michael Wolgemut, and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, who adorned it with figures.[1] Painters now began to furnish the stamp-cutters with drawings, and thus woodcut representations became on a level with the age in an artistic point of view. The painters were induced by the very wealth of their imagination, this genuine German quality, to place themselves in relation with this technical proceeding. Invention afforded the German artist the highest gratification, while the Flemish artist was satisfied with delicate and careful execution. The painter, however, could never let the spring of his imagination gush forth with a richer stream than by placing himself in connection with wood-engraving. To perpetuate his ideas, he needed no other means but the simple pen-and-ink drawing on wood, the smooth surface of which was far more convenient to the artist than rough paper. That which he had devised was not merely once executed, and this for a limited circle of spectators, but it was disseminated in the most different countries, and penetrated to all classes of people. What Wolgemut and his generation had begun was continued with greater decision by the next generation—by Albert Dürer, Cranach, Hans Baldung Grien, Burgkmair, and Holbein. But with the artistic importance of this branch of figurative representation, its importance in the history of civilization also advanced more and more. It participated in the extension of intellectual life and in the advance of science; it was combined with humanistic literature; it served the growing religious movement, both before and after the outbreak of the Reformation, in a serious manner, by illustrations from the Holy Scriptures, and in a humorous manner, by taking part in the disputes of the most different kind. But whatever its aim and object, wood-engraving ever touched a thoroughly national chord, and afforded such a distinct and infallible mirror of the opinions and intellectual life of the people, that it surpassed in this the most popular production of literature.

The share taken in wood-engraving by German painters has been the subject of a long and violent dispute in the art-literature of the present day. The question has been discussed with eagerness, whether or no these great

[1] In the Latin edition: ". . . . Adhibitis tamen viris mathematicis pingendique arte peritissimis, Michaele Wolgemut et Wilhelmo Pleydenwurff. Quarum solerti accuratissimaque *animadversione* tum civitatum tum illustrium virorum figure inserte sunt, . . ."

painters themselves engraved their designs on wood.[1] Many of the first art historians joined a party on one side or the other, and the feud became so obstinate that Kugler ironically spoke of it as the great question of the sixteenth century. Essentially, we side with the view of Sotzmann, Chatto, and Passavant, that the painters did not themselves engrave on wood. The stamp-cutters, constituted, as we have just seen, a special trade, and they would scarcely have allowed interference on the part of the painters. On the other hand, a division of the work belonged quite to the spirit of the age, the very language of which expressed a difference between the "designer" (adumbrator) and the stamp-cutter (sculptor).[2] The designing alone was the affair of the painter. Dürer relates in the journal of his travels in the Netherlands, that he sketched on wood the Herren von Roggendorff's "coat of arms, that it might be engraved;"[3] and Neudörfer,[4] when he is speaking of Dürer's woodcuts and his engravings on copper, mentions the first as his designed work ("Gerissenekunst") and the second as his engraved work ("Gestochenekunst"). The drawing on wood corresponds with the cartoon in painting, the sketch in the copper-plate engraving, and the model in the statue. In all these the execution may surpass the pattern; in the woodcut, on the contrary, "when it comes to the engraving, invention, alteration, and improvement are at an end. Even if it occurred to the painter, which may probably have happened, sometimes to take the knife into his own hand, he cannot escape the necessity of first distinctly drawing on the wood all that he intends to cut."[5] The pen-and-ink drawing on wood can become worse, but never better, under the cutting-knife. The stamp-cutter must follow every line which the master

[1] On the side of having engraved themselves: "C. Fr. v. Rumohr, Hans Holbein der Jüngere in seinem Verhältniss zum deutschen Formschnittwesen," Leipzig, 1836; also "Auf Veranlassung und in Erwiderung der Einwürfe eines Sachverständigen gegen die Schrift, H. Holb." &c., Leipzig, 1836; also "Zur Geschichte und Theorie der Formschneidekunst," 1837; — Rud. Weigel, in the Appendix to Rumohr's Holbein, and in other places; A. E. Umbreit, "Ueber die Eigenhändigheit der Malerformschnitte," Nos. 1 and 2, Leipzig, 1840, 1843.

On the side of not having engraved themselves: Unger, der Aeltere, "fünf in Holz geschnittene Figuren nach der Zeichnung;" J. W. Meils, "Eine Untersuchung der Frage: Ob Albrecht Dürer jemals Bilder in Holz geschnitten," Berlin, 1779; Bartsch, "Peintre Graveur," vii. p. 19; "Anleitung zur Kupferstichkunde," i. p. 258; Sotzmann, "Kunstblatt," 1836, Nos. 30 and 83; and "Hans Holbein's Altes Testament," by H. Bürckner, Leipzig, 1850, Introduction; Peter Vischer, "Kunstblatt," 1836, p. 198, 1843, p. 63; Chatto, "A Treatise on Wood Engraving," London, 1839, pp. 283, 386, 418 et seq.; Passavant, "Peintre Graveur," Leipzig, 1860, i. pp. 66—78; Ambroise Firmin Didot, "Essai typographique et bibliographique sur l'Histoire de la Gravure sur bois," Paris, 1863.

[2] "Panoplia, de omnibus illiberalibus sive mechanicis artibus," Frankfort, A.M. 1564. Quoted by Sotzmann.

[3] "Campe, "Reliquien von Alb. Dürer," p. 93.

[4] "Hans Neudörffer, "Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Künstlern und Werkleuten, so innerhalt 100 Jahren in Nürnberg gelebt haben," 1546.

[5] Sotzmann, "Kunstblatt," 1836, No. 83.

has drawn. He hollows out the places between the strokes, and the drawing itself remains; so that the carefully produced impression of a well-executed woodcut is not merely a faithful imitation of the master, but it gives the original drawing itself. That connoisseurs of delicate feeling did not understand this distinct connection, and regarded as the merit of one man what was due to the co-operation of two artists, arises from the fact that the technical progress which the stamp-cutters themselves made, began and increased simultaneously with the participation of painters in their work. But this is entirely natural. That masters of the first rank allowed them to work after their drawings, exercised its influence on the stamp-cutters, and allowed them to advance in proportion with their greater objects. Artistic guidance developed them into artists themselves.

At the same time, it was a matter of course that the painter should acquire for himself the understanding of the technical part of an art which was to multiply his creations. This he needed, in order clearly to perceive the capability of executing the task, and to know what he might exact from it, and what not. Evidence of this is given in a letter from Conrad Peutinger to the Emperor Maximilian, which treats of the works in wood engravings which the Emperor had ordered at Augsburg. "The stamp-cutter who has hitherto cut the form of your Majesty's genealogy is absent from here without my knowledge, and I cannot learn when he is returning; as there was no one else in Augsburg who could do the work, I have been hindered in your Majesty's work, but I will use as much industry as I can to bring him or some one else to move in it; the painter here is very skilful in the work."[1] This affords us a clear insight into the circumstances. Burgkmair, the painter, although not accustomed to cut, understood the matter, and in case of necessity, when no stamp-cutter was to be found in Augsburg, Peutinger was going to induce him to complete the work that had been begun. In a similar manner Dürer, who from his very nature delighted in practising the most different technical arts, also understood wood-engraving, and probably occasionally made attempts in it. On the other hand, we have Neudörffer's decided statement, that most of the woodcuts from Dürer's compositions were executed in Nuremberg by Master Hieronymus Resch, surnamed Jeronymus Andre, who was regarded as the first and the most expert in this work. Jost Dienecker, in Augsburg, stands in a similar relation to Hans Burgkmair. Often, however, the sketches of the great masters fell into the hands of very inferior stamp-cutters, which is shown most glaringly by the inequality of the works.

So much as regards the relation of the painter to the works of wood-engraving. If in this respect it might still be possible to carry on the old

[1] Th. Herberger, "G. Peutinger in seinem Verhältniss zum Kaiser Maximilian," Augsburg, 1851, p. 30.

dispute, yet, as regards Holbein especially, the matter appears perfectly clear. It was respecting Holbein particularly that the dispute as to the execution of the stamp-cutting by the painter himself was carried on with most vigour; Rumohr having asserted of him, that he had himself cut the best and the most of the woodcuts of his own designs. We know, on the contrary, in the first place, that in Basle itself, even in the sixteenth century, Holbein's woodcuts were not regarded as the works of his own hand, and we know, in the second place, the name of the master who cut the greater number of the principal works, all those in fact which formed the subject of dispute.

As regards the first of these points, the well-known inventory of the Amerbach collection, prepared by Basilius Amerbach in the year 1586, annexes the woodcuts to the copies of Holbein's works made by others, and separates them expressly from the works by his own hand. The contents of the chest which kept the copper plates, woodcuts, and sketches, are thus noted down:—

"Holbeini imitatio aliena non propria ejus, 64. Getruckt, 111. Biblica historia, cet. 2. Totentantz, 2 expl.

"H. Holbeini genuina gros klein von seiner Hand, 104. Moria Erasmi hin und wider mit figurlin," &c.[1]

The wood-engraver who executed all the works which Rumohr regards as cut by Holbein himself was Hans Lützelburger. A considerable part of the most important series of engravings and single sheets are marked with his full name or monogram. These marks are not to be refuted. The efforts of Rumohr to assert that the beautiful proof impressions of Holbein's Alphabet of Death, bearing the name of this engraver, were nothing but etchings, were supported by no evidence, and are regarded as frustrated; as was also the attempt to regard the united H. and L. as Holbein's monogram.[2]

"Hans Lützelburger, formschnider, genannt Franck," as the artist calls himself on the sheet with the Alphabet of Death, is a personage who still remains wrapped in obscurity, as is the case with so many of the artists of Germany which possessed no Vasari. Herr His-Heusler has discovered that a family of

[1] The first item (imitatio aliena . . . 64) includes copies of Holbein's sketches, a great number of which are in the Basle Museum. The inventory was first brought forward respecting this question by Herr Peter Vischer, "Kunstblatt," 1843, p. 63.

[2] A number of drawings with the monogram, which were formerly regarded as Holbein's, belong, as is now proved, to Hans Leu, of Zurich (Cf. Passavant, "Peintre Graveur," iii. p. 336, et seq.). Three of them were in the collection of Herr Rud. Weigel, at Leipzig (Cf. his "Aehrenlese auf dem Felde der Kunst," 1856, pp. 5, 6); a fourth very beautiful sheet, under the erroneous denomination of H. Lützelburger, is in the Albertine collection at Vienna; it represents the death of a woman; a fifth is designated as "unknown" in the photographs of the Copenhagen collection.

this name is to be found in Basle. In the Baptismal Register of St. Leonhard, which extends as far back as 1529, a Michael Lützelburger and a Jacob Lützelburger are mentioned as fathers of children between the years 1529 and 1533. The same family name appears in the adjacent town of Colmar. In the parish register, which contains the well-known passage on Schongauer's death, it is repeatedly to be found; in the year 1495, for example, there appears a Margeretha Lützelburger; later, without a date, but after 1536, we find a Johannes Lützelburger.[1] But that is all we know. As the famous wood-engraver bore also the second name of Franck, Passavant[2] supposed him to be identical with a painter, Hans Franck, living in Basle at this time. He appears in the year 1513, in the red book of the guild "Zum Himmel;" and under the banner of the guild, he joined in a military expedition to Burgundy. I have seen his name frequently in the accounts of the council of the years intervening between 1516 and 1519. The commissions which he executed for the council are of a subordinate kind; he made the lions and shields on the salt-magazine, he painted the Jacobsbrunnen, a house in the Rebgasse, and the Spalenthor, inside and out; the highest item which is paid him amounts to twenty pounds. In my own opinion, Passavant's conjecture appears very impossible.

We also know of a stamp-cutter, Hans Franck, who worked at Augsburg in Maximilian's triumphal procession, which was begun in the year 1516, and whose name is inscribed in ink on the back of some blocks.[3] His identity with Lützelburger is also not to be established.

The first certain records of our master belong to the year 1522. A large woodcut representing a contest between peasants and naked men in a wood, after the sketch of an unknown master, with the monogram N.H., bears the inscription; HANNS LEVCZELBVRGER FVRMSCHNIDER 1.5.22.[4] In the following year, the German edition of the New Testament was issued by Thomas Wolff in Basle, and its splendid title-page, designed by Holbein, bears the inscription H. L. FUR (= Furmschneider). He also cut Holbein's principal work, the pictures of Death; one sheet, the Duchess, shows his monogram H. We have already spoken of the Alphabet of Death, the proof-sheets of which contain his name. The accordance with these works renders it probable that many other undesignated woodcuts, such for example as the Children's and Peasants' Alphabet which we shall presently mention, the unsurpassable portrait of Erasmus, and many sheets from the pictures of the Old Testament, were cut by him. More and more he made himself acquainted with Holbein's style,

1 The author saw this work with Herr His-Heusler on his last visit to Colmar, Oct. 1866.

2 "Peintre Graveur," vol. ii. 3 Bartsch, "Peintre Graveur," vii. p. 19.

4 Two little sheets in the cabinet of engravings in the Paris Library, the one containing the same inscription as above, and the other an alphabet, are only cut off from the edge of the above-mentioned sheet.

adhered throughout faithfully and fully to the master's spirit and manner, and became even more free and superior in the technical part of his art. Thus he ranks with Hieronymus of Nuremberg and Jost Dienecker, as the third great master among the German stamp-cutters of this epoch; and he also perfected an entirely new branch of the art, and one not cultivated by the two others, namely, miniature cutting. Lützelburger seems to have died about the year 1538, as we shall learn when discussing the pictures of Death.

A great number of title-frames and initials, very many of them produced from Holbein's design and drawing, executed not in wood but in metal, bear the letters I. F. This refers, in our opinion, to Johann Frober, the printer, who is several times mentioned as a worker in metal, Chalcographus.[1] In the works of Father Hieronymus, which he published with the three brothers Amerbach in the year 1516, he is thus spoken of in the concluding notice; and in the copy in the Basle library, it is written in manuscript that it was given to the Carthusians by the heirs of Johann Amerbach, the printer (impressoris), and by Johann Froben, the chalcographist. Under this designation we can readily understand the type-caster, or rather the preparer of the forms for the casting of the letters; we know that Froben also carried on this trade, and provided many printing-houses in Basle and elsewhere with his types. But both arts are closely allied. Probably Froben, originally a metal engraver, subsequently exercised his art not entirely by himself, but at the head of an atelier, in which metallic engravings for books were made both for his own use as well as for other Basle printers. Many copperplates of Holbein's composition were to be found in Basle until the year 1852 in the family of the publisher Haas, but they were then sold at a division of the property,[2] and have since disappeared. This art of metal engraving is, both in execution and result, the opposite of copperplate; the drawing is left in relief as in woodcuts, and is thus struck off. But in an artistic point of view, the metallic engravings of Holbein's sketches are not to be compared with Lützelburger's woodcuts, a fact which rests as much with the hand of the executor as with the work itself. Such freedom and firmness of lines, such distinctness and equality in the impression, is not to be attained in the metallic engravings. A hardness of effect is never to be overcome.

We can number about 315 small or large woodcuts, and besides about twenty alphabets, for which Hans Holbein made the drawings. The extent of

[1] See an allusion to this by Hegner, p. 154, Obs. 3. The author owes the following information to Dr. Fechter and Herr His-Heusler in Basle. Still there is an engraving of Holbein's English period, done after Froben's death, which bears the same initials, and has a great relation with Lützelburger's work. Perhaps he also made use some time of this monogram.

[2] Probably to a Jew of the name of Schmoll. Letter from the heirs to M. Ambroise Firmin Didot. (Essai . . . Sur l'histoire de la Gravure sur bois, p. 301.)

material, which interested us especially in German wood-engraving, as well as the manner in which the artist's imagination knew how to master this abundance of varied subjects, are the two things which most decidedly attract us in these sheets. They thus form an important sequel to the other works belonging to Holbein's Basle epoch. Almost universally, the painter seems to have himself made the design on the block, for, until the present time, among all his numerous drawings, there has never once appeared a sketch or even a study for the compositions which have been cut from his designs. Only in very few instances do the woodcuts exhibit either Holbein's name or monogram, and the principal works, especially the pictures of Death and those from the Old Testament, are without any mark which points to him,—a circumstance which surprises us, if we consider how accurately Albert Dürer was wont to designate his woodcut designs with his monogram, and for the most part also with the date. This habit appears in all Dürer's works; while Holbein seems to have been of opinion that to establish his artistic property, no other authentication was needed beyond the artistic character of the work itself. His principal works in painting, therefore, such as the Passion, the Meier Madonna, and many of his most beautiful portraits, bear no signature. The few woodcuts bearing his signature seem to belong to two categories; in the first place they are works executed during Holbein's early residence at Basle, in which it was of importance for him to make his name known to the printer, and in the second place they belong to the later years of his residence in England, when he was already a famous man and painter to the king, and his name gave a higher value to such small works.

Under these circumstances, it is not very easy to form an opinion which woodcuts were engraved by Holbein and which not; it is not easy to gather together the genuine and to reject the spurious. The first clue to this is afforded by the sheets which are authenticated as his works either by the artist's own testimony or by that of others. Added to the well-known evidences, such as that afforded by the verses of the poet Nicolaus Bourbon upon the pictures of Death and the Illustrations of the Old Testament, a new one has appeared in the List of the woodcuts and copperplates in the Amerbach Collection, which has been discovered in the Basle Museum, by Herr His-Heusler. It was, it appears, drawn up by Bonifacius Amerbach, who has specified numerous sheets as certainly or probably the work of Holbein. Many pictures which were formerly regarded as designs of Holbein thus receive confirmation as such, others are referred to, and a firmer basis is obtained for a further investigation.

Besides this, the study of the Holbein-sketches, especially of those in the Basle Museum, is of importance, and the author has acquired much information from the marginal drawings of the "Praise of Folly." We can thus considerably increase the material which Passavant has gathered together in his

"Peintre Graveur." Various pieces, however, which hitherto had been considered as Holbein's works, have been withdrawn as spurious.

The woodcuts evidence the great influence which Holbein's countryman, Hans Burgkmair, exercised upon him,—a master who, in many of his designs for such works, may almost be ranked with Albert Dürer, and who, with the great Nuremberg painter, received from the Emperor Maximilian the most numerous and extensive orders for works of this kind. Holbein had brought with him from Augsburg a certain readiness for this kind of drawing. The works that Holbein most constantly designed during the early years of his residence at Basle were initials and ornaments for the title-pages of books. These title-pages have always the form of a frame, and contain for the most part figurative representations of various kinds on the sides above and below. Larger compositions are usually placed below. Frequently the title-pages do not consist of one piece, but of four separate borders, which are divided and combined with other pieces. Many other great German painters, Dürer, Burgkmair, Cranach, and Grien, have designed similar title-pages, but none so frequently as Hans Holbein, and in no other place perhaps have works of this kind such an artistic value, as those in Basle possess. Many of the title-pages there were for this reason copied by painters of other places—Wittenburg, Cologne, and Augsburg.

We need only compare Holbein's works with those which were executed in Basle immediately before his arrival there, especially with some title-pages by the goldsmith Urs Graf, to understand at once that which specially distinguished him. It is not in the first place the certainty with which Holbein moves through the whole range of religious and secular representation; it is not his magnificent figures and the bold, free actions which he ever exhibits; but it is above all the splendid sense of style shown in the general arrangement to which he adheres in these sheets. He aspires after genuine architectural structures, and even in his most modest tasks shows his complete mastery over the forms and laws of Italian Renaissance. Urs Graf, on the contrary, wavers between Renaissance and a wild Gothic style, and there is scarcely a sheet by him which does not betray caprice as regards ornamental matters.

One of the first of Holbein's Basle works is a framed title-page marked with the abbreviated name HANS HOLB. From the year 1516 (perhaps even from 1515), it appears in many printed works, especially in those of Froben. It represents a niche in noble Renaissance style; two columns in front of it bear on their capitals two charming winged boys holding the ends of a festoon hanging over the arch of the niche, in the centre of the festoon a third little genius has poised himself and is merrily blowing a horn. The title seems to be introduced on a curtain which falls in front of the niche. It is held in the centre of two little Cupids, who are half climbing and half hovering. On the socle below, which is adorned with a representation of sea-gods, there are four

other boys, two without wings and bearing spears as if to keep watch at the opening of the book, and two winged ones kneeling, with Froben's mark, Caduceus on a shield.[1] The cutting is clumsy, which forms a peculiar contrast to the freedom and boldness of the drawing. The hand that executed it could only with difficulty follow the design, and was not always master of the cutting knife. In spite of all blunders, the spirit of the master beams forth from the socle picture with the Tritons, and the children exhibit graceful naturalness both in form and action.

In the following year a title-page appeared, the framework of which consisted in a rich structure after the fashion of a Renaissance altar. In the socle there was a small train of sea-gods, and above them an empty shield supported by two children. The top of the frame was formed by a vessel, in front of which two pretty winged boys were holding festoons, and a third was balancing in the middle. At the sides of the frame stood two vessels, from which plant-like ornaments with vases, masks, and such like things were growing. Here also the ingenious design had to struggle with a tolerably unpractised form-cutter, who attempted fine work but did not understand it, and who allowed the knife to slip everywhere.

In 1516, a title-page appears marked with H.H., in which Holbein enters the sphere of ancient history. Mutius Scævola, who appears on the right stabbing Porsenna's secretary instead of the king, is seen again on the left holding his hand in the fire: both are genuine dramatic delineations of the event, but in execution no less clumsy than the two other pictures.

Other material also was afforded the artist by the newly-gained acquaintance with antiquity. Erasmus had published a Latin translation of Lucian's Dialogues, and had thus made an author, who could not be better appreciated by any age than the present, the common property of the educated world. Lucian was a mind which perfectly suited the Renaissance epoch. It must have appeared to men of the sixteenth century, as if the world, which lives in his writings, were no past age to them. The striking fidelity and suprising freshness of the scenes which he sketches, the aptness and grace of his language, his keen wit, his biting satire, the clearness of his views, which were biassed neither by philosophical phraseology nor by religious superstition, all this must have found a response in all freer minds. The acute and clear Erasmus, who was attracted to Lucian by so many points of mental affinity, understood also how to retain his elegance and masterly power of language in a Latin intelligible to all.

Yet Lucian possessed one more quality besides his other excellences. He had retained a delicate Greek feeling for art, at a period of degraded and wild taste, and he is one of the first, if not the most important judges of artistic matters among all the writers of antiquity who have come

[1] Passavant, 103.

down to us. He constantly seizes the opportunity to speak of art, principally in the Dialogues of the Gods and in the Marine Dialogues, and he refers frequently to works of art when describing personages or situations.[1] For he knows beyond most writers how to give agreeable and distinct descriptions of paintings. These descriptions have often incited the imagination of the Renaissance-artists, especially of the Italian, to produce in painting what he has delineated by his pen. Creations, such as Raphael's "Marriage of Alexander and Roxana," are drawn from it. Similar attempts were now also ventured upon in the north, and Froben, the publisher of Erasmus' translation, employed the artists who stood in connection with him for that purpose. On the 13th November, 1518, he wrote to Thomas More, in a letter which was prefixed to Hutten's dialogue "Aula:" "Lucian, the most witty writer and inimitable master of jest and humour, has in his dialogue 'Of the learned in court-pay,' painted court-life, as you well know, in such appropriate language that no Apelles nor Parrhasius could depict it more strikingly with a brush. Thanks to our Erasmus, Latin scholars may now read him in a translation, which perhaps possesses still greater elegance and refinement than the Greek original. I have, therefore, borrowed this painting from him, in order to embellish sometimes the title-pages of the books I am publishing."[2]

Even before this picture of court-life, Froben had had a design made for the same object from another painting described by Lucian, namely, Apelles' representation of Calumny. It was, however, not the young Hans Holbein upon whom these orders devolved, but Ambrosius, his elder brother. His monogram, with the date 1517, stands as an authentication on the title of Calumny; the other sheet is, it is true, not marked, but the conception, as well as the whole style of the drawing, shows such affinity with the former, that we are justified in attributing it to Ambrosius.[3] A great similarity with Hans, although never equal to him in power, certainty of conception, and technical execution; a feeling for dramatic life, yet without that striking effect in every movement and gesture which delights us in Hans, hence greater rudeness and less skill and grandezza in the ideas, still shorter figures with large heads, than in Hans Holbein's works, who in this often goes to the utmost limits; a

[1] H. Blümner, "Archäologische Studien zu Lucian," Breslau, 1867.

[2] H. Böcking, "Ulrichs von Hutten Schriften," Leipzig, 1859, vol. i. p. 220. "Jo. Frobenius Thomæ Moro regio apud Anglos consiliario S.D. (dated Idibus, November, MDXVIII.). Lucianus salsissimus scriptor et inimitabilis facetiarum artifex, in dialogo quem inscripsit Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων vitam istam aulicam (ut nosti) sic verbis depingit, ut nullus Apelles, nullus Parrhasius penicillo potuerit expressius, quem Erasmi nostri beneficio Latini maiore propemodum gratia redditum legunt quam ille Græce scripsit, unde et nos eam picturam mutuati sumus, qua frontispicium librorum qui typis excudantur nonnunquam ornamus . . ."

[3] First of all by P. Vischer, "Kunstblatt." 1838. The two sheets, see Passavant "Peintre Graveur," iii. pp. 422, 423; Ambrosius Holbein, Nos. 1 and 3.

certain weakness in the feet and legs, which are therefore frequently concealed; everywhere pretty, round little women, and a kind of pleasant humour which reminds of Lucas Cranach,—these are the essential characteristics of a group of woodcuts, the designs of which may be assigned to Ambrosius.

Soon after, Hans Holbein also ventured upon a task of a similar kind, and composed as a title-page the "panel of Cebes" (Κέβητος πίναξ), an incident well known in ancient literature, and also mentioned by Lucian. The philosopher Cebes, whether he be the Thebaic pupil of Socrates or a later individual of the same name—which is a point much disputed—expresses his idea of man's path to true happiness by describing a painting which he states that he saw in a temple of Chronos, and which was explained to him there at his request by an aged man. Holbein adheres exactly to the description of the author, and brings it into a just artistic form. The abundance of healthy life and freshness, which imparts real existence to the shadowy fictions of the understanding, far surpasses the manner of treatment displayed in the works of the other brother. These ideas are, in spite of their abundance, arranged with distinctness on a large folio sheet, which affords space above and below the title, as well as on the broader side margins. Above, on the lofty mountain, stands a castle, "The Castle of True Happiness," as the inscription informs us, surrounded by a fence, with which two other fences correspond, each in wider circumference than the other. Outside the outermost are those who are about to enter into life, charming groups of children, who are playing or fighting with each other. That they are children is not told us by the author, it is an invention of the painter, who in the representation of child-life ever displays one of the most attractive sides of his art. In the gateway—a Renaissance portal—stands an old man with a long beard; in one hand is a written sheet, to which he is pointing with his staff, in order to impart advice and precept to those entering the path of life; he is the demon, and he is designated on one sheet in Latin as "Genius." Within the fence, close to the gate, is enthroned a magnificent lady, "Seduction," surrounded by illusions in the form of wanton women; she holds a splendid goblet in her hand to give the drink of error to those that have entered life. On the other side, however, standing on a rolling ball is Fortune, the goddess of happiness, surrounded by a multitude of people, some of them her favourites, princes and nobles, warriors and ladies, who are joyfully adoring her, while others, such as beggars and cripples, are imploring and reproaching her. Further at the entrance into the second circle, the traveller on the path of life is received by a number of women who have the air of prostitutes; they are "Excess," "Intemperance," and "Insatiability," and into what extent he falls into their power is shown by the scenes of unrestrained dancing, carousing, and too tender caressing, which we now look upon. But behind the narrow gates "Pain" and "Sadness," tattered and ugly women, with whips, are lurking for the traveller, until he at

length meets "Repentance," who has pity on him. But all dangers are not yet over; in the next circle he again meets an alluring delusive figure, named "False Discipline," who is regarded by men as true discipline; she also is accompanied by a couple of wanton girls, and her adherents, philosophers of various kinds, poets and musicians, astrologists and mathematicians, are dispersed abroad. To pass by here uninjured, a steep and stony path must be taken, but "Energy" and "Courage" are standing over the last rugged crag and helping men up. From here the path goes easily and comfortably over a lovely meadow to "True Discipline," to whom the painter has given a halo of glory, and who does not stand like the goddess of fortune on a rolling ball, but securely on a quadrangular stone, surrounded by "Truth" and "Persuasion." She is standing at the entrance to the proud "Castle of True Happiness." If the pilgrim has rendered homage to her, he may enter there to find all the Virtues assembled, with their mother, "Happiness," enthroned in their midst, and she places the victor's garland on his brow.

This sheet, full of spirit in its arrangement, well drawn, and happily executed by the wood-engraver, Holbein found sufficiently important to designate with his monogram, one H within another, as in the epitaph of the Burgomaster Schwarz. It first appears in 1522 in the Novum Testamentum of Erasmus, and subsequently in dictionaries, where it was especially suitable as delineating with what difficulty and labour true instruction is to be obtained. The composition must speedily have become popular; there are several contemporary copies and imitations of it existing.

Hans Holbein's art now became closely linked with a work belonging to the humanistic literature of that day, the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More. Upon this small work, to which were added epigrams by More and Erasmus, Froben expended all that he could. Erasmus himself had recommended him to publish this work, in a letter from Louvain written on the 25th August, 1517, soon after his return from a renewed sojourn in England. "I should like to see this book published by you, if it seem well to you, and given to the world and to posterity," he wrote complimentarily to his friend; "for your printing establishment is held in such consideration, that its appearance from your house would invest the work with a claim to please the learned." [1] Froben entered upon it, and the book appeared in the November of the following year. "Your Utopia," wrote Froben to the author on the 23rd November, "we are printing afresh;[2] you see, the mind of More is greeted with applause, not only in England but throughout the whole

[1] "Proinde misimus ad te Progymnasmata illius et Utopiam, ut, si videatur, tuis excusa typis orbi et posteritati commendentur, quando ea est tuæ officinæ auctoritas, ut liber vel hoc nomine placeat eruditis, si cognitum sit e Frobenianis ædibus prodiisse," Erasmi opera; ed. Clericus, iii. pp. 16, 17.

[2] The book had already appeared in Louvain.

world."[1] This was no mere flattery. The learned public of that day in all lands received with lively delight a book which More's recent biographer calls the purest imprint of his cheerful and human mind, and an excellent fruit of his study of the ancients,[2] a book probably influenced by Plato's "Republic," and yet original when compared with its classic model.

The abundance of woodcuts, title-pages, and initials, shows most plainly how highly Froben honoured the author himself, and what had been the effect of Erasmus' recommendation. The title of the book was enclosed in a framework, which Holbein had shortly before designed, and which had already appeared in 1517, in Erasmus' discourse upon Death. At the bottom of the title-page was Lucretia stabbing herself at the feet of her husband—a composition rich in figures, and containing the principal idea of the painting executed soon afterwards for the façade at Lucerne. The costume is here, as ever, that of Holbein's own time. The painter reminds us of Shakespeare, who likewise imagined the heroes of classic antiquity in the costume of his own day; who, in Julius Cæsar, made the troops approach amid a flourish of drums, and depicted Coriolanus as an English nobleman, but who nevertheless understood how to sustain the historical importance of the subject in a manner such as modern poetry, with all the equipment of archæological learning, labours in vain to equal. At the top of the title-page there was the handkerchief of St. Veronica, containing the head of Christ and held by two little angels. Here and on the sides, there was rich leaf-ornament, not yet, however, wholly free from Gothic influence.

On two occasions, first of all in More's dedication to Petrus Ægidius, we find the title-page with the children, already mentioned, and which Holbein has marked with his name. The title-page of More's epigrams is formed by Holbein's "Scævola," with which we are already acquainted, that of Erasmus' epigrams by a design of Urs Graf, the Beheading of John the Baptist.[3] In the printing marks and initials, of which we shall subsequently speak, Urs Graf and Hans or Ambrosius Holbein have, in our opinion, both taken part. Two compositions Holbein has, however, made expressly for this book. Above the beginning of the text there is a charming genre picture, the navigator Raphael Hythlodæus (signifying one mighty in jest), who has been a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in various voyages, and has even penetrated still further, is seen telling his story of the model city on the Island Utopia. According to the book this scene took place at Antwerp, in the garden of Petrus Ægidius. But this spot cannot in reality have had the splendid

[1] "Tuam Utopiam denuo typis excudimus, ut scias, non a Britannis modo, sed ab orbe toto Moricum probari ingenium." Ulrich von Hutten's papers, edited by Böcking, i. p. 221.

[2] Dr. G. Th. Rudhart, "Thomas Morus," Nürnberg, 1829, pp. 119—121.

[3] Erroneously ascribed to Holbein by Passavant (No. 71).

prospect of a smiling valley with distant mountains in the Swiss style of scenery, as we see it depicted by Holbein. Three men are sitting here on garden-seats.[1] Hythlodæus, just as More depicts him at the beginning, is no longer young; his beard is long and flowing, and he is dressed in a travelling mantle, which is carelessly hanging from the shoulder. With lively eagerness[2] he is narrating his story, Petrus Ægidius and Thomas More are listening, the latter is attired with care as a man of rank, and he is stretching out his hand to the speaker, as though by this gesture he would interrupt him by a question. On the left, More's son, John Clemens, a slender boy, is running forward. The artist has introduced him from a passage in the dedication, in which More says that he never allows the boy to miss a conversation which may in any way be advantageous to him.[3] It is worth while to refer to the text for comparison. In a biographical point of view, it renders similar conclusions possible as those which we drew from Holbein's marginal drawings to the "Praise of Folly." It expresses throughout such a certain understanding of the text, and such a delicate appreciation of many touches which do not lie on the surface, that Holbein cannot merely have drawn his illustrations from the statements of Froben or Erasmus, but must have understood Latin enough to read the text himself.

A larger woodcut gives us a bird's-eye view of the Island Utopia itself, accurately adhering to the description of the place contained in the text, with its city Amaurotum and the river Anydrus, a rocky island washed by the sea, with buildings in the German mediæval style. In the foreground, separated from the island by the water, stands Hythlodæus, who is explaining the place to More and Ægidius. This sheet cannot, of course, equal the effect of the former; it is an illustration, not a picture, and not sketched for artistic reasons, but as an elucidation of the text. Yet here, also, Holbein in nowise denies himself.

Holbein's epoch not only witnessed the revival of classic antiquity, of its literature and history, but in it also took place the discovery of unknown quarters of the globe, of foreign lands and seas, and in this the scientific literature of Basle took part. The book "Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum incognitarum," which was published here by Hervagius in 1532, and which was a summary made by Grynæus of various records of travels from distant regions of the globe, contains a large map of the earth, occupying two folio sheets, on the margin of which there are representations breathing entirely

[1] "Inde domum meam digredimur ibique in horto considentes in scamno cespitibus herbeis constrato confabulamur," Ægidius proposes.

[2] Vergentis ad senium ætatis, vultu adusto, promissa barba, penula neglectius ab humero dependente, qui mihi ex vultu atque habitu nauclerus esse videbatur.

[3] Nam et Johannes Clemens, puer meus, qui adfuit, ut scis una, ut quum a nullo patior sermone abesse in quo aliquid esse fructus potest . . . (The *Adfuit* refers to another occasion).

Holbein's spirit.[1] The execution of the detail renders it nevertheless probable that Holbein did not draw the whole on the wood-block, but only furnished a sketch for the figurative representations. The map of the four quarters of the world, in which America yet exhibits rather a modest circumference, has the form of an ellipse, and is turned by two angels above and below by means of an axis. Outside, especially in the four corners, space is left for the delineation of the wonders and remarkable things belonging to foreign zones. Above, on the right, there are a pair of fantastically equipped huntsmen with a woman, and various plants belonging to a southern climate. On the left is an elephant hunt; the mighty animal has hurled a man to the ground with his trunk, while a second man, concealing himself behind a tree, is just letting fly an arrow against his adversary. Behind him are a couple of winged snakes, one of which is strangling a sheep. Somewhat lower are two strange wild beasts, with large hanging under-lips, a remnant of those fantastic representations which the Middle Ages made of the inhabitants of other quarters of the globe. Below, on the left side, we see a scene which may easily have removed all desire for travel in the curious spectator. Several cannibals are engaged in cutting up human bodies and roasting them on the spit. Their hut, which is built of branches, is hung with human arms and legs like trophies, and the whole representation shows us plainly how comfortable the cannibals feel in this mode of life. Somewhat in the distance a man is approaching leading a horse, across the saddle of which two prisoners are bound. Lastly, in the right corner, the traveller Vartomannus, whose statements are contained in the work, appears with a firm step and in the costume of a native; by his side is a man who is striking down a sheep, while a queen or princess is looking on from the terrace. A splendid landscape extends beyond. The conception of the whole thing exhibits that combination of the humorous and the fantastic for which the German art of that period had a predilection. The nest of parrots also, on page 30 of the book, which the wise birds have so arranged that it hangs from the slender branch of a tropical tree and cannot therefore be reached by the serpents, probably proceeds from Holbein. It shows his life-like conception of animal life, though the stamp-cutting is rather unimportant. The illustrations of geographical works appear in a still higher stage in Sebastian Münster's edition of Ptolemy and in his "Cosmography." These publications, however, belong to a later epoch in Holbein's career; he himself designed nothing more for either of these books, although his influence is not to be mistaken in many of the drawings. On the other hand, in some of the editions of both works, several Holbein title-pages, religious and profane, which had been produced long before and for other purposes, were employed anew, but the blocks were at that time somewhat worn away.

[1] See page 220.

Among the illustrations of mathematical and astronomical books, the pictures of the Zodiac, in Sebastian Münster's Horologiographia of 1532 and in former works by the same author, deserve attention. They are simple and rudely cut figures, each of them occupying a whole side of the small octavo volume; several of them are indifferent as to subject, such as the Ram, the Balance, the Scorpion; and the Virgin is an unimportant figure, which has nothing to do with our master. But grandly conceived, and certainly from a sketch by Holbein, is the half-figure of the Bull looking out of the clouds, the group of the Twins, two boldly sketched youths of vigorous and noble form, embracing each other, a pair of Dioscuri, conceived thoroughly in the classic spirit, and lastly, the equally classic Archer, a noble centaur figure, with extended bow, delineated in a manner similar to that which marks the creations of the same kind by the great Italian masters.

A magnificent sheet of a large size, not conspicuous for its execution, but grand in design, forms the opening page of the book, "Town-laws of Freiburg in the Breisgau" ("Nüwe Statt'rechnen vnd Statuten der loblichen Statt Fryburg im Pryssgow gelegen.") This work was edited in the year 1520, under the direction of the great lawyer Ulrich Zasius, the intimate friend of Erasmus and Amerbach, and was printed, as the concluding notice states, in the adjacent town of Basle, by the honourable and art-loving Adam Petri. He would not have thus entitled himself, but the town council of Freiburg expressed in these words their acknowledgment of the splendid manner in which the book had been brought out. The artist did not in this sheet employ the usual form of a framework, but the whole page is occupied by the city arms, the supporters of which are two lions. The grand style and the masterly drawing render it indubitable that Holbein was its author. These arms can rank with those which were cut after Dürer's design. The reverse side of the sheet contains the Patron Saints of the city; the Virgin and Child enthroned in front of a niche which is half concealed by a curtain; on the left St. George, an entirely armed and knightly figure, leaning on his shield, and the banner and the cross in his hand; and on the right Bishop Lambertus, looking up enthusiastically in a heavy priest's stole with a crosier in his hand. The architectural framework exhibits above some boys resting and playing, very cursorily executed in the form cutting. This sheet is imagined in the grandest style, and has great resemblance with the Solothurn Madonna. What powerfully conceived characters are the two saints, placed so significantly opposite each other as representations of spiritual and temporal power! The Madonna, with the royal crown on her long flowing hair, is sorrowful in expression; the Child, whom she is embracing with both hands, is stretching out His right arm (in the original drawing therefore it was the left), while He is turning out the palm of His hand—a movement customary with little children,

and likewise employed by Holbein in the Solothurn picture. On one of the steps of the throne is the monogram H H.

In the German literature of that day, the popular tendency flourished unweakened and in its utmost freshness side by side with the humanistic, and thus the painter, while he embellished literature, was afforded opportunity for cultivating the popular element in his art. Martin Schongauer and his contemporaries had, as we have seen, executed true genre-like representations, which had indeed never yet ventured to appear in painting, an art which was still exclusively preserved for religious subjects, but had been produced in copper-plate and woodcut. The delineation of ordinary life in the most various situations, and in the most different classes and ranks, each with its own customs and manners, had gained ever wider and wider scope, until at length Albert Dürer raised this branch of art to a new stage. He sought out and established the ideas and subjects of the entire artistic creations of his age in Germany, he prepared the soil on all sides, and gained new fields for art, and to this branch especially he felt himself allured by the rich power of his imagination. The Courier at Full Speed and the Love-suit are two of his earliest sheets. Next he engraved a Group of Soldiers on the Sea-shore; a Lady on Horseback, accompanied by her Esquire; the Market Peasant and his Wife; the Cook and his Wife; the splendid Sheet of Three Peasants, engaged in conversation with each other; the Bagpiper and the pair of Dancing Peasants.

Holbein also executed genre-pictures, opportunity for which was afforded him specially by his designs for woodcuts. As an instance of this, we find the side-border of a title-page which appears in the Latin Lucian of 1521, and which from the initials J. F. was cut in Froben's atelier, and undoubtedly is from a design by Holbein. It is the delineation of a story from life, such as may daily happen, and the moral of which is a warning against pride, luxury, and idleness. Rich architectural frameworks enclose each of the six separate pictures placed one over another, and containing the six scenes of a drama, in which we see the same actors appearing each time. In the first, a tattered destitute youth is begging of an old man; in the second, he stands before us as a pedlar, while the old man is giving him admonition. The third picture shows the good fruit of this instruction: the youth is appearing before his benefactor in stately attire, with hat and sword, to the utter astonishment of the old man. In the fourth, the old man is warning the youth not to be foolishly lavish with the full purse which he has in his hand. In spite of this, he appears in the fifth scene in the most costly Swiss attire, standing before us with the utmost presumption, while the old man warns him still more seriously and urgently. The sixth division shows us the end of the song: the youth appears just as tattered and destitute as at the first, and is tearing his hair, whilst his former friend turns his back upon him. The whole thing is narrated with striking life.

In his delineations from the doings and life of the country people, Dürer exhibits much vigorous and sound humour. In this sphere of art also Holbein laboured with especial success. A peasant's dance, similar to that which he painted on a house at Basle, appears also in woodcuts. It forms the lower border of a folio title-page, which we find repeated in many learned books, medical as well as historical. Two side borders, with children climbing trees, belong to it also; the upper border, given in our woodcut, representing the fox which has stolen the goose. Like those depicted dancing below, boys and girls are here running with all their might, armed with sickles and sticks, flails and spears, rakes and pitchforks, and the old man of the village, surrounded by some representatives from the excited poultry-yard, is coming forward with his good advice. How charming in their roughness and truthfulness to life are these short, steady figures with their large heads! No rural country-wake by a later Flemish painter can surpass this hastily-sketched composition in freshness, racy humour, and characteristic fidelity. The metal engraving, evidently from Froben's atelier, is no very brilliant production, but the design of the painter is only given in coarse touches.

THE FOX STEALING A GOOSE.

In a smaller title-page, the corresponding scene to a peasant's dance, is formed by a *children's dance*, in which ten charming boys are moving to the sound of drums. A similar dance, of only eight children, appears as a counterpart to a procession of Tritons. Here, also, we see the same bold frolicsomeness, and at the same time beauty of movement.

This world of peasants and children lastly find their true scope in the initials which the Basle painters delighted in scattering through their books. Although Holbein also designed an alphabet with biblical illustrations, he still gives vent to the humour which one delights to see in these works, and which, on such occasions, find entrance even into the most serious books. The series of the twenty-four letters of the Peasants' Wake is still extant, and beautiful proof-sheets of the entire series

are to be seen in Basle and Dresden. Four of them are copied in this volume. In A we see two musicians playing, and B to K depict dancing couples in various attitudes and in the boldest movements. At L we find the tender but not very modest love-scene of a pair of lovers. M shows a quarrel between some youths, who are fighting each other with swords; in O, a young peasant who is holding a girl has some water thrown over him from a vessel by his rival. P exhibits a youth who is holding a tub to a girl to drink. R and S introduce scenes in which the artist's extravagant humour illustrates highly natural incidents, which we must dispense with describing more accurately. V, with the game of nine-pins, is charming. The most difficult foreshortenings are happily executed. In W, we find the ride home

from the wake: on the horse, behind the peasant, his wife is sitting. X exhibits the evil results of the merry day, the physician in the peasant's room. Groups of peasant youths at play form the conclusion in Y and Z.

Equally graceful is the Children's Alphabet, which was printed by Cratander, and of which also the Basle Museum has preserved a complete proof-sheet. Boys playing, making music, and dancing (A, B, D,—F, S), boys wrestling (G), pulling each other's hair (C), lying upon each other (V), tumbling over (K), riding on each other (H), dabbling in the spring (W and Y), tilting on hobby-horses (I). In K, a small boy is chastising a cat, which has a bird in its mouth. Here, as in the former Alphabet, the engraving seems to be by Lützelburger. In the small circumference the delicacy of the execution is wonderfully admirable. Holbein reminds us of Raphael when he represents children.

In the Berlin Museum there is a proof impression of 111 initials of various kind and size, partly undoubtedly Holbein's invention, and cut in Froben's atelier. We meet with all the letters again in most of the different Basle prints. Evidently this, or a similar one, is the sheet which is mentioned in the Amerbach List, as "Alphabetum cum pueris triplex animalculis floribus," and the addition "probably Holbein's," but there is none existing in the Basle Museum. Initials with flowers and animals are also among them, and the beginning is made by three not entirely complete children's alphabets. One contains children's sports as before, but they are somewhat larger than the letters we have just described. Many pretty new ideas appear among them; the A especially is very graceful: two boys reclining, one with a papal, and the other with an imperial crown; a third, sitting upon them, enacts Themis, with

sword, balance, and covered eyes. The second, on a white ground—otherwise the ground is generally engraved with lines—contains children in pairs or singly, and sometimes winged—M, for instance, is two charming seated, winged boys. The third, somewhat larger Alphabet, in which only A and B are missing, is especially ingenious and original in design; it depicts children engaged in the most various trades and employments of life. We see them spinning, forging, cooking, and baking; they appear as masons and carpenters, cabinet-makers, coopers, tanners, millers, and fishermen; as painters and stone-cutters, bath-keepers, and musicians. Some initials also represent military life and soldiers. M is a couple of boys playing at dice on a drum, armed and wearing a plumed hat: another time, in P, a boy is loading a cannon, while a second is blowing a horn. Lastly, W is charming, a boy enacting a doctor, with gown, doctor's hat, and eye-glass on nose, while a second is making up a box of physic, and a third is referring to a book.

Similar in size to this latter Alphabet is an A that repeatedly appears, depicting a Polish or Muscovite horseman, galloping violently, with a fur hat, a curved sabre, and a couched lance, from which a small banner waves, such as is worn at the present day by the Ulans. Parts of one or more very small alphabets, which appear in Cratander's Cyprian, as well as in Adam Petri's New Testament, represent a cook at her work (E), a hermit (P), a bagpipe player (H), a mendicant with his dog (V), besides various letters containing love-scenes and soldiers. Among various Greek initials, a large Δ, with a bacchical scene, is worthy of mention. A bloated Bacchus is sitting on a pig; a faun, in the form of a slender youth, is offering him a wine-cup.

Numerous and various are the initials with ornaments and flowers, or with different animals,—among them a D, with a bear squatted on the ground; an N, with a lion, and the signature I. F. 1520. There are also initials depicting still life, such as pitchers and dishes (Q), musical instruments (I), arms and cuirasses (J and P), candlesticks, crucibles, and other instruments of trade (R), which remind us of Holbein. Numerous initials of a highly remarkable Alphabet are to be found in the Utopia of the year 1518, as well as in Tertullian; they contain landscapes and architectural views; a few among them with northern gabled houses, walls, and gates, but most of them with Italian subjects—buildings of a Roman or Renaissance character, groups of columns, vistas through vaulted halls, richly ornamented façades and niches and landscape glimpses, which, however cursorily indicated, are unmistakably southern in their character.

The cutting of these letters is indeed inferior, but the design is spirited, and they express a conception of landscape nature and architectural scenery which does not pass into the fantastic, as is the case with Holbein's contemporaries in Basle, especially with Urs Graf, but which simply depicts what is real. Whether Hans Holbein, or perhaps rather Ambrosius Holbein, is their author, is scarcely to be decided, but we are more inclined to ascribe them to the latter. We find in them the same taste that is common to both. But their accordance with a title-page of Ambrosius before-mentioned, namely, with the pictures delineating the power of women, is most decided. At any rate sketches of travels and remembrances of an excursion into Italy, form the basis of these initials, insignificant as they are.

The most beautiful initials designed by Holbein, namely, the Alphabet of Death, we shall mention presently. We will now only allude to one more style of woodcut for which Holbein made the sketches, we mean the devices of the printers.

Among the numerous devices of Froben, a staff held by two hands and entwined by a couple of serpents, and on which a dove is sitting as a reminder of the biblical command, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves," we can in no wise regard as Holbein's invention. The most pleasing of all exhibits this symbol on a shield, which is held by two winged boys, while two other children, bold in idea, but unsuccessful both in the woodcut and drawing, are resting below. From the stately portal which encloses the whole scene, we catch a view in the distance of steep Swiss mountains. This composition, however, seems rather to belong to Ambrosius Holbein than to Hans, to whom it was attributed. The architectural framework entirely accords with that which encloses the arms of Basle on the title-page by Ambrosius, with the pictures of the power of women, which we have before mentioned.

To Hans Holbein, however, we may ascribe, among others, Valentine Curio's device, which contains the panel of Parrhasius. The hand, which is drawing on a panel one straight line between two others, is enclosed in a graceful shield with leaf-ornament. Cratander's symbol is the Goddess of Opportunity, enclosed in an elegant shield; she is unclothed, with flowing hair, winged feet, a knife in her hand, poising on a ball. Bebelius' symbol is a Palm-tree, between the branches of which a heavy weight, a kind of large tympan, which presses them down, is placed. Another copy, without the shield-like framework of the former, exhibits under this tympan a naked man, who is trying with his hands and feet to resist the pressure. Thomas Wolff's device is the figure of a philosopher, in the dress of a scholar, passing out of a door, and placing his finger, as if enjoining silence, on his lips, with the inscription "Digito compesce labellum." That this is not his own portrait, as is usually asserted, is evident from the fact that the figure is here beardless,

while at the same time it appears bearded on the title-page of Wolff's New Testament. Matthias Bienenvater or Apiarius in Berne, in allusion to his name as well as to his native city, adopted the symbol of a Bear, with bees swarming round him, as he is climbing up a tree to get honey. A similar play with names is apparent in the device of Cristoph Froschover in Zurich, for whom Holbein made three different compositions. Froschover derived his name from *frosch* (frog) and *auf* (upon); hence one picture exhibits frogs on a tree, and the two others a child seated on a frog. In the first, the frogs are climbing up a tree in a meadow; in the background there is a splendid landscape, with hills and pretty peasants' houses: delicate Renaissance ornaments form the framework. The cutting is beautiful, such as only Hans Lützelburger could produce. The two other sheets are not much inferior to it. In the larger of the two, a pretty boy, turning back his head, is riding a colossal frog, which is surrounded by smaller frogs; in the distance we see the Lake of Zurich, on which a boat is sailing, and on the opposite shore of which pleasant villages are lying at the foot of the mountains. The smaller sheet also exhibits a boy riding, with his hand upraised to urge on his frog; in the background there is a mountain landscape, with a castle on the heights. These three compositions are charming from their truth and naturalness and also from their attractive humour.

CHAPTER XIII.

Holbein and the Reformation.—Woodcut Illustrations for Luther's translations of the Holy Scriptures.—Two editions of the New Testament by Adam Petri.—Th. Wolff's New Testament.—The title-page, with Lützelburger's device.—The pictures from the Revelation.—Holbein's position with regard to Dürer's compositions.—Petri's Old Testament.—Other woodcuts of a Biblical purport.—Christ under the burden of the Cross.—The pictures of the Old Testament.—Their origin and appearance.—Holbein and Lyons.—Bourbon's verses.—Relation of the pictures to the religious state of things.—The sheets in an artistic point of view.—Initials from the Old Testament.—Satirical sheets of the time of the Reformation.—The trade in Indulgences.—Christ the true Light.—A sketch at Erlanger.

We have before alluded to the relation in which Holbein stood to the Reformation. We shall trace this, also, most distinctly and accurately in his designs for wood-engraving. By means of this the artist entered into relation with general literature, humanistic as well as religious. Froben, above all others, was the publisher who fostered classic literature; from his printing-house issued the editions of Roman writers and poets, Latin translations of Greek authors, and the writings of Erasmus, as well as of his friends and fellow-workers. Two other publishers—in the first place, Adam Petri, whom we have before mentioned as a friend of art, and, secondly, Thomas Wolff—began, immediately after the appearance of Luther, to take the lead in such publications as related to the new religious tendencies; they issued the writings of Luther, of Œcolampadius, and of other Reformers, as well as new translations of the Bible. We find Luther's writings in great completeness at Basle, and immediately after their appearance at Wittenberg.

We have already mentioned how the Reformation began to gain footing in Basle since the year 1521. At the same time at which Œcolampadius appeared at Basle, in December 1522, the teacher of the Reformation received the book from which he taught. In the very same month Adam Petri issued an edition of Luther's German translation of the New Testament, which had appeared in Wittenberg a few months before. Petri gave some copies to the Carthusian Monastery in Little Basle, probably for the sake of the Prior Hieronymus Zschechapürlin, one of the most cultivated ecclesiastics of Basle, and who enjoyed universal respect throughout the city. One of these copies was intended for the use of the lay brothers, and contained an interesting

manuscript notice to the effect that much might probably be found therein of Luther's teaching; that, however, very little or indeed nothing at all irritating was to be read in it: that every one should study it with judgment, and not build upon it further than the universal Christian Church taught and held.[1]

For this edition in folio Holbein designed a beautiful title-page,[2] in which the main supports of the Church, namely, the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, stand opposite each other—St. Peter wholly absorbed in the great book which is in his hand, while St. Paul stands forth boldly and grandly, with the sword as well as the book in his hand. St. Peter appears as a man lost in contemplation of the sacred doctrines, St. Paul, on the contrary, as a man of powerful action. The work was executed before Dürer had made his grand pictures of the so-called Four Apostles, and it is a design which can take its place by the side of his. In the corners are the symbols of the evangelists; above are the arms of Basle, with the so-called Basle staff, and supported by two basilisks; below, the device of the publisher is introduced—a boy riding a lion, and bearing a standard containing Adam Petri's monogram and the date 1523, which is thus anticipated.

On the 23rd of March, 1523, the new Pope, Adrian VI., addressed a brief to the Basle Council, in which he lamented the Lutheran heresy in Germany, and admonished the Council to refuse all adherents of this tendency the liberty of preaching, and to forbid the publication of all Luther's books.[3] Nevertheless, in the same month a second publication of the folio edition of Adam Petri's New Testament appeared, and at the same time, in March, an elegant octavo edition was issued, beautifully printed and splendidly illustrated. The principal subject of the title-page is the same as that of the folio; St. Peter and St. Paul, the former with a colossal key, are standing opposite each other. The symbols of the evangelists are very beautiful, and the child on the lion, behind whom we see a quantity of roses, is charmingly introduced below. The delicate engraving is evidently the work of Hans Lützelburger, who probably cut the folio title-page as well as most of the other woodcuts of the octavo edition. These are also devised by Holbein. On the first page of each gospel the figure of the evangelist appears, each with his characteristic attribute. St. Matthew is engaged in lively conversation with the angel, and seems to be receiving his instructions. St. Mark, seen from behind, is bold in attitude, and his lion is masterly in its conception. St. Luke we find occupied in writing. These three are sitting in their apartments in front of a wall, in which paintings are inserted. Over St. Matthew we find a charming representation of the Birth of Christ; Mary is kneeling before the new-born babe, and Joseph is kindling a fire with the utmost care. Over St. Mark is the Resurrection of Christ; over St. Luke we see the Saviour on the Cross. St.

[1] Ochs Geschichte von Basel, v. p. 442. The copy is not in the Basle Library.

[2] Passavant, 73.

[3] Ochs, v. p. 447 et seq.

John is sitting in the open air, and is looking, with an air of rapture, up to heaven, where Christ is appearing in his glory.

The Acts of the Apostles is opened by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Before the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul is standing in a rich and splendid portal, preaching, with his sword under his arm. Then comes the Conversion of Saul, and afterwards St. Peter's Vision, related in the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. The sheet with the Unclean Beasts, among which the four-footed are only intimated by their heads, is let down by four angels; St. Peter is kneeling in front with lively gesture, while above, God the Father is looking down, and seems to be speaking with him: the whole incident is dramatically conceived. Here also the abundance, as well as the variety of initials, is very great, though they are never of a biblical purport. They depict children playing in various situations, centaurs and satyrs, a parrot with its young ones, and a vulture with its prey. Initial letters of a still smaller size exhibit leaf-ornaments, flowers, or animals, among others a porcupine, A. An H with a bagpipe player; a V, a beggar walking with his dog; a D, peasant woman with rake; a second D, a sitting drummer; a J, Triton and Nymph sporting together, are especially noticeable.

In the same year, another Basle publisher, Thomas Wolff, issued Martin Luther's translation of the New Testament, "Klärlich und aus dem rechten grundt Teutscht," as it says on the title-page. Luther's name is not mentioned in the book, but Luther's fresh and ardent style catches the reader's ear in the very first lines of the preface. With what "transparent clearness"—to use Dürer's expression[1]—how simply, strikingly, and intelligibly, does he speak to the heart and mind of the simplest man, as he brings the gospel to his fellow-countrymen, "auff deutsch, gutte bottschafft, gutte meher, gutte newzeitung, gut geschrey, dauon man singt, saget, und frölich ist." And just in the same homely, fresh, and hearty style, utterly devoid of all Gothic pedantry, does Holbein's art meet us on the title-page. This work evidences, as few of Holbein's compositions of that time do, the advances which the artist had made during the last period, the dramatic distinctness of his representations, the lightness, freedom, and certainty of every action and gesture, and his masterly power in the delineation of the nude figure. We here perceive also, the less favourable characteristics of his style, such as the somewhat too short figures with large heads. In the centre of the upper diagonal border, St. John is baptizing the Saviour, who is standing in the river Jordan, and as usual, an angel is waiting on the banks with His garments. On the right and left of this are the four symbols of the Evangelists, full of lively action. The claws of the animals are resting on books; the angel of St. Matthew has also a book in his hand. The other pictures are taken from the Acts of the Apostles. Below is the well-known device of the publisher Thomas Wolff: the philosopher standing

[1] In the Diary of the Netherland Journey.

in a niche exhorting silence. On the right is the vision of St. Peter, before whom two hands appearing from the clouds let down the sheet which is full of all sorts of unclean beasts, "fourfooted beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air." On the left is the conversion of St. Paul, who, in the dress of a German rider, booted and spurred, is thrown from his horse. The horror of the man and horse are depicted in a masterly manner. In the height above, no heavenly apparition, only a lightning flash, appears athwart the clouds, for in the Bible, mention is only made of the voice which Saul hears, and of the light from heaven, which suddenly "shined round about him." In the distance stand his companions, "speechless," as the narrative says, "hearing a voice, but seeing no man." Such extreme fidelity to the text, even to the smallest detail, is the characteristic of all Holbein's Bible pictures. He does not depict things according to custom in ecclesiastical art, but as he imagines them after his own reading and examination of the text. This may indeed be said more or less of the art creations of this entire epoch, especially of those of Dürer, but it appears in Holbein far more decidedly.

The side-borders on the right exhibit St. Paul on the island of Melita, bringing a bundle of sticks, and shaking off the viper that had fastened on his hand into the fire, feeling no harm from it, to the wonder of the bystanders. In the background we see the preceding incident of the shipwreck; this also adhering faithfully to St. Luke's account: "the forepart stuck fast, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves." This splitting of the vessel is illustrated rather naïvely; Holbein could not possibly have seen anything of the kind. All that he had seen, however, he depicted with surprising truth and life, such as the men throwing themselves into the water, swimming and clambering up the shore.

On the border to the left, we see the treasurer of the king of Ethiopia kneeling in some shallow water, while Philip is baptizing him. The naked figure is here excellent, and all the separate details—such as the attitude of the baptizing deacon, who, likewise standing with one foot in the water, is raising his garments with his left hand, that they may not be wet—are delineated with masterly power from life. In the background again, we see the preceding period. The painter shows us the whole journey of the eunuch, as far as is possible in the high narrow space, making him to appear to the spectator at a turn down a hilly road shaded by pines and forest trees. He is in a four-wheeled little carriage, drawn by two horses, one before the other; on the second the groom is sitting. This must have been the mode of travelling at that time in Germany for those who preferred easy driving to the more usual riding. St. Philip is just walking near the carriage, and beginning his conversation with the eunuch.

On the lower diagonal border, Lützelburger's device stands on the footstool on which St. Peter is kneeling. Not only the work of the stamp-cutter and

the picturesque representation deserve admiration, but the train of thought which is expressed in the whole scene is worthy of great consideration. Above, the Saviour is consecrated for His work; and here we find a representation of the victorious power of His teaching. It overcomes the prejudices of His adherents, as well as the opposition of His foes, whom it renders His followers; it protects the faithful in the hour of peril and need, and with convincing power it draws men from the remotest lands into the community of Christians. All that is here proclaimed of early Christianity, the artist and those who understood him hoped would now also be realized in the new and purified doctrines of their Master.

Besides the title-page, this book contained another embellishment, unmistakably Holbein's design, although the execution is less good, the engraving more inferior, and in some cases quite rude; we allude to the twenty-one woodcut illustrations from the Revelation of St. John. These are especially interesting because they exhibit Holbein engaged on the same subject which Albert Dürer had illustrated. Dürer's first principal work had been his series of large woodcuts of the Revelation of St. John. These visions, which defy all visible form, he had attempted to represent in pictures and to utter the unutterable. He had never succeeded in truly illustrating, in actually conceiving and representing things, but his pictures exhibit a wonderful grandness of conception, and a transporting power of imagination. Any succeeding artist, even the most independent, can scarcely, in depicting the same subject, avoid the influence of these compositions.

It is in the utmost degree interesting to observe how Holbein was affected by this influence. That Dürer's sheets of engravings, which were disseminated throughout Germany, were known also to him, is a matter of course. We have seen his brother Ambrosius taking his figure of Christ for a small painting from Dürer's title-page to his Passion Scenes. In Hans Holbein's works it is on the other hand surprising how little he usually borrows from Dürer; thus his pictures of the suffering of Christ are perfectly independent of the idea which animates Dürer's ever-recurring designs on this subject, and which through Dürer became the common property of almost all the German artists of this epoch, even to the remotest parts of the country. But in the Revelation the case is different. It was Dürer's special creative art, to have made the artistic representation of these fantastic visions possible, and thus he compels all who succeeded him to see these things with his eyes. Holbein also begins with them, but the more decidedly he becomes absorbed in the subject, the more does he master it himself. In the first sheets we see him entirely under Dürer's influence, but step by step he becomes freer, until in his last representations scarcely any trace is left of his original mode.

Yet even in these first sheets he does not merely imitate, but he himself examines the text of the Bible; and here also we see that fidelity to the letter,

which we have before mentioned, and which even surpasses Dürer. In the very first sheet, the Call of St. John, not only the seven golden candlesticks in their Italian form are in better taste than Dürer's intricate and wild Gothic style, but also the figure in the midst of them "like unto the Son of Man," is conceived differently. He is not sitting, as in Dürer's picture, but standing; and St. John, whom Dürer represents as kneeling, is, in obedience to the text, fallen down "at his feet as dead." In the two following pictures also, the Throne set in Heaven surrounded by the beasts and the adoring elders, and the Four Riders, Holbein has taken the principal idea entirely from Dürer's wonderful design, but almost all the separate figures are in gesture and expression his own, and are generally far more full of life and character than those of the great Nuremberg master. So in Holbein's tenth sheet, St. John eating the Book is far superior to the figure in Dürer's picture, which is entirely concealed under the masses of drapery; on the other hand, the angel with the "feet as pillars of fire," here appears as Dürer designed him; to the disadvantage of his picture, Holbein has given him more of a human figure, and has followed a more fantastic description in the text than is fit for artistic representation. As a general rule, Holbein does not come up to Dürer in all the instances in which the latter has produced his utmost in grand fantastic and supernatural representations, as in the Four Angels holding the Four Winds; he does not here attain to Durer's grand boldness, while, on the other hand, the fifth angel who marks the servants of God is very beautiful and lifelike; he is also inferior to him in the Star falling from Heaven, in the Worship of the Two Beasts, in the Woman taken from the Dragon, in Babylon the Great drunken with the blood of the saints and sitting on the beast, and lastly in the Angels who kill the fourth part of men. And lastly, it is significant that that representation which is the most beautiful of Dürer's, the unsurpassed archangel Michael casting down Satan with his spear, was entirely set aside by Holbein.

Holbein's excellences, however, show themselves again in another respect; he aims throughout at great simplicity and distinctness, and in order to avoid accumulation, he prefers to employ twenty-one sheets for that which Dürer expressed in fourteen.

Scarcely had Luther's translation of the Old Testament appeared in Wittenberg, than Adam Petri issued an edition of it at Basle, in the December of 1523. The copy of this rare book, now in the library at Basle, contains at the commencement of the first volume an interesting notice in manuscript, testifying to the advance of the Reformation, and the increasing mistrust of its adversaries: "Disz buch so da zugehörtt den Carthusern zu minder Basel hat Inen vmb gotswillen geschenckt der erber fürnem meister Adam Petri Drucker Herr vnd Burger zu Basel. Vnnd Innhaltet die fünff bücher moysj (Das ist den rechtenn waren Vrsprung Vnnd Brunnen der heiligenn gschrifft) nüwlich

vertüscht. Vnd vsz Hebreischer vnd Griechischer sprach in das Hochtütsch den merteil transferiertt. Wie wol vast vil hier Inn funden wirt, besonders in den eygennammen oder wörttern. Die in den altten Biblien gar vil anders stond. Darümb auch gare eben warzunemmen ist, das man sich nit zuvil mit sölcher nüwerung bekömmere, noch den nebenglösslinen zuvil glouben gebe. Wer weisst was darhinden steckt. Doch wen gott lert, mag nit Irrgon." (This book was given to the Carthusians of Little Basle for God's sake by the noble master Adam Petri, printer and citizen of Basle. It contains the Five Books of Moses,—that is, the true and right origin and fountain of Holy Scripture—lately put into German. And the greater part is transferred from the Hebrew and Greek language into High German. There is, indeed, much in it, especially in the names, which differs much from the old Bibles. Upon this point it is to be observed that we must not trouble ourselves with such innovations, nor place too much trust in commentaries. Who knows what is hidden beneath? Yet he whom God teaches cannot err.) The title-page was the work of Urs Graf, but Holbein was the designer of many of the initials, especially those with animals and children at play, and many of the other woodcuts in the book, which were executed by various hands, some of them very inferior, were certainly designed by our master; such as the Israelites standing and eating the Easter lamb, on the point of departure, and the Sons of Aaron consumed by fire—two very lifelike and powerfully conceived scenes. Also, although inferior in the engraving, the three Angels appearing to Abraham, and Balaam's ass.[1] Lastly, above all, the large woodcut which stands at the beginning of the text, and which is distinguished for its charming grace both in design and representation. "Creatio Hominis in medio elementorum et cœlorum," is the name of this sheet in the Amerbach Catalogue. With what besides a representation of the Creation could the first chapter of Genesis be opened? And the highest and last act of the Creator, the Creation of Women, is chosen as the subject of representation. God the Father, in long royal robes, with pointed crown, dignified expression, and long beard—how different from the Jupiter-like type of God the Father in Michael Angelo's and Raphael's works!—is uplifting with deliberate care the pretty little Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam, while a playful boy-angel is pulling the mantle of the Divine Father. But all the other already accomplished acts of creation are also displayed by the artist, in the glimpse he affords us of the whole world. In the centre is the earth, on which the event depicted takes place—a friendly island, covered with green, enlivened by a hare, a stag, and a bear, and illumined by the glory which surrounds the head of a God, as by a rising sun. All around is the sea, a strip of water, from which a couple of fish are emerging; round this is a ring of clouds and stars, and beyond this a circle of angels adoring and making music, among whom, above, we see once more

[1] E, f, g, h, not in Passavant.

the Almighty Father, blessing his work and calling it very good. Lastly, in the four corners, are the grand and bold heads of the four winds.

Holbein also composed a beautiful title-page for Bugenhagen's Interpretation of the Psalms, which appeared in the year 1524. It is tolerably well known, as it subsequently appears in Münster's Cosmography. There, however, the wood-block is worn out; in order to perceive the whole beauty of the arrangement, we must have seen an earlier good impression. "Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous, for praise is comely for the upright. Praise the Lord with the harp: sing unto him with the psaltery."[1] This is the subject of the composition, and David is, as is due, the hero of the whole. He is depicted below playing the harp, and "girded with a linen ephod," dancing before the ark of the covenant, while his old love, Michal, Saul's daughter, is looking down contemptuously from a balcony with a pillar-supported dome.[2] Two splendid groups are arranged on the side borders. On the left, there are men playing on different instruments; one is playing the organ with the deepest feeling, and another is blowing the trumpet. Above them is St. Heinrich, the patron saint of Basle. On the right are the four evangelists, St. James the elder, and St. Peter, all on clouds; the arrangement and the attitudes are grand and bold, and call to mind Correggio's compositions for San Giovanni in Parma. The centre of the upper division is occupied by the Lamb of God, and on each side of Him are the representatives of the Old and New Covenant—David, and behind him Moses; Christ as the Man of Sorrows, and behind him St. Paul. The figure of the suffering Saviour calls to mind Dürer's conception of Him, which appears in such numerous representations.

Among other beautiful title-pages with biblical representations for theological works is that of the Saviour accompanied by the apostles, calling with outspread arms the sick, the poor, and those who are bearing their cross to come to him; it appeared in 1524 in a work of Myconius, published by Froschover in Zurich. Also, the Feeding of the Four Thousand, which appeared in 1528, a composition in which Holbein exhibits his usual masterly power of representing with simple means an immense multitude, full of life and action. Lastly, there is a folio title-page in metal engraving, existing since 1523, the four separate divisions of which all bear the initials, I. F. Below are the Apostles, who are dispersed in different quarters of the world to preach the gospel to every creature; they are all in pairs; only St. Paul, the 13th, is alone. Each carries a large key; this too is a Protestant idea, which reminds us of St. Peter's words in a carnival play of that time by Manuel:

> "Die schlüssel zum himmel hab ich nicht allein
> Christus gab sie allen Christen gemein."[3]
>
> (Not I alone have the keys of heaven,
> To every Christian have they been given.)

[1] Psalm xxxiii. 1, 2. [2] 2 Samuel vi. [3] 1522, Grüneisen, N. Manuel, p. 384.

This attribute, as well as the scrolls with the names over the different figures, is somewhat disturbing, otherwise the conception is full of life and effect. The side borders are in most cases formed by the symbols of the evangelists between magnificent architectural designs. The most important, however, is the upper part, Christ as Mediator. Under an arch, somewhat less than a half-circle, we see God the Father enthroned above in royal splendour, with His left hand resting majestically on the globe, and in His right hand a sword; before Him is Christ, in His risen form, the standard of victory on His arm, with a lively gesture which distinctly expresses that He stands there as Mediator; and grace is combined with magnificence in the countless angels who are grouped around the principal personages, listening, riding on clouds, or making music on flutes, violins, lutes, and trumpets—all in wonderful action. Such a composition, thus grandly conceived within so modest a space, shows that the master only needed the opportunity of wall surfaces and vaulted roofs to emulate the greatest Italian masters in monumental paintings.

Equal in merit are two large woodcuts, almost unknown in literature, and which probably appeared as separate sheets. Only one copy is known, of the first with the single figure of the Saviour, sinking under the Burden of the Cross,[1] and this Herr His-Heusler found in the year 1864 among some anonymous woodcuts in the Basle Museum. He recognized Holbein's work in it, and every touch must evidence this to any one acquainted with him; moreover the Amerbach Catalogue adds external evidence, as it mentions a "Christus sub cruce recumbens, H. H." Holbein here trod on the footsteps of Albert Dürer, who in the scene of Christ Bearing the Cross in the great woodcut series of representations from the Passion, so powerfully delineated this subject, that even Raphael followed him in one of his finest paintings. Holbein also could not escape the influence of his great countryman, but it is not the single sheet, but the whole style of Dürer, which produced an effect upon him. The type of Christ, which appears in Dürer's pictures, perfectly deviating as it does from all earlier traditions and from his artistic predecessors, a type which originated with Dürer and which from henceforth appears more or less throughout German art, now meets us also in Holbein's Bearing of the Cross. In other prints our master appears perfectly independent. We find here no abundance of figures, no city-gate from which the procession advances, and no pleasant landscape as in Dürer's woodcut. We have seen this in other representations of the Bearing of the Cross, in the two scenes in Holbein's Basle series of the Passion, both in the drawings and paintings. There, however, a moment was chosen, preceding the catastrophe, the procession was still moving on in equal step, the Saviour was still erect, heavily as the burden rested on Him. Here, however, where we see Christ breaking down

[1] Not in Passavant, photographed by Braun.

under the Cross, the painter has placed before us His form alone, free from all accessories, only slightly indicating the spot by a few stones on the ground, a bent tree at the side, and clouds in the heavens. Fallen on His knees, supported by His right hand on the ground, Jesus is endeavouring to rise; His left hand is resting on the cross-beam of the heavy cross, which is bound to His body by ropes. The crown of thorns is pressing His brows, while the long hair falls wildly down. The deepest suffering thrills through every line of His countenance, His mouth is opened as though the Saviour was on the point of crying aloud and had forcibly restrained the sound, and His eyes look from the picture riveting the spectator and appealing to him, "Weep not for Me." As the noblest representation of extreme agony, this figure might be called the German counterpart of the Laocoon. The plastic feeling with which Holbein displays the figure beneath the drapery, the masterly outline, which does not, however, as is often the case with Dürer's drawings and woodcuts, make the forms too round, the simple grandeur that pervades even the smallest detail, the distinction of the attitudes—all these show Holbein's superiority over Dürer as regards form. The precision and distinctness of the cutting, the great understanding of the drawing, the technical treatment of much of the detail—for example, the hair, or the little tree at the side—render it indubitable that this sheet was cut by Lützelburger, who shows himself to be as great a master in stamp-cutting on a large scale, as in miniature work.

A large woodcut, the Resurrection of Christ, consisting of eight separate sheets, is also only once to be met with, and is in the cabinet of engravings at Gotha.[1] Here also Holbein's mind meets us, although not quite so convincingly as in the former sheet. We do not doubt that the design originated with him, but it appears probable that he only made a smaller sketch for it, which was transferred to the large wooden block by another hand. Figures, heads, and foreshortenings remind us of the Passion scenes in Basle, in both the painted and sketched series. The figure of the triumphant Saviour himself is grand and free. A radiant angel is sitting on the tomb; eight watchmen in Roman costume, such as we have already seen in the Basle Passion scenes, naïvely mingled with armour belonging to the painter's time, and which Holbein borrowed from Mantegna, are falling or starting back. In the beautiful, broadly treated landscape with the distant view of the city of Jerusalem, the three women are approaching with their vessel of ointment, wrapped in their mantles, creeping along in the shadow of the twilight; one of them seems to have observed the risen figure, and is pointing to Him.

Although we have seen Holbein and Dürer meeting in the same range of subject material, yet these are isolated instances. In general, Holbein did not

[1] Not in Passavant. First discussed by I. H. Schneider in the "Deutsche Kunstblatt," 1853, p. 214.

draw his subjects from the New but from the Old Testament, from which Dürer has but rarely borrowed. Thus the two masters supply each other's deficiencies, and have together, therefore, illustrated the whole Bible. Christ's life and sufferings, the history of the Virgin Mary, or the legends of the saints of the Church, attracted Dürer the most; and while he represents such subjects, he devises for them that mode of conception which from henceforth pervades the works of all artists who ventured upon similar representations; a mode which prevailed throughout Germany, and even extended its influence still further. Just the same did Holbein do with the Old Testament. He also devised the type of figures introduced, and the whole mode of representation. His productions cling to the memory of both the public and the artists, in his own as well as in the succeeding age, and this not merely in Germany but throughout the whole north, and abroad almost more than at home. Holbein, we may say, first imparted to these subjects the artistic language which from henceforth clings to all illustrations of the Old Testament, even up to our own day.

This work of Holbein's also stands in connection with the Reformation movement. The dissemination of the Holy Scriptures in the language of the country was a matter earnestly striven after by the Reformers, and pictures went hand in hand with preaching in making the Bible accessible and intelligible to still wider circles. Dürer's woodcuts and engravings, especially his various series of Scenes from the Passion, had prepared the soil among the people for Luther's translation of the Bible; Holbein's pictures from the Old Testament followed in their wake and helped forward the work.

This spirit animates the series of pictures, although the first dated edition may not have appeared earlier than 1538, and this at Lyons, in Catholic France. The compositions evidently belong to a much earlier period. They exhibit the style and treatment which mark the works executed during the later years of Holbein's journey to England, about 1522 to 1526, the epoch at which the Reformation-literature began at Basle, and with it the corresponding illustrations. That the greater number of the pictures were in existence before 1531 is shown by copies after them which are to be found in the Bible, bearing the date of this year, and published by Froschover in Zurich. We have, however, no doubt that the woodcuts were completed before Holbein left his home in the autumn of 1526. This is proved with regard to the Pictures of Death, as we shall presently see; the striking accordance between these two series of pictures, however, renders it probable that they were executed at the same time.

The Basle Museum possesses a copy of the entire series of pictures on sheets printed on one side, and this copy must have been executed at an earlier period in Basle. The series here begins with the extremely rare sheet of the Fall of Man, which appears, it is true, in the year 1538, in the Latin

Bible according to the Vulgate, published by Hugo a Porta, at Lyons, which is illustrated almost entirely with Holbein's Illustrations from the Old Testament, but which is missing in all editions in which the pictures are inserted disjointly, first in that of the brothers Trechsel, and afterwards in that of the brothers Frellon at Lyons, in the Historiarum ueteris Instrumenti icones of the year 1538, and is replaced by the four introductory sheets to the Pictures of Death, which are only half suitable to the subject. Two sheets, which are missing in the Latin Bible and in the edition of 1538, are to be found among the Basle proof impressions. One of the most unsatisfactorily executed sheets, that of David and Uriah, appears among these proof impressions a second time in another form—with a wall, window, and curtain in the background, while usually the two figures are to be seen alone, with only a white surface as background. This indication of the locality is, however, executed in such a rude and inferior manner that the artist may have preferred omitting them entirely in the publication.

The engraving of some sheets may be with certainty ascribed to Lützelburger; besides him, however, far inferior powers were employed, so that side by side with master-works in the art of wood-engraving, we find rude productions such as the sheets of Joel and Zacharias, in which it is scarcely to be ascertained whether they could have been based at all upon a Holbein drawing.

The first movements of the Reformation in Basle, as we have seen, produced the pictures. Nothing else, however, but the change of opinion on the Protestant side, which soon gained ground in Switzerland, prevented their publication until some years later. The Reformation party had forgotten how much art had co-operated in the religious renovation. Iconoclastic zeal was awakened in many districts. In 1525 and 1526, plots for the destruction of pictures were made by this party, and were only with difficulty prevented by the town council. The feeling of the multitude, who desired to extirpate works of art from the houses of God, was now no longer so favourable as before to the decoration of religious writings with pictures. The publisher, Petri, applied the title-pages which had formerly adorned Luther's translation of the New Testament, and the Psalms, or the writings of Œcolampadius. to Ptolemæus' "Geographia Universalis," and to Sebastian Münster's "Cosmography." Probably, we may suppose, it may have been Adam Petri's original intention to illustrate later editions of his Old Testament in the German language with this series of pictures, after having in the first edition introduced a couple of Holbein's compositions among numerous and wholly inferior pictures. But the circumstances of the time, however, impeded this undertaking.

Productions such as these could nevertheless meet with equal understanding and approval, beyond as well as within their native country; and thus, after the course of several years, a publisher was found for them at Lyons. Lyons stood in lively intercourse with foreign countries, especially

with Germany and Switzerland; from its position it was a key to the French kingdom, and a commercial city of the first rank. Numerous German merchants had settled here, and carried on export and transit trade, and they had received special privileges from the French kings.[1] No merchant of the city was held in such respect as the son-in-law of Pirkheimer, the Nuremberger Johannes Kleberger. He was the Fugger of Lyons, known there as "le bon Allemand;" he was the king's banker, and advanced to him large sums of money, and was famed alike for his wealth and for his beneficence and public spirit. But, above all, the publishers of Lyons stood in constant intercourse with Germany, and especially with Basle. Since the year 1472, printing presses had been at work in Lyons, by the union of the rich Barthelemy Buyer and the printer Guillaume Leroy, who had learned the trade in Germany. In the sixteenth century, the wealth of the publishers was so great that, at the public entrance of the king, many hundreds of them, in silk attire, marched with him under their banner. Most of the printers were German.[2]

Holbein, perhaps, had even the opportunity of personally forming connections in Lyons, which subsequently afforded him occasion for disposing of his works there. We have already spoken of his journey to France mentioned by Erasmus, and we have seen that this journey probably took him to Avignon. In this case, Lyons lay on his way. Lyons was a place with which he subsequently entered into business connection, and which stood nearer Switzerland than any other of the more important cities of France carrying on the liveliest intercourse with the country, and thus affording the painter the greatest prospect of gain from the number of countrymen whom he found there.

Of German origin were also the publishers who issued Holbein's Old Testament, as well as his Pictures of Death at the same time, namely, the brothers Caspar and Melchior Trechsel, whose father, Johann Trechsel, had been a printer in Lyons from the year 1487. But the Pictures of Death from the year 1542, and the Old Testament from 1543, were published at the same place by the brothers Franz and Johannes Frellon, whose business had been at its prime since 1530, and who likewise printed "under the shield of Cologne," as is to be observed on the title-page of both works. Probably they had become the proprietors in 1538, and the Trechsels had only conducted the printing at their order, for the preface to the Pictures of the Old Testament, published in this year, is signed[3] by one of the brothers "Franciscus Frelläus."[4]

At that time Holbein was court-painter in England, and a man of renown. And thus, a poem by the French poet Nicolaus Bourbon de Baudœuvre, who

[1] 1—B. Monfalcon, "Histoire de la ville de Lyon," Lyon et Paris, 1847, i. p. 536 et seq.; also p. 607. [2] Monfalcon, ii. p. 549 et seq. 620; ii. 660.

[3] See regarding the Trechsels and Frellons, "Breghot du Lut et Péricaud aîné, Biographie Lyonnaise," Paris and Lyons, 1839. Pernetti, "Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon," Lyons, 1737, i. p. 366.

[4] Sometimes spelt so, and sometimes "Frellonius," according to the Latin termination.

knew Holbein personally in England, was added to the Pictures of the Old Testament.[1] It consists of Latin distichs, in praise of the master who is called the highest ornament of his art, and is extolled above the greatest painters of antiquity. In Elysium, such is the purport of the poem, Apelles is bewailing to Parrhasius and Zeuxis, the living painter, by whom their fame is now perfectly eclipsed :—

> "Holbius est homini nomen, qui nomina nostra
> Obscura ex claris ac prope nulla facit."

Bourbon has also elsewhere done honour to our master. In the new edition of his poems "Nugæ," which appeared at this time, there appears the following epigram :—

> "Videre qui vult Parrhasium cum Zeuxide,
> Accersat a Britannia
> Hansum Vlbium et Georgium Reperdium
> Lugduno ab urbe Galliæ."

This Reperdius whom the poet somewhat rashly introduces as the worthy rival of a Holbein, is the engraver Reverdino.[2] He is said to have come from Padua, but we know nothing of his life, and even his Christian name, "George," is only established by these verses, as the signature to his engravings merely shows the first two letters of it. Regarding his residence in Lyons we have also no further authority; yet this is rather confirmed by the fact that Reverdino chiefly engraved after the Italian master Primaticcio, who was engaged in France. That he was thus one of the first who aided in disseminating through France the new Italian taste may have been the reason why the poet esteemed him beyond his due.

It is a remarkable fact that Holbein's sheets, animated as they are with Protestant feeling, were welcome to the Catholic party on their publication at Lyons. The Catholics had learned much from Protestantism. Stricter views were now gaining more and more ground on the Catholic side; they had begun to oppose the secular Renaissance spirit, which had just found its centre in the capital of the Catholic world, and they were endeavouring to bring into ill-repute as heathenish, the adherence to the literature and art of antiquity.

A preface was added to the Holbein pictures by the publisher, exhorting people to reject the frivolous pictures of Venus, Diana, and other goddesses, which entangled the mind with error, and seduced from the path of right, and to turn their attention instead to these religious pictures, which unveiled the innermost treasures of the Holy Scriptures.[3] The same thing was

[1] Of this later.

[2] Proved by Sotzmann, "Kunstblatt," 1850, p. 153.

[3] "Illud imprimis admonentes, vt reiectis Veneris et Dianæ, cæterarumque dearum libidinosis imaginibus, quæ animum vel errore impediunt, vel turpitudine labefactant, ad has sacrosanctas Icones, quæ Hagiographorum penetralia digito commonstrant omnes tui conatus referantur."

expressed in some pretty verses, added to the preface by the French poet, Gilles Corrozet:—

"Ces beaux portraictz seruiront d'exemplaire,
Monstrant qu'il fault au Seigneur Dieu complaire:
Exciteront de lui faire seruice,
Retireront de tout peché et uice:
Quand ilz seront insculpez en l'esprit,
Comme ils sont painctz, et couchez par escrit.

Donques ostez de uos maisons, et salles
Tant de tapis, et de painctures salles,
Ostez Venus, et son fils Cupido,
Ostez Heleine, et Phyllis, et Dido,
Ostes du tout fables et poesies,
Et receuez meilleures fantasies.

Mettez au lieu, et soyent nos chambres ceinctes
Des dictz sacrez, et des histoires sainctes,
Telles que sont celles que uoyez cy
En ce liuret. Et si faites ainsi,
Grandz et petis, les ieunes et les uieulz
Auront plaisir, et au cœur et au yeulx."

Many of the greatest modern artists have taken subjects from the Old Testament for their principal works. We have only to recall to mind Lorenzo Ghiberti's Gates to the Baptistery at Florence, and Michael Angelo's ceiling of the Sistine chapel, and Raphael's Loggie. A fresh advance in the German painting of the present day also began with the fresco paintings from the history of Joseph, which Cornelius, Overbeck, and their companions in Rome, painted in the Bartholdi house. Holbein's pictures from the Old Testament were no monumental creations like those mentioned, and yet, in spite of the modest character and the small scale of their execution, they must rank with them both in mind and imagination.

The sacred books of Judaism might be compared with Homer, as regards their effect upon the artistic fancy. What an abundance of grand and naïve poetry is here uttered in the simplest and most thrilling language! And all these narratives, whether stories from domestic life or records of warlike deeds, have such a genuinely human core, that they are ever fresh, and awaken sympathy in every heart. The personages who appear in these writings are thoroughly men, in their feelings, as well as in their passions, when they act, and when they err. They give themselves up to everything that moves them; pain, as well as joy, speaks in them with the strongest tones of nature. Every action is completely done, every motive is clear and intelligible. The stories touch every healthy and simple heart at the present day, just as they did thousands of years ago.

This genuinely human element, which pervades the books of the Old Testament, particularly attracted Holbein. He never allows himself to be led

by special ecclesiastical hypotheses, he never in his conceptions approaches those artists who play with religious fervour as a lucky hit. He does not grasp these subjects otherwise than the profane ones which he had treated, and he allows himself to be led by nothing but the spirit of the narrative itself. All the personages introduced exhibit that compact figure, in which Holbein delights, and which, indeed, in proportion to the size of the head, is occasionally somewhat too short. These figures are a perfect contrast to the men of the fifteenth century, with their lean and slender figures in the fantastic and closely-fitting attire which confines the limbs and hinders all free movement, and with their bearing, in which artificial and acquired grace is combined with awkward constrained actions, so that the personages, in their appearance, are as the children of that transition epoch, incomplete, and uncertain. Holbein's figures are *modern* men, complete and independent; free, easy, and decided in their appearance. In their walking and standing attitudes, in their gestures, in their behaviour to each other, one common characteristic pervades them all, and that is dramatic power. This Holbein possesses to an extent beyond, perhaps, any other artist who has ever lived. He knows what depends upon placing everything in action,—an action, the full meaning of which is distinctly and strikingly manifest to the eye. Nevertheless, he ever keeps within the necessary bounds, guided by his correct sense of style. The historical representation never degenerates into the genre-picture. And, however directly the artist draws from life, he ever keeps aloof from all that is common. He introduces a coarse element where it is befitting, but even in it, a simple nobleness is preserved. In the composition, everything seems to come, as it were, of itself, and yet, the acute thought of the master, in combining the whole, is to be perceived by any one who profoundly studies the separate sheets. Throughout, Holbein makes use of the simplest means, and limits himself to a moderate number of figures, none of whom, however, are idle. He satisfies himself, also, with what is absolutely necessary, both in scenery and detail, in furniture and attire; he, the son of a land whose artists delighted in bright and glittering variety and in rich accessories, and at the same time himself a master in the most delicate perfection of detail. Landscapes, architectural perspectives, and the like, are given in a masterly manner by the slightest indications, but they only attract the eye where the matter requires it.

The picture, Abraham's Sacrifice, is very grand. The altar is piled up with rough stones, for it is said in the Bible that Abraham built it himself. On the top, on woods and sticks, the boy Isaac is lying, bound hands and feet. Abraham, a true patriarchal figure, with a long beard and sinewy arms, has already stretched forth his hand with the knife, while, with the other hand, he is seizing the boy's hair. The utmost terror has overwhelmed Isaac, who, with his eyes fixed and opened mouth, is awaiting the

death stroke. But the angel of the Lord approaches with the speed of lightning, to bid him stop. The manner is not to be surpassed, in which the preceding moment is indicated as well as the present, as Abraham raises his knife, and at the same time at once lets it fall again, while internal

emotion pervades his whole form from head to foot. Behind is the ram, caught in the thicket by his horns, there is a flock of birds in the sky, and quite in the distance, indicated by a few touches, and yet with the utmost distinctness, are Abraham's two young men waiting with the ass.

The picture, from the history of Hannah, Samuel's mother, is one of the most beautiful. It was also just mentioned among the Bible pictures by Carel van Mander, and was extolled as admirable. Elkanah is sitting in

a simple apartment, by his wife Peninnah, the pair of doves on the table before them indicating the sacrifice which they often presented in the temple, when Peninnah blessed her husband with children. Hannah, however, his second wife, who was not thus blessed, is standing bent down and weeping before them. Coldly by Peninnah, but with deep sympathy by her husband, the inquiry is made, "Hannah, why weepest thou?" How feeling and touching is the scene with all its simplicity!

We see David overcoming Goliath as a youth, and again tearing his raiment when the crown of the deceased Saul is brought to him; we see him as the brave knight Uriah is receiving his fatal missive from him, and as Nathan reproaches him with his crime. This scene, which is enacted in an

open hall, through which we see the country beyond, is conceived in a surprising manner. Not as we might expect, with reproachful gesture, not as Samuel appears before Saul in Holbein's town-hall painting, does the prophet here meet the king, but in a kneeling posture he addresses David, who stands before him in full royal robes. Only all the more forcibly does the artist bring before us the whole weight of the moment; we see what it is to unmask the mighty king, and tell him his guilt to his face. The artist has attained what he intended; the standing and crowned figure is yet the humbled one. The incidents in the distance relate to the events related at the close of the chapter. At the steps of the hall we see the messenger of Joab arriving, and demanding assistance from David for the complete conquest of the Ammonite capital, Rabbah; and in the background the besieged city is to be perceived.

Solomon appears on his throne, receiving the embassy of Hiram, king of Tyre; and again imploring God for Wisdom. His whole figure is conceived in

the finest manner. He is kneeling before the seven-branched candlestick alone in a beautiful temple hall, a model of noble church architecture in the Renaissance style.

Among the Prophetical pictures, two are especially distinguishable for the figures of the Prophets, which are pervaded with the utmost feeling, namely, Isaiah mourning over the sinful City Jerusalem (this one unfortunately is badly cut), and Jonah before Nineveh, who is sitting praying under a withered tree, on a height above the splendid and pinnacled city, whose ruin he expects. Other illustrations to the Prophets, however, exhibit the limits of Holbein's powers of imagination. The truly fantastic element does not belong to him; he who was obliged to rest on Dürer in the Revelation of St. John, whenever he had to depict what was supernaturally grand and incomprehensible, here arrives at no grand conception of his own, when he endeavours to express figuratively the bold visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Ezekiel's new Temple and Daniel's four Beasts are rather cold illustrations, not executed with half the care and spirit which appear in the illustration of the Temple vessels in the Second Book of Moses. Even the concluding sheet, the Vision of the Fighting Horsemen, which appears in the sky over Jerusalem on the march of Antiochus to Egypt, stands scarcely much higher. Holbein, in his realistic mode of conception, prefers to represent nothing but what is purely human in action and feeling, though he does this in the profoundest and noblest manner.

A kind of completion to this book is formed by an entire alphabet of twenty-four rather large initials in metal engraving, the design of which undoubtedly proceeds from Holbein. They begin with the fall of man, and seem by preference to represent scenes which do not appear in the pictures we have just discussed, such as the Expulsion from Paradise, the Sacrifice of Cain

and Abel, the Death of Abel, and Jacob's Dream. The second half is entirely devoted to the history of Joseph, which is portrayed with the utmost detail. The representation of Potiphar's wife using her seducing arts upon Joseph is interesting: the bed on which she is sitting bears, certainly not without a touch of satire, the French lilies on the curtain. Jacob's journey to Egypt forms the close.

The connection of wood-engraving with the Reformation presents itself to us also from another point of view. Holbein appeared on the side of the new religious ideas with the weapon of ridicule. In the marginal drawings to the "Praise of Folly," we have already become acquainted with the satirical pictures of the master, who, co-operating with the author himself, spared no age and no class, but poured forth the most violent ridicule against the clergy, against ecclesiastical abuses, and the superstition of the people. A similar chord, bold and national, is struck by Holbein in some of his woodcuts. These sheets are extremely rare, for they were seized on all sides. Not only did the adverse party destroy them as far as they could, but the authorities in Basle strictly censured all religious controversies. On the 12th of December 1524, a unanimous order was issued by both councils, great and small, specially with regard to such writers. "The publishers are neither to print themselves, nor cause to be printed, either in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, or German, anything that has not before been inspected and allowed by the magistrates who have been appointed for this purpose by an honourable council. Whatever has received permission from these magistrates to be published is to bear their names. —Whoever disregards this, will, according to his deserts, be severely punished according to the verdict of the council."[1] This edict also affected these pictures, the whole character of which shows that they scarcely appeared alone, but as loose sheets with text.

The two compositions, copies of which we have inserted, are in form and breadth exactly fitted to have formed the top of a folio sheet with text. The delicacy and masterly power of the engraving, so entirely different from the coarse execution of the loose sheets both before and afterwards, shows that Hans Lützelburger was the stamp-cutter, and they perfectly accord with his authentic works. We know of three copies of the first sheet: one in the Museum at Basle, another in the cabinet of engravings of Queen Marie at Dresden, and a third in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and there are three copies of the other sheet, one in the Berlin Museum, one in the British Museum, and one in the collection of Herr Culemann in Hanover.

The first sheet is directed against those abuses which called forth Luther's appearance,—namely, the sale of indulgences. At the end of a church nave, which throughout, on the choir-stalls and the tapestry, exhibits the Medicean

[1] Ochs, v. p. 467.

arms, Pope Leo X. is enthroned,[1] surrounded by cardinals and bishops, and placing a letter of indulgence in the hand of a kneeling Dominican. In the choir-stalls in the foreground, different ecclesiastics are sitting, delightful priestly countenances, such as Holbein is incomparable in depicting. The fat canon to the right is laying his hand on the head of the kneeling youth, whose confession he is hearing, and is emphatically pointing to the chest of offerings. A citizen's wife—in the respectable attire such as we see in Dürer's sketch in the Albertina, with the motto "Also gett man zw Nörmerk In die Kirchn," is also putting in her mite. In the centre, however, stands a table, at which three Dominicans are engaged in preparing and selling indulgences. One of them is looking with a somewhat too satisfied manner at a woman to whom he has given a document; the second is still holding back the letter and is greedily reckoning up the money which the simple purchaser is counting out on the table; and the third on the point of writing, is coldly and rudely repelling the beggar who has slipped in on his crutch, and who, though he has no money to pay, begs for remission of his sins. On the left, however, in the open air, as though they had quitted the church in which traffic was thus carried on with the Divine grace, true penitents are bowing before God. Overwhelmed by a feeling of repentance, David has thrown himself on the ground, with folded arms and looking up in fervent prayer; the idolatrous king Manasseh is standing behind him, of whom it is said in the Bible: "And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 12). Their example is followed by the "offen Synder," who, with bowed head, contrite, and with tattered garments, is depicted like the prodigal son in the parable, imploring forgiveness with all his might. The Almighty Father is extending his arms lovingly towards them out of the clouds.

The whole scene is full of the spirit which filled Luther's first appearance against the sale of indulgences—namely, that "the repentance which Christ teaches is not such as the most arrogant hypocrite can outwardly exhibit, but it is to be done in spirit and in truth. This repentance is open to all, to the king in his purple robes, to the ecclesiastic in his vestments, as well as to the beggar in his poverty, and no priest's mediation is necessary, but faith alone."[2] With this tone of feeling art now harmonized, as did also the national pamphlet-literature of the day, or, as Hutten says in his "Clag undv ermanung gegen dem gewalt des bapsts:"—

"Gott hats gegeben alls vmbsunst
Vnd mag nit sein der göttlich gunst

[1] Possibly Clement VII., if we assume that this picture did not exist till after 1523.

[2] Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance, 1518. Cf. C. Hagen, ii. p. 18 et seq.

Photoxylographie v. KNAUS BASEL

SALE OF INDULGENCES.
(Woodcut.)

CHRIST THE TRUE LIGHT.
(Woodcut.)

Wo man die Sakrament verkaufft.
Kein hat gott nye vmbs gelt getaufft.
* * * * *
Denn wo man sölichs koufen möcht,
Das reychtumb mer dann armut döcht,
So wer nit war das gott hatt gseyt,
Den aren sey sein rmeych bereit.
Wo bleibt nun Bäpstlich hinderlist,
Durch den man überschwetzet ist
Zu Kauffen ablas vnd genad,
Vff das man vns des gelts entlad."[1]

(God has given to all men his free grace, and the divine favour cannot be bought and sold. God has baptized none for the sake of money; for if this were to be bought gratis, and if riches were higher esteemed than poverty, God's word would be no longer true that his kingdom is open to the poor. What, then, avails the Papal cunning, by which men are persuaded to purchase remission and grace, in order to rob us of money?)

Equally true and distinct as Hutten's words is Holbein's figurative representation. Equally severely, boldly, and plainly does he go to the bottom of the evil, and with equal certainty does he pass from the biting satire to the serious language of conviction. Both appear boldly and simply side by side in the Indulgence sheet, but combined with such noble feeling that the spectator is aware of no cleft between them.

The second sheet, "Christus vera lux," according to the Amerbach Catalogue, exhibits in the centre a splendid candlestick, adorned with portraits of the apostles and evangelical symbols, and in which a lighted taper is placed. On the left hand stands Christ, pointing to it with a grand gesture, as though He would say, "I am the true light." Full of devotion, and ready to follow Him, a group of various persons listen to His words; men and women, simple citizens, even the barefooted beggar and the honest peasant with flail and ragged hose, under which the knee is visible, just such as one might imagine the peasants, Heini Filzhut and Rufli Pflegel, in Manuel's Carnival plays; lastly, a peasant woman, who concludes the train. On the other side, however, the assembled clergy are turning their back on the light and on the Saviour—the pope, the bishop, the canons, and the monks of every kind and attire, with closed eyes, so that no one sees where he is going—each only holding to the one before him, they pass away, with Plato and Aristotle in advance of them all, characterized as heathens by their Turkish costume. The first has already fallen into the abyss, and the second is on the point of following him.

We here find evidences of the altered state of feeling which was gradually gaining ground among the Reformation party. Aristotle was regarded, indeed, as the light of the scholastics; when, however, he and Plato are in this way

[1] Ulrich von Hutten's writings, edited by Böcking, iii. p. 486 et seq.

represented as leaders on the path to the abyss, it is an evidence of that division which was now taking place between the former allies, the Reformers and the humanists, and of that contempt for classical study which increased more and more among the theologians of the new doctrines, which was shared even by Luther, and which prepared deep sorrow for men such as Erasmus, and indeed even Melanchthon. Indeed, among the clergy there even appears a form whose similarity with Erasmus has been perceived by many persons. The artist therefore seems, in spite of personal relations, to have directed his satire even against this great scholar, who now, indeed, stood in hostility to the Reformation. Holbein's woodcut was an expression of the popular element which, with national onesidedness, resisted classic literature as something foreign, which was now becoming more and more radical, and transgressed all moderation in animosity against the clergy.[1] In the picture we see also the peasant playing his part; the time was not far distant when he appears entirely otherwise, and wields the sword instead of the threshing-flail.

Among these woodcuts we may number a drawing, in the collection at Erlangen, of about the same breadth as these, but not so high; it represents the Pope surrounded by armed men, borne on a litter, and followed by a splendid procession. On the other side Christ is approaching, humbly riding on an ass, and accompanied by the apostles. On the Pope's litter stands the date 1524. To the same year belongs the first edition of a carnival play of a similar purport by Nicolaus Manuel, who first suggested this kind of representation. This play was acted at Berne in the year 1522, and consists of a dialogue between the two peasants, Rüde Fogelnest and Cleywe Pflug, who are watching the approach of the processions of the Pope and of Christ, and in popular and rude verses are expressing their opinion on them.[1] We shall meet with similar religious satires during Holbein's English period. The same key is also struck by the painter in many parts of his principal work, "The Pictures of Death."

[1] See Hagen, iii. p. 13, et seq.

[2] Grüneisen, N. Manuel, p. 393. The author cannot, however, let this notice pass without a word. The harmony between picture and poem demands renewed examination, whether perhaps the sheet does not belong to Manuel himself. The author saw the drawing many years ago, when he was not sufficiently acquainted with N. Manuel, and was, moreover, not sufficiently advanced in his Holbein studies to be answerable for his criticism at that time in all cases.

CHAPTER XIV.

Pictures of Death and Dances of Death.—Sandrart's report of Holbein's Pictures of Death, and of Rubens' opinion of them.—The antique and mediæval conception of death.—The ascetic conception of the Middle Ages increased by the circumstances of the time.—Pictures in churches of the transitoriness of life.—"The three dead and the three living," both in poetry and painting.—Triumph of Death at Pisa and at Clusone.—Death as a demon snatching away and casting down men.—Ironical conceptions find a place by the side of simple and serious ideas.—Dying represented by games and festivity.—The Dance of Death.—The originally milder element which here prevailed, supplanted afterwards by one of irony.—The Dance of Death originally in the Drama.—Various monuments of the two Dances of Death at Basle.—The freer form given to such subjects by the arts of Painting and Sculpture.—Various pictures of Death by Dürer, Manuel, Bugkmair, and others.—The comic element in pictures of Death.—Humour and satire.—Death as an equaliser.—Satire in political and ecclesiastical matters.—The Dance of Death at Berne—Manuel and Holbein.

ALTHOUGH Joachim von Sandrart has not been able to furnish us with many accurate records respecting Holbein, yet at the close of his short biography of the painter he introduces a pretty notice, which is intended to prove how highly he was esteemed by the artists of the seventeenth century, both in the North and in Italy. In the year 1627, when Sandrart was studying with Honthorst at Utrecht, the great Peter Paul Rubens came on a visit there, and Honthorst and his pupils accompanied him to Rotterdam. As they went in the vessel, they "speculated upon the sketches of the Dance of Death in Holbein's little book." It is a picture which the imagination would gladly follow—these three men in the slowly gliding vessel occupied with the little book, and among them the prince of painters, famous throughout Europe, who is explaining to the others the advantages of these compositions. "Rubens," says Sandrart, "praised this Dance of Death very highly, and advised him as a youth to pay attention to the book, for that he himself had copied the drawings in his youth. And after this Rubens held a beautiful and laudatory discourse almost the whole way upon Holbein, Dürer, and other old German painters."

Holbein's Dance of Death—or, as we more justly call it, adhering to its original title, his Pictures of Death—may be considered as his principal work as far as regards artistic imagination. Nothing else secured him such reputation and spread his name so widely. Even in times in which artistic views

differed widely from his own these works were not forgotten, and in his own time this work was spread over all the lands of western Europe. In this series of small woodcuts, Holbein has given to a subject which for centuries in these lands had occupied the imagination of the entire people, the most beautiful and definitive form.[1]

> "Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
> Regumque turres . . ."

These words of Horace were inscribed by Francis Douce as a motto to his English work upon the Dance of Death. Yet the Roman poet's conception of Death has nothing in common with the representations which the Middle Ages produced. When he thinks of pale Death, who approaches the cottage of the poor as well as the castle of kings, Horace is reminding his friend to wreathe his brow and to enjoy life all the more fully. To the Greeks and Romans, Death is the mild genius who does not himself rob them of life, but who comes as a messenger to announce its end. The farewell scene is the favourite representation introduced on tombstones. The departing one extends his hand for the last time to his family, sadly yet calmly; he is not snatched from them, he turns and goes. A ruder tone, indeed, marks a custom of the old Egyptians, of which Herodotus speaks, and which, according to Petronius' description of the banquet of Trimalchio, also prevailed in the time of the Roman emperors, namely, the exhibition of a picture of Death at festive entertainments. But to this also was added a reminder, not dissimilar from that of Horace: "When thou seest this, drink and rejoice; for one day thou wilt die, and be as he."[2] How little the Christian mind can understand such an

[1] Literature: Jakob Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," Göttingen, 1835 (and 1844), chap. xxii. Tod; Gabriel Peignot, "Recherches historiques et littéraires sur les Danses des Morts et sur l'Origine des Cartes à jouer," Dijon et Paris, 1826; Francis Douce, "The Dance of Death," London, 1833; C. Grüneisen, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurtheilung der Todtentänze;" "Kunstblatt," 1830, Nos. 22 to 26; Naumann, "Der Tod in allen seinen Beziehungen," Dresden, 1844; G. H. Langlois, "Essai historique, philosophique et pittoresque sur les Danses des Morts," 2 vols. Rouen, 1851; W. Wackernagel, "Der Todtentanz," in Haupt's "Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum," vol. ix., Leipzig, 1853 (of essential importance); H. F. Massmann, "Literatur der Todtentänze," Leipzig, 1840; Ibid., "Die Baseler Todtentänze," Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1847, with Atlas; Jubinal, "Danse des Morts de la Chaise-Dieu," Paris, 1841; W. Lübke, "Der Todtentanz in der Marienkirche zu Berlin," 1861; J. G. Hilscher, "Der Dresdener Todtentanz," 1705; Fiorillo, "Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland," &c. iv. p. 117; Jul. Lessing, "De Mortis apud Veteres Figura," Bonn, 1866.

[2] Herodotus, ii. 78. *Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι, τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτέων, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τα μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ· μέγαθος ὅσον τε πάντη πηχυαῖον, ἢ δίπηχυν· δεικνὺς δὲ ἑκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων, λέγει· "Ἐς τοῦτον ὁρέων, πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος."*

Petronius, 34: "Potantibus ergo et accuratissimas nobis lætitias mirantibus, larvam argenteam attulit servus sic aptatam, ut articuli ejus vertebræque laxatæ in omnem partem verte-

idea is shown by the remarks on the Egyptian custom, which we find in a book, belonging not indeed to the Middle Ages but to the sixteenth century, namely, Sebastian Münster's "Cosmography." The matter is here entirely reversed. "Ir brauch ist gewesen," it says, "wan sie zu sammen seind kommen in ein wirtschafft das einer hat getragen auff einem stecken ein geschmeltzt todten bild, eins oder zweier elenbogen lang, vnd sprach zu den disch genossen; Sehen zu, also wie diser müssend jr werden nach eüwerem todt, darumb trincken vnd freüweneuch *nit zu vil*." (Their custom when they met together in a hostelry was for one to carry round on a pole an image of death, one or two elbows long, and to say to his fellow-companions, "See! like this must ye become after your death; therefore drink, and rejoice not too much.")

According to the Christian notion, it is not the earthly life in which the destiny of man is fulfilled. From a world of preparation and trial, the eye of the Christian is directed to a higher world, where he receives recompense for his earthly conduct. Such a religious view would, we should have thought, have afforded all the more decided reason for representing departure from this earthly existence under a consolatory aspect. And yet it was reserved for a painter of our own day to be the first to design a series of pictures of this purport for the adornment of a cemetery. Cornelius designed the pictures for the Berlin Camposanto, which, beginning with the works of Christ and his Apostles upon earth, represent the Saviour's victory over Death, and the prophecies of the latter days—compositions, the pervading idea of which lies in the words of the Apostle, "Death, where is thy sting? Grave, where is thy victory?" The Middle Ages emphasized exclusively the other side of the expectation of a life to come. This idea is, indeed, the hope of the poor and the comfort of the sufferer, but the life to come offers not merely blessedness and heavenly joys, for all are awaiting a strict judgment which separates the chosen from the rejected, and commits to everlasting destruction those who have died in their sins. This idea contains, indeed, a serious warning of death, of whose approach no man can know, and for whom it behoves to be ever prepared.

In the mediæval narratives, Gesta Romanorum,[1] the king inquires of a philosopher, "What is man?" The latter replies, "Man is a slave of Death, a visitor on the earth, a passing traveller. He is a slave of Death, for he cannot escape the hand of Death; all his labours end in it, and from it he receives

rentur. Hanc quum super mensam semel iterumque abjicisset, et catenatio mobilis aliquot figuras exprimeret, Trimalchio adjecit:

"Heu, heu nos miseros quam toties homuncio nil est!
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet Orcus.
Ergo vivamus, dum licet esset bene."

[1] Chapter xxxvi.

reward or punishment, according as he deserves. Man is a visitor on the earth, for as he comes, so he goes, and is as soon forgotten. He is a passing wanderer, for whether he sleeps or wakes, whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he does, he is ever passing onwards to death." In a book written in the fifteenth century, in a conversation between Death and a widower who is calling him to account,[1] the passage occurs: "As soon as man is born, so soon has he received the pledge that he must die."

This employment of the imagination upon the subject of death assumed another form after the fourteenth century. The misery and unhappiness, which at this period more than at any other visited the nations of the West, increased more and more the ascetic views of this subject. The great aims and ideas of mediæval life had passed away, and the ideas of a new period were now fast beginning to form themselves, though they made their way only with difficulty and by degrees, and still met with vigorous resistance from the old influence, decayed and ruined though it might be. The old powers, the papacy, the imperial dignity and chivalry, had declined, but the powers which were to furnish new bases for political relations were not yet developed and established. Licentiousness prevailed in all lands, immoderate festivity, and boundless excesses of sensuality gained more and more the upper hand. No fixed regulation of the State was able to check the domination of rude violence, depredation, and immorality. Upon this life of self-will and self-indulgence, of riot and revelry, the terrors of death burst all the more fearfully. That they were exhibited at that time in a more terrible form than scarcely ever before, we have already clearly seen. In addition to the constant wars, the acts of violence, and the shedding of blood, which prevailed among men, we find the most various alarms in nature. Famine and desolating pestilences, and in the middle of the fourteenth century the Black Death, made their fearful and triumphant progress through Europe. To escape the dread and the thought of this misery, men gave themselves up on the one side all the more passionately to the intoxication of the senses, but on the other they believed themselves struck by the vengeance of God, and sought for safety in contrition and repentance, which often led them into the most repulsive forms of ecstasy. But the most forcible sermons exhorting to repentance, those sermons which spoke to the people in the most intelligible form, were the figurative representations which proclaimed the transitoriness of all earthly things, and the Almighty power of Death.

This theme was handled in the most various ways. In many places, a canvas stretched on a frame was suspended from a rope in the churches, containing on one side a beautiful youth and a maiden, looking at themselves in a mirror, and on the other the picture of Death with scythe or shovel, and his

[1] Bamberg bei Pfister, about 1460. Passavant, "Peintre Graveur," i. p. 58. "Die Klagen gegen den Tod:" a typographic work, and not a xylographic work, as Passavant states.

body entwined with worms and snakes. Every breath of wind turned the picture round, and thus the rapid change from life to death was exhibited.[1] A panel picture, of a similar kind, executed in the year 1383, existed at Minden, with the words "vanitas vanitatum," as well as German verses inscribed over the pictures. There is also a beautiful group in wood, executed at the close of the fifteenth century in the Ambraser Gallery at Vienna, which is in accordance with these representations.[2] Thus, also, the poets of the thirteenth century depict the world as a woman, beautiful before, but behind half corrupt and eaten with worms,[3] and in the same form we see it also represented in a statue in St. Sebald's church at Nuremberg.

Similar in spirit is the poem, likewise belonging to the thirteenth century, of the three dead and the three living (les dis des trois mors et trois vifz). First three dead persons appear to a hermit, and then he sees three living persons coming, on horseback, in splendid attire (sur trois cheuaux trois biaux hommes vis). Horror seizes the latter, when they see the terrible spectres in the way, calling to them, "What you are, that were we; what we are, that will you be." The pious brother, however, comes, and makes the text of his exhortation, to think on the transitoriness of all earthly things. This subject became the possession of art. It was applied to monumental paintings, an early example of which is to be found in the church at Badenweiler,[4] and it was represented in woodcuts.

This idea appears also in Italian pictures. The famous wall-painting of the Camposanto at Pisa, "The Triumph of Death,[5]" executed in the second half of the fourteenth century, shows to the left a stately hunting train passing through a defile, with three princes on horseback at its head. Suddenly the animals start, and the riders are seized with terror, for three half-decayed and crowned corpses are lying in open coffins before them; but from the height where he dwells in quiet peace with his companions, an old hermit descends and addresses his solemn words to the mighty of this world. But to the grand mind of the Tuscan artist, this representation of the transitoriness of life, and the fear of death, was not sufficient. The second half of the picture, separated from the first half by steep rocky mountains, contains another and greater expression of the same idea. On a turfy seat, under orange

[1] Hilscher, p. 11.

[2] Three naked figures, a youth, a maiden, and a horrible old woman, in a case made to turn round, so that one is seen after the other in succession. Cf. Schnaase, "Mittheilungen der K. K. Central Commission," 1862, p. 241 et seq. W. Lübke, "Geschichte der Plastik," p. 581.

[3] J. Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," 1835, p. 494.

[4] Discovered by W. Lübke. Cf. his paper in the Supplement to the "Allgemeine Zeitung" in the autumn of 1866. Other works of the kind are described by Langlois, ii. 185 to 190.

[5] Formerly supposed to be by Orcagna, but ascribed to Pietro Lorenzetti by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "History of Painting in Italy." Cf. the description in Schnaase, "Geschichte der bildenden Künste," vii. p. 433 et seq.

trees, a richly-dressed company of noblemen and ladies are lingering and talking, stroking the hunting falcons on their wrists and the dogs on their lap, and listening to the sound of the violin and lute. They have no foreboding of the fearful destiny approaching them with lightning speed. Flying through the air, we see Death (la morte) in the form of a powerful woman with bats' wings and waving hair, brandishing the scythe with both hands. Already kings, princes, popes, bishops, and noble ladies have fallen beneath her, and angels and devils are contending for their souls; but the goddess of Death hears not the beggars and cripples who are imploring her for release from their misery; she only presses onwards unceasingly towards her aim, that she may break in again in the midst of joy and life, when she is least expected.

A Triumph of Death, rushing over all the living in his path and mowing them down, was also written by Petrarca—an idea chosen likewise by German art, in the sixteenth century, as a subject for representation; for instance, in a work by George Pencz, who followed out the poet's design. A similar conception of Death, who appears as a mighty demon or a victorious ruler, is common in Italian representations. There is a grand fresco-painting on this subject, executed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, which adorns the outer wall of the Chiesa de' Disciplini at Clusone, in the district of Bergamo.[1] On the socle a dance of Death is introduced, such as we shall presently become acquainted with in the north, and the principal picture above accords with the story of the three dead and the three living. On the left, the painting is terminated by three noble youths in hunting attire. The arrow of Death has just pierced the heart of the first, and the two others are quickly, yet in vain, turning their horses round. But the three skeletons themselves occupy a far more mighty position. They are standing upon a sarcophagus, filled with noble corpses; the central one is adorned with a crown and a royal mantle; the two others with a bow and a harquebus are aiming on both sides. Below them are kneeling ecclesiastics and laymen, the Pope and the princes of the Church, kings, counts, and doges; they are offering their crowns and their gold to the fearful demon, but in vain; already many of their number have fallen to the ground as corpses, and on the scrolls held by the middle skeleton stands the verse:—

"Giunge la morte piena de gualeza
Sole ue uoglio e non uostra richeza.
Digna mi son de portar corona
E che signoresi ogni persona."

(Death comes to all with equalising hand:
I wish yourselves, and not your riches grand.
Worthy I am to show a crowned brow
When every mortal to my power must bow.)

[1] "Trionfo e Danza della Morte.... A Cluzone, &c.con Osservazioni storiche ed artistiche di Giuseppe Vallardi," Milano, 1859 (with lithograph of the picture by Terzaghi).

With similar power Death often appears in many works of northern art, as in the before-mentioned complaint of the widower who is robbed of his wife by Death, and who calls the latter to account, until Christ at length decides the dispute between them both. Here the mortal accosts Death with respect as "Lord," while Death speaks familiarly to him, and mentions himself as "we," in the plural of majesty. In accordance with this, in the woodcuts of the book, Death is represented as sitting on his throne, attired in a robe of purple and a crown, with an axe and shovel in his hand. Among these pictures, the scene appears, as in Clusone, of the Pope and Emperor offering their crowns, and the rich man his purse, to purchase freedom from Death. Another woodcut in the book exhibits Death as a mower, under whose scythe old and young, men and women, are falling; and as an archer on horseback who with drawn bow is pursuing some horsemen. Thus Geiler von Kaisersberg compares him in his sermons "De Arbore Humana;"[1] with "a peasant bearing a scythe on his shoulder, an axe in his girdle, a bow in his hand, and a quiver full of arrows at his side." He hews the old down with the axe; the young, who flee from him, and think themselves far from him, he shoots with his arrows; and lastly, with the scythe he mows down the green grass and the blooming roses of the little children. Thus he is seen not merely in the woodcuts of this book; but all three distinctions appear combined in the concluding picture of Nicolaus Manuel's Dance of Death, to which we shall presently allude. Before the preacher in the pulpit, who, with the Death's head in his hand, is speaking of the vanity of earthly things, we see the hearers of every age and sex falling, as the arrows strike them on their forehead. Death, with his quiver and murderous bow, comes to them; he is raising his scythe for the gleaning, and other men are falling from a tree to which the axe has been laid. In a work published at Paris in the year 1527,[2] there is a woodcut of Death with an hour-glass, scythe and crown, riding on a black horse over the fallen bodies of men. At the side of the fearful sovereign, above whom a black raven is flying, two other skeletons are doing their dreadful work as mowers. Quite a different spirit is exhibited in a woodcut from the "Schatzbehalter," probably after a drawing by Wohlgemut, and depicting Christ wrestling with Death. This is one of the rare instances in which these pictures of Death express an idea of comfort and reconciliation.

But in this simply serious and grand style, Death was only exceptionally depicted in the north. In the pictures before described, a touch of irony lay concealed; in those which immediately followed, it was openly exhibited. This irony is to be seen in the choice of images, under which poetry, painting, and sculpture depicted Death. Thus, for instance, it was often represented as a

[1] German, Strasburg, 1521.

[2] "Heures à luisage de Paris," published by Simon du Bois for Geofroy Tori of Bruges. Fac-simile of the woodcut in Dibdin's "Decamerone," i. p. 98.

defeat at a game of chess. The most beautiful specimen of this is to be seen in an engraving by the master B. R. with the sign of the anchor, in the latter part of the fifteenth century.[1] A king is sitting at his chess-board surrounded by his court and by his nobles temporal and spiritual. His adversary is Death, who has just made a fatal move: the countenance of the king expresses his vexation, and behind the table stands an angel of God holding the hour-glass in his hand. In the cloister of Strasburg Cathedral, there was formerly a picture which represented Death at the chess-board, and opposite to him the representatives of all classes: Death, however, was saying:

"Alles, das do lebt, gross und klein,
Das muss mir werden gemein;
Bobst, künig und cardinal,
Bischoff, herzog all zu mal
Graven, ritter und frauen,
Bürger, knaben und junkfrauen.
Ich sag üch uss friem won,
Keinen ich des spieles erlon.
Bewarent üch, junk und alt:
Uwer jar sind uss gezalt.
Lenger will ichs nit gestatten
Zu tod will ich üch matten."[2]

(All that liveth, great and small,
Must to me as subject fall:
Pope, and cardinal, and king,
Bishop, duke, and everything.
Boys, and maids, and city squires,
Earls, and dames, and knightly sires.
I tell you all the very same,
None of you can win the game.
Heed ye then, both young and old,
For your years are nearly told.
Short the respite to you fated,
Death decrees you all check-mated.)

Still more cutting is the irony, when bloody fights are conceived by the poets as banquets, and every fatal wound as a draught poured out.[3] "I am preparing a grand feast," are the words put into the lips of Black Death by Hermann Lingg, a poet of our own day. The idea is completely in the spirit of that time. Thus, in northern art, the image of a great festival, with music and dancing, was the favourite representation of death. It was opened by the half-decayed figures at a charnel-house, beating drums and sounding trumpets for the dance. Then come the dancers, pair by pair, ecclesiastics

[1] Pass. ii. p. 277, No. 11, in which, however, the authorship of the sheet is disputed, groundlessly in our opinion.

[2] Edel, "Die Neue Kirche in Strasburg." Cf. Wackernagel, in "Haupts Zeitschrift," ix. p. 308.

[3] Wackernagel, p. 309.

and laymen, men and women, old men and children, the noblest, from the pope and emperor, down to the lowest.

The meagre fellow with the grinning skull, who is joined with each—for the most part he is no real skeleton—does not here appear as the personification of Death, as a demon or god, but on the contrary—after the fashion of the old representation of the three dead and the three living—it is not "*Death*" himself, but deceased mortals who call away the living. It is really "a dance of the dead," and not "a dance of death." In the French "Danse Macabre," "le mort" is coupled with the male persons, and "la morte" with the female:—

> "Da regt sich ein Grab nach dem anderen dann,
> Sie kommen hervor, ein Weib da, ein Mann" . . .
>
> (One grave is in motion after another,
> They come forth, here a woman, there a man),

just as it says in Goëthe's ballad; for in the picture the sex is for the most part recognizable, the women generally are seized by a figure of Death, with a bosom eaten by worms, and with long hair fluttering from the skull. The appalling companion joins each as his equal, and the dead ape the living in dress and gesture, as the beasts in the fable do the men.[1] This idea, though rarely adhered to with much consistency, is to be seen even in Holbein.

These representations thus became more and more a mixture of coarse and cutting sarcasm and of genuine popular humour, trifling with the serious and even with the fearful. This, however, was not the case at first, for the idea was in its origin of a milder character, compared with that of Death with his scythe and bow assailing and cutting down mortals. The deceased do not appear as a destroying power, but as messengers of death; musicians, especially, were wont formerly to be messengers, and thus the idea readily arose that they should play before the living, and thus allure them to the dance. This milder character belonged to the Dance of Death in its early form, as it was depicted in poetry and the drama. It was not until these gave place to its representation in painting that the humorous element gained greater scope. There lies a touch of the burlesque even in the figure of the meagre form of Death.

The Dance of Death, in French "Danse Macabre,"[2] was originally a drama acted by living persons, and belonging to those dramatic pageants and representations which were favoured by the clergy in the Middle Ages, and were even instituted by them.[3] The drama, in its original form, was not to be

[1] J. Grimm.

[2] The etymology of the word *Macabre* cannot here be discussed. We must satisfy ourselves with referring to Wackernagel's opinion (p. 314), that the Latin expression "Machabæorum chorea" is sufficient to exclude all other derivations. Probably the representation first took place on the feast of the seven Maccabæan brothers.

[3] Wackernagel, p. 315, et seq. Douce, pp. 14—16. Langlois, i. pp. 116—163. Principal evidences: Carpenter's Suppl. to the Glossarium of Ducange, under "Machabæorum Chorea."

separated from the dance, and these dances of the dead were dramas of the simplest kind, consisting of a dialogue between Death and those whom he was carrying away. Even in the fourteenth century a performance of this kind was usual in France and Germany, from whence it passed to England and Spain. Soon, the passing drama was made a permanent one by the help of the art of painting. In the places in which these dramas were wont to be performed, they were perpetuated by painting, and occasionally by sculpture. Under the couples depicted, verses of the drama were written as a text. On the walls of the cemeteries, in the interior of churches and chapels, in the cloisters of convents, even in the court-yards of castles,[1] or on tapestries for the decoration of choirs, these representations were introduced. They are especially frequent in Dominican convents.[2] This order, which exercised the office of preaching, may have specially favoured the dramatic as well as the figurative representations of the subject, in order to secure to their teaching a stronger impression upon the multitude. The lost Dance of the Dead formerly in the Klingenthal Monastery in Little Basle, probably belonged to the beginning of the fourteenth century, while the better known painting in the monastery of the Dominicans in Great Basle was executed in the middle of the fourteenth century. A famous picture of this kind, but which seems not to have lasted long, existed in the monastery des Innocents, in Paris. In the year 1824, the pictures in the former Dominican church at Strasburg,[3] and in 1860 those in the porch of the Marienkirche at Berlin,[4] were discovered under the whitewash, and are recognized as monuments of the end and the middle of the fifteenth century. In England, the Dance of the Dead on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral was especially famous; it was painted in the time of Henry VI., and was destroyed under the rule of the Protector Somerset. Among older works still in existence we may particularly mention, as belonging to Germany, the Lubeck Dance of the Dead, often indeed retouched, which was executed in the year 1643; and in France, the wall-painting in the abbey church de la Chaise Dieu, in Auvergne,[5] which was produced at about the same period.

The poem of the Dance of the Dead was preserved in manuscript; on the invention of book-printing it was multiplied typographically, and was furnished with woodcuts. Thus it appeared in High German, Low German, French, English, and Latin. In the principal matter, the text was ever the same, and began in the original form with the prologue of the preacher, or of the *acteur*, in German with the verse, "O diser werlde weysheit kint," &c., and in French, "O créature raysonnable, Qui désires vie éternelle," &c. The

[1] Blois, Dresden. [2] Cf. Douce, p. 36, after Urtistii Epitome Hist. Bas.
[3] F. W. Edel, "Die Neue Kirche in Strasburg," 1825, 8vo. [4] Edited by Lübke.
[5] Edited by Jubinal, Paris, 1841. Wackernagel supposes an earlier date for this as well as for the Lubeck Dance of Death, pp. 317, 321.

text, at first, was always the principal thing, and the pictures were only a supplement and illustration: "Todtentanz mit Figuren," "Dance of Death with Figures," was the original title. Hence the pictures were subject to more change than the words. But these also were affected by the alteration of dialect and language. The poem, and with it the illustration, became gradually enlarged, and the dance went further and further beyond the original number of twenty-four couples.

With the change in the age, even in the fifteenth century, the whole matter changed. The pictures occupied the first place, and the verses assumed only the position of a supplement and of an explanatory writing. This change was especially possible in Germany, for there is here, at this time, no longer any trace to be found of the representation of the drama of the Dance of the Dead, of which we have records in France until the year 1423.[1]

The arts of painting and sculpture, on the point of new and grand development, heedless of all literary basis, grasped the subject throughout in a spirit of their own. The second Basle Dance of Death, that of the Dominican Monastery, evidences this, and it affords great interest if we compare it with the earlier Basle Dance of Death, which adorned the convent of Klingenthal, founded in 1274, by Walter von Klingen, and standing on the opposite banks of the Rhine. This is said to have borne the date 1312,[2] and it exhibits still the style of conception belonging to early Gothic art, in the soft and partly bashful movements, and in the naïve freshness of feeling. The Dance of the Dead in the Dominican Monastery, on the other hand, is a work of the fifteenth century, belonging, indeed, as its artistic execution would lead us to suppose, to the end of it, for the oft-repeated tradition that it owed its origin to the plague which was raging in 1439, during the Council of Basle, is to be traced to no certain information. Probably the Klingenthal picture was originally the famous one. The Dominicans, who exercised spiritual supervision over the nuns in Klingenthal, must have found that such a representation would have done better service to their own monastery, where it could be more accessible than in the secluded convent, and could be daily seen by all. They ordered, therefore, a transfer of the Klingenthal painting, that is, they gave not merely a representation of the same subject, but they borrowed from the older model, as far as concerned the succession of the couples, in which only a few deviations took place, the arrangement of the separate scenes, and even many of the ideas, both in the action and in the movements.

Nevertheless, the entire difference of the age is exhibited. Everywhere appear bold and humorous fancies, of which there is no idea in the other, and especially the figures of the dead show the greatest boldness and activity in their positions and gestures.

[1] At Besançon. Cf. Carpentier zu Ducange, "Glossarium Machabæorum Chorea."

[2] This statement must, however, be received with caution.

It is also a significant fact, that the verses inserted below are not, as in the Klingenthal picture, the original, but a mere addition to the figures to which they are adapted, and which in many places they attempt to explain.[1]

Since this period, since the end of the fifteenth century, almost all the artists of Germany have been occupied with similar phantasies of death, which they depict in woodcuts and engravings, in drawings and panel pictures. They no longer bound themselves to the limited framework of the dance, but instead of that primitive form of drama, they have delighted in introducing separate and richly developed dramatic scenes. Infinite is the wealth of imagination, of profound and spirited ideas, revealed in these pictures.

The greatest designer among German artists, namely Albert Dürer, here also stands foremost. A woodcut belonging to his earliest period (1497) exhibits three horsemen, surprised in a desolate ravine by three skeletons, and the desperate contest that ensues.[2] Still older is the etching of the powerful old man, Death, drawing a young woman into his arms, an idea which Dürer has subsequently repeated in one of his most perfect engravings, the coat of arms with the Death's head. One of the best known engravings of his early life is the Walk. A young couple, in elegant attire, are walking in a pleasant landscape. They are engaged in conversation, and the cavalier is attentively listening to the lady, whom he is tenderly embracing; yet sad forebodings seem to overcome him, and this with reason, for Death is lurking behind a tree. Lastly, one of Dürer's grandest creations is the engraving of the Armed Knight, going steadily and directly on his way, not misled by Death and the Devil, who have joined themselves with him. Death with his crown entwined with serpents is here again conceived in the grand style of the early Middle Ages, and there is a touch of heathenism in his being represented on horseback, like the Valkyrie of the northern sagas.[3] This sheet, as well as that before mentioned,[4] designed by Dürer's master, Michael Wohlgemut, belongs to the few in which the reconciliatory element is combined with the fearful. Side by side with the power of unescapeable Death, the artist here also brought before us that spirit, which banishes the fear of these gloomy powers and overcomes Death.

Some remarkable pictures of Death are to be found among the drawings in the Basle Museum. Two sheets by Nicolaus Mänuel[5] exhibit Death interrupting the life of love. A cavalier and a maid are feasting and caressing in a landscape scene, when Death approaches them as a huntsman, directing his bow towards the man; he tries to conceal himself and knows not how;

[1] Cf. Massmann.—Wackernagel.

[2] In the Albertina at Vienna, and in the Museum at Stuttgart. V. Rettberg, "Anzeiger des Germanischen Museums," Nuremberg, 1855, p. 314, 1857, p. 80; Passavant, iii. p. 226 et seq.

[3] J. Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," p. 489.

[4] P. 86.

[5] Mappe, U. ix.

in vain the woman endeavours to protect him. The second sheet, which is unfinished, represents a couple walking familiarly together. Presently Death approaches and seizes the woman by her garment; her companion stares at him, lays hold of his shroud, and draws his sword, but his adversary raises against him a still stronger weapon, the bones of the dead. Urs Graf[1] depicts a merry company of soldiers at a meal; presently Death is discovered among the guests; he springs towards the one sitting last, and, thrusting his knee against his back, he speaks the words—

"Ich wett vch gern ein wil zu lossen
Was Ir rettend vnder disser Possen."[2]

(I would gladly listen for a while to what you are saying amid your jests).

The most famous woodcut of Urs Graf, this genuine painter of Swiss military life, exhibits two rough soldiers in conversation with a girl of doubtful character, while Death is lurking above them on the tree. Soldiers and maidens are also joined with Death in a woodcut by Hans Scheuffelin, in which Death appears in splendid military attire, as though he were also a soldier, and a scythe on his shoulder. Death and the Soldier appear also in a title-page designed by Ambrosius Holbein. Fortune, a naked female figure on a fiery steed, with the drinking-cup in her hand, is springing towards the warrior, but at the same moment the arrow of Death, who is approaching behind, pierces his breast.[3]

Dürer's idea of Death, as embracing a young woman and plucking off the richest blossom of her beauty, appears also among other artists, frequently, for instance, in the works of his pupil, Hans Sebald Beham. We have copper-plate engravings by him, in which winged Death is embracing a standing female figure, or is climbing on the couch by the side of the beautiful woman reclining there. Two corresponding sheets are especially worthy of attention. A beautiful woman, with flowers in her hands, is walking in a garden, while a lover in a fool's cap is embracing her and looking in her countenance. On the second sheet, the lady is walking just as before, and again a lover joins her; but this time the Death's head is grinning at her from under the fool's cap. Here, as on the two first sheets, stand the words, "Omnem in homine venustatem mors abolet." (Death takes away all beauty from man). Similar in purport are two beautiful paintings by Hans Baldung Grien in the Basle Museum.[4] Each exhibits a naked female figure in the full bloom of youth. The first is embraced by Death, who seeks to kiss her with his grinning skull; he is seizing the second by her hair, and is dragging her to an open grave.

[1] Mappe, U. ix. [2] Wett wollte, lossen lauschen, rettend redet.

[3] Ambrosius Holbein, No. 9. He is also probably the designer of a title-page depicting Death as a mower (No. 10). Both sheets are in Passavant under Hans Holbein's name (88, 89).

[4] Nos. 75, 76.

He is pointing towards it with his right hand, and above stand the words "Hie must du in" (Thou must go in here). Still more powerful is the effect of a composition by Manuel, on the back of his painting of Bathsheba.[1] The manner in which Death here seizes the maiden breathes at once both sensuality and horror. Nothing more bold was ever painted. On a column to the left is the statue of a Cupid, who is stabbing himself. It is a terrible reminder of that fearful sickness which spread over Europe like a scourge at the end of the fifteenth century, and which suddenly deterred all from sensual pleasure and from the enjoyments of love.

In portraits also the introduction of emblems of Death was usual. Thus, Lucas von Leyden, in his portrait, engraved by himself, is holding in one hand a death's head, and is pointing with the other hand to it in a most significant manner. The figure of Death with an hour-glass is frequently introduced behind the person depicted; among Holbein's works we shall later see a portrait of this kind, that namely of Sir Bryan Tuke. Hans Burgkmair introduced a mirror in his picture in the Vienna Belvedere, which contains his wife and himself, and in this mirror, instead of their faces, two death's heads are seen. By the side is the couplet—

"Solche Gestalt unser baider was,
Im spiegel aber nix dan das."

(This was the figure of us both; in the mirror, however, there is nothing but this).

Burgkmair besides this executed a chiaro-oscuro woodcut, which, with Manuel's painting and Dürer's "Knight, Death, and the Devil," holds the first rank among the pictures of Death which we have mentioned. Death is represented as throwing a knightly youth to the ground, placing his foot upon his breast, and strangling him with both his hands, while he seizes with his teeth the garment of a maiden fleeing by. There is here a wild passion and a boldness of movement such as Holbein alone exhibits in his pictures of Death. No work of Burgkmair's stands so high as this; none at the same time shows to such an extent his influence upon Holbein, his young fellow-countryman. Everything here breathes Italian Renaissance: the figures and attitudes are Italian, as well as the architecture of the surrounding scenery, which reminds of Venice, with its view of a canal on which a gondola is gliding. In the lofty irony, moreover, which pervades this sheet, it is the precursor of Holbein's famous compositions.

Far more inclining to irony than to pure humour is the comic element which appears, sometimes weaker and sometimes stronger, in the pictures of Death belonging to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. This comic element is not of such a kind that it softens the fearful and helps the

[1] Basle Museum, No. 42, painted in brown.

spectator to set aside the terrible, but it rather increases what is alarming and heightens the horrible.

This comic element plays its part in the entire art of the Middle Ages. It is ever linked with the serious and sublime, and nothing is so solemn that it is excluded. In the religious Mysteries the ludicrous takes its place by the side of the highest and the holiest. In the plastic art, in the stoneworks of ecclesiastical buildings, especially in the consoles and water-pipes, or in the edge ornaments and initials of manuscripts, and subsequently in printed works, a light and exuberant playfulness prevails, an inexhaustible humour, which delights in showering forth all the wealth of mediæval imagination. It is the reaction of the popular mind against the strict constraint of the ecclesiastical classes, against the onesidedness of mediæval Christianity, its asceticism, and its world-despising, supersensual bias. The fresh youthful power of the northern nations burst asunder these chains, and popular wit became the vehicle for natural feeling, thus contemned and repressed. So brightly and gushingly did it burst forth, that ecclesiastical severity could not curb it, but, obliged to make a compromise, it was compelled to award it a place in its own territory. Yet not always is this comic element playful, cheerful, and jovial; often there prevails also a touch of satire, especially directed against the Church and the clergy. Of this the animal fables are particularly full, and from these plastic art also borrowed designs, and did not shrink from introducing them into consecrated places. How delightfully, for instance, has Jean Trupin represented the fox in the monk's cowl preaching to the hens, in the choir-stalls of the cathedral at Amiens.

In the same manner a humorous and satirical element lies at the bottom of the representations of the Dance of Death. It was not that ascetic spirit alone which had originally called them forth, and had made them subservient to the purposes of ecclesiastical admonition, which thus secured for them such an important position in the art of many centuries, but it was that touch of humour and ridicule which was necessarily added, as springing from the truly popular mind.

Cuttingly as the transitoriness of all earthly things were exhibited, fearfully as the terrors of death were depicted, one thing may nevertheless have comforted popular feeling and reconciled it with death, namely, the thought that death equalizes all. To Death, the high are as good as the low, the rich are subject like the poor, the clergy can as little escape him as the laity. No earthly power can resist him, no treasures can purchase redemption, no youth nor beauty can soften him. Upon this Equaleza of Death, the wall-painting at Clusone places the main weight. And in the oft-mentioned book of the lament of the widower, Death says to him in self-justification: "Wir nymans adel schonen grosser kunst nicht achten,

keinerlei schon ansehen, gab, lieb, leides, alders, iugent, und allerlei sach nicht wegen, wir thun als die sunn die do scheint uber gut unde poss, wir nemen gut und poss in unsern gewalt." (We neither spare what is noble, nor do we esteem great art; we regard nothing beautiful; we weigh nothing, neither gifts, love, suffering, age, and youth; we do as the sun, who shines alike on the evil and the good—we take good and bad under our power.) In the bitterest irony is this idea expressed in the words which stood over the charnel-house in Little Basle at the beginning of the Dance of Death:—

"Hie richt got noch dem rechten,
Die herren ligen bi den knechten,
Nun mercket hie bi,
Welger her oder knecht gewesen si."

(By God's decree of equal right,
The king and peasant here unite;
Distinguish, therefore, if you can,
The high-born from the peasant man).

In the Dance of the Dead one is regarded as much as another. Regardless boldness is expressed in the manner in which Death, both in words and demeanour, meets the Pope, the Emperor, and the temporal and spiritual princes. Thus, the Dance of Death was essentially an expression of the democratic feelings at that time awakened, feelings which were revived especially in cities, and which established a new state of things in the place of the old and decayed relations.

Side by side with political satire we have seen religious satire, which became all the more lively, the more that dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical affairs gained the ascendency in the general feelings of the time. In the Dance of Death in Great Basle, it is already more strongly developed than in most preceding and contemporaneous pictures. Some years later, however, a production appeared in which freedom of opinion rose to annihilating scorn; we allude to the before-mentioned Dance of Death of Nicolaus Manuel at Berne. This work, which perished in 1660, and which is only preserved to us in some drawings taken of it, was executed for the cemetery of the Dominican monastery. This spot had been a few years before the theatre of events which more than anything else had spread the Reformation in Switzerland. It had been the scene of the transactions of Brother Hans Jezer, whose stupidity had been taken advantage of by the superiors of the Dominican monastery at Berne to make him a compulsory saint, to delude him by heavenly apparitions, and to produce Christ's wounds on his hands and feet. In the year 1509 this deception was unmasked, and the authors of it were brought to the stake. It was a kind of atonement when the inmates of this monastery gave the painter liberty to sit unsparingly in judgment on the disorders of the clergy. In this work, which was completed before 1522,[1] we see the germs of

[1] Grüneisen, p. 164 et seq.

that opposition which was first confirmed by the appearance of Luther and by Zwingli's teaching in Zurich. The satire in the picture itself, as well as in the inscription, is directed against the ecclesiastics who are opening the dance, apart from the laity. "Vff erdt scheint gross min heiligkeit, die torächt welt sich vor mir neigt" (My sanctity appears great on earth, the foolish world bends before me), is the Pope's answer to Death, who is tearing the triple crown from his head; and on the litter on which he is borne, the expulsion of the Money-changers from the Temple, and the Woman taken in Adultery before Christ, are depicted, the Pharisees and scribes appearing as bishops and monks. With especial vehemence, Death proceeds among a group of monks, whom he thus accosts:—

"Ir münchen mestend üch gar wol,
Ir steckend aller sünden vol,
Reissend wölff in eim schaffs kleid
Ir müessend mit dantzen wers üch leid."

(Ye monks with fatness rounded,
With sins besides unbounded,
Like raging wolves disguised as sheep
Ye must the dance together keep).

In this introduction of satire into ecclesiastical matters, Manuel's Dance of Death is the precursor of Holbein's Pictures of Death, the origin of which, both as regards time and place, is so nearly allied to it. We will now return to Holbein himself, after having seen how the subject of his principal work was conceived by others before him, and what part this subject played in the art of this as well as of the preceding epoch.

CHAPTER XV.

Holbein's Pictures of Death.—Death variously represented by him.—The end of the Righteous and the Godless.—The Dance of Death on the Scabbard.—The woodcut series of the Pictures of Death.—Relation to the views of the Middle Ages, and influence of other kinds.—Death as a skeleton.—Want of anatomical knowledge.—Period at which the pictures were executed.—Editions of Basle and Lyons.—Preface to the edition of 1538, its author, and its enigmatical passage.—Intentionally anonymous appearance.—Characterisation of the separate pictures.—Exposition and further course of the Drama.—Compositions added subsequently.—The two concluding sheets.—The group of children.—Initials with pictures of Death.—The pictures in relation with their age.—Ecclesiastical and Political Satires.—Holbein and Shakespeare.—Influence and dissemination of the work.—Its reception at home and abroad.

XYLOGRAPHY, wall-painting, and poetry had long usurped the representations of the Dance of Death. In Holbein's time it formed the most usual subject for artists, harmonising as it did with their imagination as well as with that of the people. For Hans Holbein, who lived in Basle, there was, however, a special and lasting incitement to it. He could daily have before his eyes the Dance of Death in the Dominican church there. Old and young were familiar with it, far and near it was known; the Basle Death was at that time almost proverbial, and appeared in popular songs.

Whether the older Klingenthal picture was to be seen in Holbein's time is not known. It was utterly forgotten, and was in a thoroughly ruined condition, when the baker, Emanuel Büchel, discovered it, and copied both works in the year 1773.[1] Subsequently the Klingenthal picture by degrees completely perished. The great Basle Dance of Death also existed only to the year 1815, and this in a very faded state. At this time the wall of the cemetery of the Dominican monastery which contained it was broken down by order of the Council, but on account of the great interest of the people in this public monument, this could only take place by night. The opposite row of houses are still designated as the Dance of Death. A few remnants of the great Basle picture are preserved in the gallery of mediæval art near the cathedral; for the rest copies must suffice, if we would form an idea of the

1 His coloured copies are to be found in the Basle Museum. Massmann's copy of the Basle Dances of Death is from these. The great Basle Dance of Death has been engraved in various editions by J. J. Merian, since 1621.

two creations, with regard to which modern times have been so unsparing. It was formerly current in Basle that Holbein was the artist of the great Basle Dance of Death, an error which has been fostered by the fact that repeated copies of his woodcut compositions have been published with the verses of the old wall-paintings under the title of the Dance of Death, painted in Basle. The matter is now regarded as settled, although sextons and cicerones at Basle are not wanting who point out the remains of the paintings in the mediæval collection to those who will credit them, as Holbein's works. We cannot hope for any enlightenment respecting the master of the work, who must certainly have been an able artist. And Holbein, if he did not execute it himself, yet received lively influence from it. The figures which he here saw filled his imagination, and not only their deep feeling impressed his mind, but many of their bold forms and movements stimulated him to similar creations. Wisely, indeed, he borrowed the idea of a figure of Death from them for his own work.[1]

Death appears in various forms in Hans Holbein's compositions. Two title-pages with representations of a similar character we cannot indeed impute to him, but to Ambrosius Holbein, and they have already been discussed.[2] On the other hand, a drawing by our master, although perhaps only a smaller sketch, formed the basis of a large woodcut, which is to be seen in the Albertine Gallery at Vienna, and in the ducal museum at Gotha.[3] The subject is the Death of the Sinner and the Death of the Righteous, a composition which calls to mind the pictures of the "Ars moriendi," which appeared in the fifteenth century, both in manuscript and woodcut impressions. In this work the temptations in the hour of death and the victory over them are represented; and by the deathbed, side by side with tempting devils, appear helping angels and Christ with his saints, upon whom the hope of the dying is directed.

The idea which these earlier representations afforded the painter is here, however, fully realized. Instead of one dying figure we see two, one of whom is passing into bliss, while the other is delivered to destruction. Above, Christ as judge is enthroned on the terrestrial sphere, and at the sides, in six medallions, are works of mercy; beneath, on clouds, are two angels with trumpets. Below, at the right of the Saviour, the dying righteous man is lying in his bed, surrounded by Love, Faith, and Hope, who are consoling him. The latter is looking up full of confidence to an angel who is separating the sheep from the goats; a second angel, holding the garland of thanksgiving, is bending over the bed. On the opposite side, the sinner is turning anxiously on his couch; the World—a beautiful figure, who, with Hope, is one of the

[1] Respecting Holbein's Pictures of Death, see, besides the works mentioned on p. 246, Massmann, "Text zu Schlotthauer's copien," and the additions to this in the "Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur," 1832, ii. Anzeigeblatt.

[2] Page 257.

[3] Passavant, 30.

best in the picture—is fleeing from him; at his head, Death[1] is standing with his hour-glass and badge, a standard with a death's head. The devil also is seizing the sinner's arm as he passes from earth amid flame and smoke.

Holbein also, just like Dürer in his pictures on the Revelation, makes Death appear rushing along with the three apocalyptic horsemen, trident in hand, dashing all the living to the ground. But he also devises scenes more in affinity with the true Dance of Death. A true dance only once appears in Holbein's works, and then on a small scale, consisting only of six pairs, sketched as an ornament for a scabbard. Two original drawings are existing: one is in the Beuth-Schinkel Museum at Berlin;[2] the second, from the opposite side, and thus probably an impression subsequently completed with Indian ink, is in the Basle Museum. Numerous old copies appear besides. Scabbards with the same composition were also roughly executed by a Swiss armourer. Of Holbein's numerous drawings for subjects of art-industry, this is one of the most beautiful and the most spirited, both as regards the drawing and design. What can be more ingenious than to decorate the fatal dagger with the picture of the almighty power of Death? The whole thing is wonderfully composed within the narrow, tapering space. The boldness and wild movement of the figures of the dead evidence the influence of the great Basle wall-painting, but they far surpass it; demon-like scorn is expressed in their grinning skulls and in every gesture. The first dead figure is grasping the hand of a noble young king, whose orb has fallen to the ground, and he is kicking it away with his foot; the second, who has twisted a veil round his head, is pulling away the queen and her dog, however much she may resist her unwelcome companion. The third is playing a military march on pipe and drum to a standard-bearer, and bidding him obey his word of command. The companion of the soldier, a girl with short petticoats, pouch, dagger, and plumed hat, is suddenly seized by a skeleton, so that the lute falls from her hand. Another, attired with a travelling hat and beggar's bag, and a broken two-handed sword in his hand, has seized the fat begging friar with his rattling box, and springs away with him so hastily that the fat old fellow cannot keep pace with him. The last is a sweet little boy whom the sixth dead figure is leading by the hand. This composition is a true dance, in which all are moving to the same quick time.

In a milder form these ideas upon death and transitoriness are expressed in a title-page[3] bearing the date MDXX., and which, in spite of its faulty execution, fully manifests Holbein's style in its composition. Below is a bubbling

[1] In the fable of the Gevatter Tod (Grimm, "Kindermärchen," No. 44), Death also stands at the head of the sick man's bed, if the sick is to be his prey; he stands on the contrary, at his feet, if the sick is to recover. Cf. also "D. Mythologie."

[2] Engraved in a masterly style by Otto. Photograph after the engraving in the author's Holbein Album. (Berlin-Schauer.)

[3] Passavant, 113.

spring, on the edge of which two little boys are sitting and blowing a horn. Round about them are children drawing water and playing. On the sides grow palm-trees, up which other boys are climbing. Above, however, an old man with bald head, and a woman, both unclothed and absorbed in sad reflection, are sitting beside a death's head. This representation, in its soft elegiac character, seems rather to recall the conceptions of antiquity than the mediæval delineations of Death.

From 1524, there appear in Basle editions, fragments of that initial series of pictures of Death, the complete proof impressions of which bear the signature of Hans Lützelburger, and which, in this small space—eleven lines square—exhibit to the utmost the delicacy and skill of this incomparable wood-engraver. They stand in the relation either of an abridgment or of a preparatory work to the famous woodcut series of Pictures of Death which have appeared in such numerous editions and have been so frequently copied, which treat the same subject more in detail, and on a somewhat larger scale, and are also cut by Hans Lützelburger, whose monogram, HL., appears on one of the sheets, namely, that of the Duchess. "So admirably," says Chatto,[1] "are these woodcuts executed, with so much feeling and perfect knowledge of that which the art of stamp-cutting can achieve, that I know of no wood-engraver of the present time who can surpass them. The manner of cutting is proportionally smooth. There are no difficult and unnecessary cross-hatchings, where the same effect could be obtained by simpler means; no ostentation of fine work only to show the artist's ability to cut delicate lines. Every line is expressive, and the artistic intention is throughout obtained with the simplest means. In this the genius and feeling of the stamp-cutter are especially exhibited. He does not lavish his time upon mere mechanical execution, which at the present day is often erroneously regarded as masterly skill. He endeavours to give expression to every character which comes before him; and when we consider the small extent of the cut, he seems to have done this with better success than any other wood-engraver either of the past or present." A part of this praise must, however, be referred to Holbein himself, who understood so fully how to suit his drawing to the nature of the art of engraving.

This series of woodcuts is generally known under the name of Holbein's Dance of Death. No denomination could in truth be more false, although it appeared in the Amerbach Inventory at the end of the sixteenth century. In the original editions, on the other hand, it never appears; the title here is: "Simulachres de la Mort," or "Imagines Mortis,"—Pictures of Death. This alone Holbein has in common with the old Dances of Death, that he introduces the different classes one after another. The separate scenes are, however, perfectly distinct; each sheet contains a perfect dramatic scene, in

[1] Treatise, pp. 389, 390.

which there are generally more personages introduced than the two principal figures.

Holbein grasps the fundamental idea far more grandly and profoundly. In the spirit of the old song, "Media vita in morte sumus," the artist shows how Death appears in the midst of life itself.[1] Not merely the enjoyment of earthly desires and delights are suddenly interrupted by him, as is represented in the wall-painting at Pisa, but each individual is seized by Death in the midst of his daily walk, and in the exercise of his vocation, each in the work which corresponds with his distinct position and character, each unexpectedly, be his position ever so brilliant or so poor, be his actions ever so good or so bad. These separate scenes are, however, combined with grandly poetic power into a whole, which in itself is systematically organized, ingeniously contrived, and effectively concluded. While Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, and Burgkmair, gave separate scenes in the sheets we have before described, Holbein depicts a perfect drama, which stands, nevertheless, in the same relation to his predecessors' Dances of Death, as a Shakesperian tragedy does to the religious dramas of the Middle Ages.

Thus the painter who of all Germans was the first to be imbued decidedly with the modern spirit, imparts to this genuinely mediæval idea a highly artistic form. But the conceptions of antiquity, so far as they were at that time known, and the influences of the humanistic tendency, which Holbein may have experienced, could scarcely have affected him otherwise. In Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, which exercised such great influence in Erasmus' circle, there is the same touch of irony. The same importance is here also laid upon the fact that death equalises all. The outward appearance of the dead in the lower world is so depicted, that they accord with the figures in the Dance of Death. "Thou could'st give no reason to the judge why thy skull should be more beautiful than mine," said Diogenes to Mausolus;[2] "both are bald and bare, both our teeth are grinning in the same way, and we have both empty holes instead of eyes and snub noses."

And when in another passage,[3] Menippus sees nothing but bones and bare skulls in the forms of the deceased, Holbein accords with him perfectly in this, for the painter acts in variance with his predecessors and contemporaries, and represents the figures of the dead as complete skeletons. We might indeed regard this as not exactly an excellence in his pictures. In the first place, Holbein's anatomical knowledge is of a very subordinate kind.[4] In this respect he stands under the influence of the Middle Ages, when the

[1] Wackernagel, p. 355. [2] Dialogues of the Dead, xxiv. [3] Ibid. xviii.

[4] See L. Choulant, "Geschichte und Bibliographie der anatomischen Abbildungen nach ihrer Beziehung auf anatomische Wissenchaft und bildende Kunst," Leipzig, R. Weigel, 1852; Dr. Davidson, "Zur geschichte der anatomischen Abbildungen. Demonstrativer Vortrag." From the "Jahresber de Schles Ges." Breslau, 1861.

dissection of the body was regarded as forbidden. Much as he adopted Italian Renaissance, the anatomical knowledge which Leonardo had obtained was closed to him. The form of the skeleton rested with him upon no knowledge, it was entirely guessed at. Even the amount of medical science exhibited in the large woodcuts of anatomical illustrations which appeared in Strasburg in 1517 by Johann Schott, the first beginnings of real examination in the north,[1] are not turned to account. Often a similar formation is to be seen in the shoulder-blades and on the breast, the pelvis is wrongly formed, the joints are perfectly misunderstood, the shin-bone or the lower part of the arm exhibit only one bone, while the upper arm and the thigh are often allowed the luxury of a double bone. The Great Basle Dance of Death only presents one true skeleton, which approaches the physician with the words—

"Herr Doctor, b'schawt die Anatomey
An mir, ob sie recht g' machet sey. . . ."

(Doctor, look at my anatomy, and see if it be rightly made).

This skeleton is far more just than any in Holbein's woodcuts. It is indeed not to be ascertained whether this is wholly the merit of the original artist. Sotzmann[2] asserts that Holbein's deviations from osteological truth are only to be explained by artistic freedom, which adhered alone to what was absolutely necessary. This, however, is false. The manner in which the artist deals with the skeleton form neither tends to simplification nor to beauty. The want of perfection on this point only leads us the more to admire the sure and masterly power with which Holbein, without this help, knew how to adhere to the outward physical form. What command of observation does it not pre-suppose! Moreover, it is to be imagined that Holbein's scabbard design of the Dance of Death does not exhibit the faults and errors we have mentioned to an equal extent. From this we may infer that this sketch was executed subsequently, and that Holbein meanwhile had increased his anatomical knowledge. On the scabbard, the figure of Death is sometimes far removed from the skeleton, as in that which allures the soldier, and this appears to us far more fitting. The figures of Death are represented in the utmost motion; yet how should they be able to move, but by the help of muscles? Hence the ancients always justly bestowed muscles on the dead and on the spectres which represented them; for instance, in the pictures of dancing Lemures in the reliefs of a tomb at Cumæ:[3] and the artists of the Middle Ages did the same in the figures of their dances of the dead, and both have avoided the representation of the true skeleton. Holbein's skeletons have something demon-like in character, but in grand sublimity they do not

[1] Davidson, 215.

[2] "Deutsches Kunstblatt," 1852, p. 7.

[3] Von Olfer's "Ueber ein merkwürdiges Grab bei Kumæ" (Abhandl, "der Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlins phil. hist. Cl."), 1830, p. 30 et seq. See also Goethe, xxxi. pp. 390—396.

attain to the lean, bearded figure of Death with the indented crown, who has joined the armed horseman, in Dürer's engraving.

Before we pass to the characterisation of the separate sheets, we must take into consideration the question as to the period in which the Pictures of Death originated. The first dated edition appeared at Lyons in the year 1538, yet there is no doubt that the woodcuts had been printed in Basle long before. We possess impressions of the original plates on sheets printed only on one side, and with German inscriptions, which evidently were produced there, but it is not easy to decide respecting them, whether they were proof impressions or actual editions. Complete copies of this kind are in the Basle Museum, the Berlin Museum, and the British Museum, as well as in the Imperial Library at Paris. A fifth I have discovered in the Grand Ducal cabinet of engravings at Carlsruhe; they are impressions of incomparable distinctness and sharpness, in that beautiful black tint only obtained in Germany. They accord perfectly one with the other, their inscriptions are in a somewhat inclined Italian writing, and the number of sheets is forty. The edition of 1538 has one sheet more, viz., the Astrologer. The Paris copy is of especial interest, because it exhibits different arrangement to the later editions. After the fashion of many Dances of Death, for instance, in the Berlin and Berne wall-paintings, the spiritual and secular classes are divided. After the four introductory sheets, the ecclesiastics appear first, from the Pope to the Physician, who, according to old custom, was reckoned among the clergy. Then come the laity, from the Emperor to the old man, who seems to correspond with the cripple in the Great Basle Dance of Death; afterwards the women appear, from the Empress to the old woman; and lastly the child. Strangely enough, after this comes the sheet with the title, "Gebeyn aller menschen," which subsequently far more suitably was inserted before the Pope. The whole is concluded by "Dass Jüngst gericht" and "die wapen dess Thotsz." A similar arrangement, with but small deviation, is exhibited in the Berlin copy, the pictures of which are now separately mounted, but the first of every two woodcuts has an old number on the back, so that probably two pictures were placed on one sheet. The Paris Library possesses another Basle edition, which is different from the former, and of which we know no other copy. The back of the sheets is also not printed, but the series is incomplete, and nothing can be ascertained with regard to the old arrangement. The German inscriptions are printed with different characters, that is, in upright Gothic letters. Orthographical differences also appear in the names. The Last Judgment is here styled "Das letzst Urteyl Gottes," and over the arms of Death stands "Gedenck das end," which accords with the Bible passage placed over it in later editions, "Memorare novissima," &c. The Astrologer is in existence among these. From these two circumstances we gather that this edition appeared subsequently to the former.

All outward statements respecting the period of their origin are lacking. Earlier, untrustworthy authors speak of a Basle edition of the year 1530, and thus this year was for a time regarded as probable. But the state of feeling excited by the peasants' war—this we shall presently find confirmed—is plainly expressed in them. This would point to the years 1524 and 1525, and the initials with pictures of Death, which were certainly contemporary with them, first appear in print in the year 1524. When the danger had passed by Basle, and the wisdom of the Council and of the confederate ambassadors had appeased the riotous peasants, who had marched against the city on the 3rd of May, 1525, matters proceeded all the more wildly in the Basle bishopric, in the Breisgau, and in Alsace, and tidings of various horrors and bloodsheddings arrived from all parts of the empire. The following year also was rich in misery, and must have afforded the artist occasion to employ his gloomy fancies still further, for the plague raged from April till October, 1526.

That the drawings were at any rate completed before Holbein left Basle in the autumn of 1526, appears from a circumstance until now wholly unnoticed. The rich collection of the Dance of Death in the cabinet of engravings in the Berlin Museum, contains copies of twenty-three sheets of the woodcut series, in Indian-ink etchings on brown-coloured paper, of a circular form, about five inches in diameter. The copies are true, although enlarged, and are only so far different as resulted from the change of form. Coarse, but executed with understanding, they seem to be sketches for small glass paintings. They are made after originals, which appear in the first proof impressions, and it is also to be perceived that they are not executed after drawings but after the woodcuts themselves; otherwise they would be taken from the contrary side, and would scarcely bear Hans Lützelburger's monogram on the sheet of the Duchess. On the fourth sheet, that of the Emperor, the date, 1527, stands over the throne.

Eleven years later, contemporaneous with the pictures of the Old Testament, the first edition of the Pictures of Death were published in Lyons by the brothers Trechsel. There were forty-one sheets without any title above the separate pictures, but with inscriptions instead from the Latin Bible, and French verses by Gilles Corozet, which were translated into Latin for subsequent editions by Luther's brother-in-law, Georg Demmel or Aemylius. The succession of the sheets was different in 1538; the clergy were no longer separated from the laity, nor the men from the women. The Pope, as in the two Basle wall-pictures, is followed by the Emperor. In this succession, which is often highly ingenious in the combination of the sheets, we shall subsequently consider the separate pictures. The impressions in this edition do not exhibit the black tint of the Basle proof-sheets, but a paler colour; they are also executed with the utmost care, such as the delicate work demanded.

A long French preface precedes them, bearing the inscription: "A moult reverende Abbesse du religieux couuent S. Pierre de Lyon, Madame Johanne de Touszele, Salut duu vray Zele." The convent of Saint Pierre les Nonnains, of which Madame Johanne was appointed abbess, was an old and famous institution, the ladies of which at that time were known for their birth and wealth, and also for their want of cloisteral discipline and the opposition which they showed to the bishop.[1] The author of the preface did not, indeed, sign his name, but he indicated it sufficiently: it was Jean de Vauzelles,[2] one of the three famous brothers Vauzelles, who at that time played a great part in the literary life of Lyons.[3] "D'un vray zelle," was his usual device, which appears also in other writings; he also reminds the abbess at the beginning that, with the exception of her initial letter T, her surname and christian name are completely like his own.[4] Jean de Vauzelles was pastor of Saint Romain at Lyons and Prior of Montrottier; he is well known as a poet and scholar, and as the author as well as the translator of religious writings.

His dedication has caused much difficulty to the authors who have been interested in the Pictures of Death, on account of the following passage: "Donc retournant a noz figurées faces de Mort, tresgrandement vient a regreter la mort de celluy, qui nous en a icy imaginé si elegantes figures, auançantes autant toutes les patronées iusques icy, comme les paincture de Apelles ou de Zeusis surmontent les modernes." "For," to continue in English, "his Pictures of Death, with their solemn descriptions in rhyme, inspire spectators with such admiration, that they fancy they see the dead as living, and the living as dead before them. Hence it seems to me that Death has feared that this excellent painter might depict him in so life-like a manner that he would be no longer feared as Death, and that thus the artist would make himself immortal. He therefore shortened his days so much that he could not complete many other pictures which he had already sketched. Among others, the picture of the driver thrown down and crushed under his shattered carriage. The wheels and the horses were so fearfully overturned, that it was as terrible to see their fall as it was delightful to observe the eagerness of Death, who was sucking the wine through a small tube from

[1] "Histoire de la ville de Lyon Ancienne et Moderne," par le R. P. Jean de Saint Aubin, de la Compagnie de Jésus, Lyon, 1666, pp. 211, 349. Monfalcon, i. p. 6.

[2] First perceived by Langlois, ii. p. 89. Cf. also Amb. Firmin Didot, 54 et seq.

[3] Breghot du Lut et Péricaud aîné, "Biographie Lyonnaise," Paris et Lyon, 1839, p. 308; Pernetti, "Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la ville de Lyon," 1757; Le P. de Colonia, de la Compagnie de Jésus, "Histoire littéraire de la ville de Lyon," 1730.

[4] "Lequel bon JESUS non sans divine prouidence vous a baptisée de nom et surnom au mien unisonantement consonant, excepté en la seule lettre de T. lettre, par fatal secret, capitale de votre surnom: pour autant que c'est ce caractère de thau, tant célèbre chez les Hébreux et vers les Latins, pris à triste mort. . . ."

a staved cask.[1] To these uncompleted representations no one has ventured to put a finishing touch—just as little as any one would venture to touch the incomparable rainbow in the heavens[2]—on account of the bold drawing, perspective, and shading, which are so pleasingly carried out in this masterly production, that they inspire us with a feeling of joyful melancholy, and of melancholy joy, sorrowful and yet charming."[3]

This passage cannot refer to Holbein, the designer, who was at that time alive; there is no doubt that it alludes to the engraver, Hans Lützelburger. That he had died shortly before is probable, from the fact that the other pictures mentioned by Vauzelles, which were left behind unfinished and which only appeared in subsequent editions, betray indeed the hand of another engraver of less importance. Indeed, the very passage taken by most authors in the modern sense, and hence misunderstood, "la mort de celluy, qui nous en a icy imaginé si elegantes figures," refers expressly to the wood-engraver. There is no mention here of him who designed the pictures. "Imaginé," Latin "imaginatus," has the same meaning as "sculptus"; just as "ymaginier" is the same as "tailleur d'images," and "sculptor" the common Latin expression for stone-cutter or for engraver.[4]

But still, all difficulties are not set aside. The deceased, whose name he forbears to mention, is called by Vauzelles "painctre;" that the painter who designed the picture is another person and still alive is intimated by no single word.[5] Was the author so ignorant, as it has been asserted, that he knew nothing of Holbein, and blended the engraver with the painter in an unknown greatness? Could this be thought possible, which is scarcely conceivable in such a man as Vauzelles, still the publishers could not have let it pass, who had received pictures from the Bible and pictures of Death from the same

[1] Here the learned author has seen erroneously. Death is turning the tap of the cask.

[2] Vauzelles is speaking of the real rainbow, and does not refer, as many have imagined, to an unfinished work.

[3] "Car ses histoires funèbres auec leurs descriptions seuerement rithmées, aux aduisans donnent telle admiration, qu'ilz en jugent les morts y apparoistre tres viuement, et les vifs tresmortement representer. Qui me faict penser, que la Mort craignant que ce excellent painctre ne la paignist tant vifue, qu'elle ne fut plus crainte pour mort, et que pour celà luy mesme n'en deuint immortel, que a ceste cause elle luy accelera si fort ses iours, qu'il ne peult paracheuer plusieurs aultres figures ià par luz trassées. Mesme celle du charretier froissé, et espaulti soulez son ruyée-charriot. Les roes et Chevaulx duquel sont là si espouentablement trebuchez, qu'il y à autant d'horreur a veoir la precipitation, que de grace a contempler la friandise d'une Mort, qui furtivement succe auec vng chalumeau le vin du tonneau effondré. Ausquelles imparfaictes histoires comme a l'inimitable au celeste appellé Iris, nul n'a ose imposer l'extreme main, par les audacieux traictz, perspectiues, et vmbraiges en ce chef-d'œuure comprises et là tant gracieusement déliniées, que lon y peut prendre une delectable tristesse, et vne triste delectation, comme en chose tristement ioyeuse."

[4] Ducange, "Glossarium mediæ et inf. Latin," "Ymaginatus;" "Glossaire français," "Ymaginé." See M. Ambroise Firmin Didot, p. 57.

[5] Which is the main reason with Fr. Douce for contesting their execution by Holbein.

source, and who were publishing the former at the same time with Holbein's name, as Nicolaus Bourbon's Latin verses testify. Why was not a similar course pursued with the pictures of Death? It would have set the matter at rest. The new edition of Bourbon's "Nugæ," which appeared in the same year 1538, at Lyons, contained also the following epigram:—

"De morte picta a Hanso pictore nobili:
Dum mortis Hansus pictor imaginem exprimit,
Tanta arte mortem rettulit, ut mors vivere
Videatur ipsa; et ipse se immortalibus
Parem Diis fecerit operis huius gloria."

Do not these verses seem as if made to precede the Pictures of Death? And they were certainly written for no other object; when they were omitted, their point was at any rate conveyed to the preface; the allusion "ut mors vivere videatur ipsa," &c., may be justly recognized in the words, "la mort craignant que ce excellent painctre ne la paignist tant vifue, qu' elle ne fut plus crainte pour mort, et que pour celà luy mesme n'en deuint immortel."

Only intentionally can Holbein's name have been here suppressed, and the reason for this is not difficult to perceive.[1] It lies in the original satirical character of the pictures, with which we shall presently become acquainted. Holbein's interest, like that of the publisher, rendered it desirable that they should appear anonymously. In Lyons, every movement towards the Reformation was zealously opposed by the bishop and the authorities, and the bloody edict against heretics issued by Francis I. was put in force.[2] Many of these pictures of Death, however, especially sheets such as the Pope or the Nun, might have given offence to the strict Catholic party. This might have been all the more serious, had the book appeared with the name of Holbein, who was at that time residing at the Court of the Protestant King of England, and was a citizen of Basle, belonging to Switzerland, from whence the new doctrines emanated. He was, therefore, not mentioned, and the death of the engraver was employed in a manner which would evidently put the public on a false track. And still more, a highly esteemed ecclesiastic and orthodox writer was engaged to draw up the preface, and the abbess of an esteemed convent, standing immediately under papal authority,[3] accepted the dedication. If they found no offence in it, others would have no pretext for doing so either. Holbein also may for his own sake have used some precaution. At the same time in England, after the death of the queen, Jane Seymour, a religious reaction had begun in that country and had clipped the wings of true Protestant freedom of speech.

"The Emperor who has reigned unconquered, over the living since the beginning of the world,"[4]—such is Death styled by Vauzelles in his preface.

[1] Cf. Chatto, "Treatise," p. 439. [2] Montfalcon, ii. p. 660 et seq. [3] Ibid., i. p. 612.
[4] "L'impératrice sur tous viuans invictissime dès le commencement du monde regnante."

The idea of the artist was hovering before him, for Holbein begins his grand drama of pictures with the beginning of the world. The first four sheets, those which, though less suitably, are introduced also among the pictures of the Old Testament, form a kind of exposition. Death is the reward of sin. Hence, the painter of the great Basle Dance of Death introduced a representation of the Fall of Man at the conclusion. Manuel borrowed the idea from him, but more suitably placed the Fall of Man at the beginning. He was followed by Holbein, who, however, carried out the idea far more fully. He begins with the Creation of Eve, a composition which seems as if taken from that picture at the beginning of Adam Petri's Old Testament, although it is not so beautiful. Then follows the Fall of Man; the serpent as usual with a human head; Eve is sitting, and Adam is gathering the fruit of the tree; all sorts of animals are round about. When after this the angel is expelling the guilty ones from Paradise, Death springs towards them, and makes music upon his lyre at their flight. Adam now appears working with the sweat of his brow; in the distance his wife is sitting half-naked, with her spinning-wheel, and suckling her child. He himself is rooting up a tree, and Death at his side imitating him is digging the ground. (See illus.) The action itself is opened by the sheet, "Gebein aller Menschen," (bones of all men). In both the Basle paintings and in the Bernese wall-paintings, Holbein has placed the skeletons who are making music for the Dance, in front of the charnel-house. Horrible forms, partly covered with grave-clothes, and with women's caps or tall felt-hats, are striking up the concluding dance, with kettle-drums, trumpets, and barrel-organs. Death knows how he can best touch every man. He seizes the Pope at the height of his presumption, as he is placing the crown on the head of the emperor who, kneeling before him, is kissing his foot. Thus had Death shortly before the designing of this sheet, snatched away Leo X., who, a few years before, had had himself painted in Raphael's "Stanzen," as placing the imperial crown on the head of the French king, Francis I., under the figure of Leo III. crowning Charlemagne. A group of noble ecclesiastics are standing at the left of the throne; in front is a proud, worldly-looking Cardinal, and behind him a skeleton, who, equipped with hat and cross, is scoffingly imitating his

demeanour. The figure of a siren is at the back of the papal chair, and behind the magnificent baldachin, there lurks a devil, ready to receive the soul of the High Priest, while a second devil holding a bull with five seals is hovering over the ecclesiastics. The boldness of the satire here went so far, that subsequently it was guarded against. The Cologne copies omitted the devils; the Venetian copies contained them, it is true, at first, but afterwards they were cut out and the wood-block was patched up; this is plainly to be seen in the prints.[1]

The Emperor on the other hand is in the midst of his affairs as his end approaches. He too is enthroned in his royal robes, surrounded by his counsellors, but he is exercising his high office in the most estimable manner. The poor, common man—a delightful figure!—is kneeling before him, and presenting his complaint to him, and the monarch is turning angrily towards the noble oppressor, who in vain is seeking to excuse himself.[2] The patriotic feeling of the artist has led him to depict in the Emperor with his aged bearing, his sword, the point of which is broken, and the golden fleece, the Emperor Maximilian,[3] that popular ruler, who was so present to his own memory since his Augsburg life. The King, on the other hand, is represented as Francis I. of France; the features, especially the large, straight nose, the turn of the head, and the attire, in spite of the small space, are all true and characteristic; we are at once reminded of Titian's portrait of him in the Louvre. Fully unprepared, in the midst of vain and earthly enjoyment, the king is hastening to his destiny. In an open hall, under a baldachin ornamented with lilies, he is sitting at a richly spread table; Death however has crept in among the train of servants, and is filling his goblet.

Death is tearing his hat away from the Cardinal, who is sitting in a vine-arbour, giving forth a letter of indulgence. "Woe unto them which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him,"[4] is the inscription over him. The arm of the Empress, who is walking proudly with her ladies of honour in front of the palace, is grasped by a dead woman, enveloped in a shroud, as though it were a royal mantle, who leads her to the open grave, indicating to her that thither she must go. In the costume of a fool, who has the liberty of the court, Death is seizing the Queen by the hand, ready to spring away with her. In vain she shrieks aloud for terror, and in vain the cavalier, with desperate effort, tries to set her free.

This figure of Death in the jester's attire is one of the two which the painter has borrowed from the great Basle painting. Death is there depicted springing

[1] In Glissenti's "Discorsi morali," Venetia, MDCIX., where almost all the copies are inserted.

[2] That he hurls the point of his sword at his head, as Massmann asserts ("Text zu Schlotthauer's Copien," p. 77), I cannot see. What M. regards as the point is the hat of one of the bystanders.

[3] Hence the picture need not, as Massman thinks, have been designed during his life.

[4] Isaiah, v. 23.

away with the fool in a similar attire; Holbein's ironical mind has, however, applied it with far greater skill.

"I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad"[1] is inscribed over the sheet with the bishop. In a beautiful landscape with steep mountains, fortress and western sun, the skeleton is taking the arm of the aged Bishop in his own; and when the head shepherd is removed, the under shepherds—among them is a monk—are scattered with the sheep on all sides. The Duke, as he is advancing with his train, is accosted by a beggar woman and her son, and as he turns pitilessly away, a wreathed skeleton seizes him by the ermine. Next we see Death bounding away with the mitre and crosier of a fat abbot, and dragging him by his cowl after him. In vain the abbot resists and tries to throw his breviary at his head. "He shall die who had no discipline, and shall be taken in the abundance of his folly." With a wreath of sword lilies on his head, Death draws the Abbess by her scapulary from the convent gate after him, however anxiously she may still fold her hands with the rosary, and scream to the porteress for help.

The skeleton seizes the Nobleman by his mantle in order to dash him on the bier, he, however, undismayed, grasps his enemy by the throat and raises his sword, but he is not equal to such an adversary; with irresistible power Death meets him and holds him fast. The Prebendary, who with his worldly train of pages, jester, and falconer, is entering the church door, is joined by Death, who is showing to him by the hour-glass that his time is ebbed away. The Judge, a corpulent man with a common countenance, is sitting administering justice, but he leaves the poor man unnoticed, and is extending his opened hand to the rich man, who is feeling in his purse. Death is climbing up behind him, and is breaking the staff which he holds. In the street with its gabled houses, we find the advocate (Fürsprech, the word is still in use in Switzerland). In the distance there is a tattered and desperate man whom he has deprived of his property. A citizen is paying him his fee, and at the same time Death is standing by his side, and is throwing scornfully into his hand a few pieces of gold as the wages of sin, holding aloft at the same time the hour-glass which summons him away. A devil is whispering into the ear of the Counsellor, who, wholly absorbed in his transaction with a nobleman, paid no respect to the poor man, who is in vain laying his hand upon his shoulder and imploring a hearing. Yet Death, with hour-glass and spade, has thrown himself in his path; hitherto and no further can he go. Such a reminder as this may have been called forth by those days of excitement in May, 1525, in which the peasants brought their pressing grievances before the council of Basle, and peace or revolt depended on its decision.

In the church nave, a devotional multitude are assembled, men and women are flocking round the pulpit to hear the Word of God, and one also

[1] Matt. xxvi. 31.

who is enjoying his church slumber, is of course present. How skilfully is the Preacher propounding his doctrines, how thoroughly is his hypocrisy expressed in the features of his countenance and in the gestures of his hands! But there is a preacher, whose admonition is still more agitating in its effects. Attired in the stole, Death is standing behind the orator in the pulpit and is raising a jaw-bone in his hand, to strike him down, even before he has pronounced "amen." "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."[1] Across the street we see the Pastor going to carry the sacrament to a dying man, yet he, too, is a dying mortal; Death is going before him as his sacristan, with bell and lantern.

Of all the ecclesiastics, the pastor, therefore, is almost alone spared satire. The village pastors, as well as the lower clergy in the cities, who enjoyed fewer external privileges and had most ecclesiastical duties, and who were moreover, especially injured by the monks, showed themselves particularly accessible to the Reformation.[2] All the worse did it fare with the Monk; just as his box and his begging-bag are filled, the skeleton holds him fast by his cowl with wild scorn, and the inscription speaks of those who "sit in darkness and in the shadow of death."[3] Even long before the dawn of the Reformation, scorn was vehemently excited against the begging friars. In the "Doten dantz mit figuren," in the second half of the fifteenth century, the good and the bad monk were distinguished, and the latter is placed immediately behind the thief. Holbein shows us the young Nun in her cell, kneeling with the rosary at the altar, and yet at the same time listening to the lute of her lover, who is sitting on her bed; but behind her a horrible dead woman is standing and extinguishing the taper. "There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death."[4] More welcome is Death to the old woman, who, praying with her bone rosary, is dragging along laboriously on her crutch; rejoicing and crowned with a garland, he takes her arm, as though he would lead her to the Dance, and another skeleton passes before them making music.

The Physician is sitting at the desk in his study when Death brings to him a failing invalid. The doctor looks at him hopelessly, and that he gives him no consolatory answer is plainly expressed in the features of both. But Death grins at him scornfully; "Physician, heal thyself!"[5] he seems to be saying to him, "thou art mine just as surely as he is." This sheet is not only admirable from the speaking character of the heads and hands, but also from the execution of the accessory parts, the round window panes in lead frames, the books and bottles on the shelf, and the dog reposing in the foreground. Equally high stands the following sheet from its beautiful architecture and

[1] Isaiah v. 20. [2] C. Hagen, ii. 165 et seq. [3] Psalm cvii.
[4] Prov. xiv. 12. [5] Luke iv. 23.

rich Renaissance furniture. The Astrologer is sitting in his magnificent apartment, absorbed in the study of the celestial globe; presently Death comes and holds a skull before his eyes as a subject which is also worthy of his contemplation. "Knowest thou it, because thou wast then born, or because the number of thy days is great?"[1]

The Rich Man, whom we find among chests and bags of gold in a strong vault with a doubly barred window, is joined at his pay-table by Death, who thrusts his hand into the heaps of money. The rich man lamentingly raises his hands, for to rob him of his mammon and of his life is the same thing to him. "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee, then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?"[2] The Merchant has escaped the dangers of the sea, he is occupied in the port with his valuable goods and disembarked bales, when Death seizes the unforeboding man by the head, and pulls him away by his clothes. As the third of this triumvirate in pursuit of perishable goods, the miser and the merchant are followed by the mariner, who appears in none of the earlier Dances of Death, and whose introduction arises from the inclination at this time for voyages and journeys of discovery. The vessel is in the utmost danger, some of the crew are wringing their hands in despair, others are on the point of throwing themselves into the sea, the clouds are driving, the waves are dashing over the ship, the sail is torn by the storm, and Death has gone on board, and is cracking the mast.

Der Ritter.

Attired in cuirass and coat of mail, Death meets the armed Knight, and runs his lance through his body, just as he raises his sword in defence. In a peasant's smock—with the threshing flail on the ground before him—Death pursues the proud old Count and raises his heraldic shield to hurl it at his head. Yet as a friendly companion he leads the poor old man to his grave strumming a tune to him on the dulcimer. The young Countess, to whom the waiting-maid is just giving her splendid upper garment, is assisted at her toilet by Death, who adorns her with a necklace of dead men's bones. The nobleman's wife is leaning happily on her husband's arm, and vowing to him, "Nought but death part thee and me!"[3] Death, however, is already dancing before them, beating the drum, ready to take her at her word.

This figure of the skeleton is the second which Holbein has borrowed from

[1] Job xxxviii. 21. [2] Luke xii. 20. [3] Ruth i. 17.

the wall painting of the Dominican Monastery, but he has applied it with far more spirit. It was depicted there as springing before the hermit, and raising two bones as drumsticks, but instead of the tambourine, a lantern was fastened before him.

In her bed the Duchess is surprised, one skeleton is pulling her garment, while a second is playing the fiddle—a fearful awakening! On the desolate highway the Trader is proceeding with his well-laden wicker basket, his sword at his side, his dog following him, when something twitches his sleeve. "Stop me not, my journey is long," he seems about to say; but he who seizes him is Death. And a second spectre, playing merrily on a stringed instrument, springs beside him. In a pleasant scene, where village and hill are lighted up by the declining sun, Death meets the farmer at the plough and drives his horses. The poor woman, who is cooking her scanty meal in her ruined cottage, is robbed by Death of her youngest child. "Man that is born of a woman," says the inscription, "is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down; he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not."[1]

As in the proof impressions, this sheet was also in the first Lyons edition —the last of the true pictures of Death which preceded the two concluding sheets. After the year 1545, some pictures subsequently completed were added, the existence of which had been already intimated by Vauzelles.

The Soldier on the battle field is raising his two handed sword and is fighting with Death, who attacks him with a bone. They are standing upon corpses, and far over the hills, a second dead figure, beating a flourish of drums, is leading new hosts of men to their fate. Next follows the Gamesters; the first has won and is pocketing his money, the second has lost and is uttering imprecations, then comes the devil whom he has called, who seizes the third by his hair, and on the other side Death appears among them, strangles his victim, and calls to the devil. Next comes the Drunkard; men and women are sitting at a disorderly carouse; down the throat of one of them, a bloated fellow, Death is pouring a cup of wine. Among these subsequently added pictures, we also find that of the Fool, who formerly played so conspicuous a

[1] Job xiv. 1.

part in the dances represented by living personages.[1] As these were now no longer acted, the episode of Death's contest with the fool had been preserved by itself, and appeared as a pantomimic representation in popular merry-makings. We know that this custom was in force in England up to the last century; the efforts and subterfuges of the fool to escape Death, who yet at length became his master, formed the subject. Of representations of this kind Shakespeare was thinking in those verses in Measure for Measure:[2]

> . . Merely thou art Death's fool;
> For him thou labourest by thy flight to shun,
> And yet runst towards him still. . . ."

In Holbein's picture also, the fool is foolish enough to think that he can escape Death. He springs aside, endeavours to deceive him by his movements, and raises a club to give his adversary a blow unawares. And the latter seems to enter into his game; he jumps about by his side, playing the bag-pipes, but unobserved he has seized him by his garment, not to quit his hold again.

Then follows the Robber, who appears with the Gamester in "Doten dantz mit figuren," while the Drunkard is Holbein's own idea. He falls upon the market-woman in the wood, and tries to snatch from her the basket which she is carrying on her head, but already a stronger one, namely Death, has seized him by the collar. Then comes the Blind Man, to whom Death acts as a treacherous leader, dragging him forward over hedge and ditch. After this we find a perfectly new episode, the Driver, a picture which Lützelburger, according to Vauzelles' statement, left unfinished. The waggon laden with wine-casks is overthrown on the mountainous path. The second horse has fallen, while the first is still trotting forward, the axle is broken, one skeleton is running away with a wheel, while a second is clambering up behind and turning the tap of a cask. The carman is standing beside lamenting and wringing his hands, and looking at this picture of destruction. In the next moment, however, he is himself entangled in the general ruin.

The whole design is concluded by a bold design of the Sick and Miserable. An outcast from houses, avoided by his fellow men, he is sitting on the straw, imploring Death to come to him, yet he too remains aloof from him. Scorn cannot be more fearfully pointed than here. It is an echo of the legend of the wandering Jew. There were other traditions of a similar purport in Holbein's time. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a story was extant at Lübeck[3] of a rich old merchant who loved the world so much that he never thought of dying; wife, children, friends died, and each time Death came and asked him whether he had not a desire to depart, but he would not. Yet as

[1] "Sur le personage du fou," Langlois, i. pp. 259—261. [2] Act iii. sc. 1.
[3] Dr. Ernst Deecke, "Lübeckische Geschichten und Sagen," Lübeck, 1852, p. 272. "Steinalt."

he grew ever older and thinner and at length became a laughing stock, he sighed for Death, but Death came not. Weary of life, he tried at midnight to enter the Marienkirche, in order to seek for Death, where he was painted on the wall, but he only got as far as the first roof of the church, and remained sitting there until he turned to stone. In the Triumph of Death at Pisa, we also see cripples and beggars imploring Death in vain for deliverance. And similar ideas of Death, not deigning to come to those who call, appear even in antiquity; perhaps Holbein had heard somewhat of these through his learned Basle friends, even if he knew nothing of that fragment of Æschylus, which is put in the lips of Philoctetes:

ὦ Θάνατε παίαν, μή μ' ἀτιμάσῃς μολεῖν
μόνος γὰρ εἶ σὺ τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν
ἰατρὸς ἄλγος δ' οὐδὲν ἅπτεται νεκροῦ.

(Saviour Death, despise me not, pass not by! Thou alone art the physician of insufferable evil; no woe attacks the dead.)

Two new pictures of Death appear in Jean Frellon's edition of 1562, therefore nineteen years after Holbein's death. Nevertheless they are both certainly designed by him, as is evidenced by the whole character, drawing, and costume. Holbein must certainly have drawn them on wood in Basle at a much earlier period; they probably even belong to the very first sheets, for they exhibit the influence of the older pictures of the Dance of Death far more distinctly than the other sheets. Holbein, however, may have repressed them at that time, because their mild and melancholy character did not suit the bold passion and rude irony of the other pictures.[1] These woodcuts contain the young Bride and Bridegroom. She is adorned with the bridal crown and is rubbing her weeping eyes, as Death takes her by the hand; a wedding lute-player is passing by. Her husband is laying his hand on his heart and is touchingly imploring the skeleton, who is bearing him away, for a little respite. It reminds us of the enamoured Protesilaus in Lucian,[2] who demands of Pluto a short return to his young wife, whom he left in the bridal chamber immediately after marriage. The French "Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes" also affords specimens of the same thing in "L'Amoureux," and "la jeune Mariée." The bride wears a dress with narrow fluted folds, a Swiss attire, which often appears in Holbein's works, for instance, in the dress of the Meier Madonna; and it is still preserved in many cantons. The close fitting attire of the musician reminds us of the fifteenth century, and may have been a costume which, in spite of altered fashions, was preserved at these festal occasions. The bridegroom is dressed like the lover in the woodcut of the Nun, which we have before mentioned. The figure of Death leading him away, reminds us of the same figure in the picture of the

[1] A similar opinion is entertained by R. Weigel, "Kunstlager-Katalog," No. 20256.
[2] "Dialogues of the Dead," 23.

Knight in the Dominican Monastery. The tatters which are there hanging about his leg, seem to have given Holbein the idea of the danced out boots, in which Death here appears at the wedding.

In all the editions, even in the first Basle impressions, two sheets form the conclusion. After all these pictures of horror, the artist produces a feeling of peace and reconciliation in the sheet of the Last Judgment, which contains the promise of a new life and a better world to come. Christ, as judge, is enthroned in heavenly glory on the rainbow, the world is the footstool on which His feet rest. Catholic traditions, such as the intercessors St. John and the Virgin, are omitted. Below, the risen men and women are standing in a circle, all raising their hands in praise to God. There are here only the elect; there seem to be no rejected and condemned,—a touch of that modern humanity which goes far beyond the limits of Protestant teaching, indeed far beyond the ideas of the age. A mantle is thrown over the lap of Christ. The saints in heaven, like the risen on earth, are perfectly unclothed. "Spirits have no wardrobe," Holbein must have thought, as well as Michael Angelo, and this a long time previous to the Last Judgment in the Sistina.

The whole is concluded by the Arms of Death. Among the mediæval representations of Death there belongs also one which regards him as the great chief of an army, and thus a field badge is awarded to him. The German poets often allude to the devices of death.[1] A standard with his field-badge was assigned to Death by Holbein himself in the large woodcut of the "End of the Righteous and Ungodly."[2] The arms of Death had been represented by many German artists, among others Dürer had depicted them in one of his finest engravings, of which we have before spoken.[3] Holbein arranged his arms of Death after the fashion of the coats of arms for glass-painting, which he was accustomed to design. The divided shield contains a death's head, through the teeth of which a snake is coiling, the ornament of the helmet is formed by an hour-glass between a pair of dead arms, which are raising a stone, as if to say that over every man's head such a stone is hovering, and may at any moment fall crushingly down. At the sides stand a man and woman in Swiss attire, he with a large plumed hat, and she with feathers in her hair, and a heavy chain round her bare neck. Holbein has here evidently depicted himself and his wife. It is entirely in the spirit of the age that the artist should in this manner assign himself a place in a larger work. And just as he adopted in his pictures of Death, otherwise so different in character, the beginning of the dance and the charnel house from the great Basle Dance of Death, so he may also have retained a similarity with the conclusion of this dance, exhibiting as it does at last the painter's wife and the painter himself struck with Death. In the copies of the wall-painting, we find, indeed, Hans Hug Kluber, who restored it in the year 1568, but though

[1] Grimm, "D. Mythologie," p. 492. [2] P. 263. [3] P. 256.

he may have also liked to introduce his costume and his features into the painting and his name into the inscription, still in all probability the idea was an old one, and had impelled Manuel also, when he placed his portrait at the end of the Bernese Dance of Death. The figures of the woodcut are, indeed, too small, for any similarity to be traced with certainty to the authentic portraits of Holbein and his wife. Still we imagine that in the woman with the large nose and strong neck, we can see the mother in the painting of Holbein's family at Basle, only somewhat younger and less carelessly attired. The manner of wrinkling the brow, and the prominent under lip, also remind us of Holbein's youthful portrait with the red cap. Only in the meanwhile his beard is grown, and the smooth hair has become frizzled, as was the fashion at that time, and as we find it, for instance, also in Dürer's portraits. It is only when we perceive the painter and his wife in these figures, that we can understand the true purport of the sheet. Both are supporting themselves with one hand upon the helmet of the arms, the painter is looking out of the picture; he seems to speak, he seems calling the spectator back once more to that which he had preached to him in these pictures, the lively gesture of his hand forcibly seconds his exhortation, and the sad reflective expression of his wife shows the effect which this exhortation has produced. "Gedenk des end" (Remember the end), "Memorare novissima," stands over it, as we have seen, in subsequent editions.

The edition of 1545, which increased the original pictures of Death by eight new ones, added, besides these, four other sheets of a similar form, depicting children at play; these sheets were inserted before the Last Judgment. They contain a boy, with shield and arrow, running, three boys going to the chase, four children with garlands of vine leaves, carrying a fifth who has become intoxicated, and three children dragging along trophies and splendid vessels. Three richer groups of a similar character were added to the edition of 1562. A boy carried in triumph on a litter by many others, a boy on horseback with a waving standard, surrounded by other boys carrying arms or holding the bridle of the horse. Lastly, separated from the rest, between the preface and the text of the annexed paper, Médecine de l'ame, there is a sheet with several children making music on various instruments. The charming little horn-blower in front reminds us distinctly of similar figures in Holbein's organ panels. Unfortunately all the woodcuts, first appearing in the edition of 1562, are rather carelessly printed.

There is no doubt that these pictures of children were likewise designed by Holbein. They accord entirely with the splendid boys in the subsequent illustration of this book, with the sketch for the clock executed in the later years of Holbein's life, and they exhibit a grace and beauty of form and movement, which is only to be equalled in Raphael's drawings of children.[1]

1 Mr. Wornum expresses the same opinion, p. 181. The accordance with drawings of a similar purport by Raphael is indeed striking.

But why are these pleasing representations introduced among the pictures? Whether they were inserted with Holbein's will and intention, cannot be ascertained, as they first appear in an edition published two years after his death. Perhaps they were intended for a different destination, and had no connection with the pictures of Death, which is probable, in spite of their correspondence of form, from the fact that their framework consists of a simple line, and not of a double one, like these. The publishers may have had the drawings in their possession, and knowing nothing further of their destination, they may have added them after Holbein's death to the pictures of Death. The French poet added some morosely ascetic verses, Biblical passages of a similar purport were sought out, and these charming representations were regarded as allegories of false illusions, gluttony, and the like. But this does violence to the spirit which is breathed forth by the pictures themselves.

If Holbein himself intended to add them to the pictures of Death, he was actuated at any rate by a totally different idea. May not the creator of this great tragic poem upon the theme "All is vanity,"—of this work which represents so cuttingly the nothingness of all earthly things and seeks consolation only in the hope of the world to come,—may he not perhaps in later years have had a presentiment of another consolation? Had Holbein, an artist so filled with the spirit of the Renaissance, really learned so much from the conceptions of the ancients?—and were his views modern to such an extent that he added to the reminder of the world to come, yet another reminder, and ventured to point to the childlike and harmless enjoyment of life, though as it were only by stealth and in a manner understood by few? Perhaps he intended to express, as Horace exclaims to his friend in one of his odes, "Delay not. The short span of life forbids us to hope and to wait long. Now is the time to place on the head the beautiful burden of flowers in green myrtle. Enjoy joy and sport, youth and love, before night oppresses thee!"

Yet one word we must add regarding those masterly initials with the pictures of Death, which have been variously applied in Basle publications, and have been disseminated in our own day by Loedel's excellent copies. They begin at A with the "Gebein aller Menschen" (remains of all men) and conclude at Z with the Last Judgment, the intervening ones being the true pictures of Death. Several of them appear to be successfully taken from the larger woodcuts, as the initials which we have introduced into this work, the splendid X with the Gamblers, and the O with the Monk, whom the skeleton

is dragging after him by the scapulary. A pretty counterpart to this is Q the Nun, whom Death is leading by the hand, gravely stepping before her in the disguise of a monk. W, Death the Hermit, exhibits an idea which appears, it is true, in the great Basle painting, but not in Holbein's woodcut series, and which is equally excellent. Far better than the picture in the larger series is R with the Fool, who is foolish enough to wrestle with Death and to avoid him. He is running along with bare legs, and Death has put on boots to mock at him. V, the Horseman, is new; Death has placed himself on the horse behind him like "Black Care" in Horace's ode: S also is new; it represents Death sitting beside the Prostitute and holding her in his embraces; a representation therefore, such as we have already seen by Manuel, of the enjoyment of love, hiding the appalling destiny.

There are also Greek initials containing pictures of Death, which appeared in the year 1538. They are far inferior in the engraving, but the design is also probably Holbein's. Some pretty and new ideas are exhibited in Ω, Death and the Smith, and in Σ, the Peasant, from whose shoulders the skeleton is snatching the sack of corn.

The irresistible power and nearness of Death was acknowledged at all times, but Holbein has proclaimed the fact the more forcibly, because he has introduced its terrors in the midst of present life. The figures, the costume, the whole surroundings, the furniture and accessories, all belong to his own time; indeed even in the situations themselves, in the appearance, actions and demeanour of all the personages, the character and customs of the time are mirrored. The importance which these pictures thus acquire in the history of civilization is inexhaustible. But still more, the spirit that moved this whole epoch pervades the pictures; that striving for liberty, which at that time was predominant in Germany, is apparent throughout them; this above all shows the satirical side of these pictures of Death, both in a religious and political aspect. We have alluded to this in our remarks upon the separate pictures, and we will here once more briefly and concisely draw attention to it. In the first place, Holbein here appears as the champion of the Reformation. He represents devils as watching for the Pope's soul, he sends the sharpest arrows of indignation and ridicule against the clergy, from first to last; they are hurried to their destiny in the midst of presumption and haughtiness, in hypocrisy, slothfulness, and luxury, in stupidity, covetousness, and immorality. Just as decidedly is the democratic tendency of the age expressed, a tendency which reached its height in the peasants' wars. Not only does Death meet the Count in the attire of a seditious peasant, but a similar feeling pervades the whole work. It is for the most part only the lower classes, such as the trader and the husbandman, who fall into the hands of Death in the quiet and just exercise of their calling, and the Bible passages introduced above:

"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden," and "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," seem to point out Death almost as a benefactor. On the other hand, the mighty and the noble, the duke, the counsellor, and the judge are seized as they are disregarding the poor and the lowly, or are being bribed against them by the rich. And those who exercise power with the sword, the knight and the warrior, fall by the power of him who is still stronger than they. Lastly Holbein's satire expresses his German feeling in the manner in which he places the German Emperor in opposition to the King of France.

In the Dances of Death of the Middle Ages, we see the comic element more inclining to irony than to pure humour. In Holbein's works, irony has completely gained the ascendancy, an irony in the modern sense, such as Shakespeare employs and which tends to increase the tragic effect. And Holbein as he appears to us in the pictures of Death reminds us of Shakespeare. There is the same striking reality in all the actions and personages, a reality which seems no less actual even where a fantastic element is introduced; there is the same ability to depict passion at its utmost height; there is the same complete characterization of distinct personages, and there is the sovereign power of the artistic mind over all positions of life and all worldly relations, and lastly there is the predominance of the purely human element in every action and feeling. Whatever remnants of ascetic religion are left in Holbein's works from the earlier Dances of Death, the poetical idea of the introduction as well as of the conclusion is drawn from the Christian doctrines! But the sublime irony which here predominates, though the religious element recedes, makes the moral element stand out all the more powerfully. How mightily is this exhibited in the malicious delight of Death, who is dazzled by no earthly glory and glitter, is deluded by no hypocritical appearance of sanctity, who overthrows power and grandeur just when they feel themselves greatest, and who seizes the sinner who fears no earthly punishment, in the very midst of his crimes.

This spirit made Holbein's pictures of Death so popular, that one new edition after another followed the first publication in Lyons, and numerous copies and imitations were called forth. The sheets were copied in woodcuts and engravings, good or bad, more or less true. Wall-paintings of them were made in the episcopal palace at Chur.[1] Even plastic art took possession of them. Splendidly coloured wax embossments of some of these, it seems, appeared even in the sixteenth century.[2] In the succeeding centuries also, the

[1] These pictures, coloured in grey, adorn a gallery in the second story. The author has not seen them himself. Herr von Hefner-Alteneck could not sufficiently extol the ingenious execution of these pictures.

[2] Three excellent reliefs, Empress, Emperor, and Pope, are in the possession of Herr Amsler, in Berlin.

interest in these pictures was not lost, and in our own day it has increased. Fresh copies appear, and in all works on similar subjects corresponding ideas arise. Even in perfectly free artistic creations, they are not completely set aside. How much does Alfred Rethel owe to the suggestions of Holbein, when, for instance, he created his grand Dance of Death in 1848, and those still higher sheets, Death as a Strangler, and Death as a Friend, and published them in the popular form of the woodcut!

A definite period of time, with its ideas and events, is mirrored in Holbein's pictures of Death, and movements, which relate to his native land, are clearly expressed in them. Nevertheless they were not made public until some years later, and that in a foreign country. The spirit which pervaded them was not fettered to temporal or local circumstances to produce its effect.

It is a strange occurrence, that Holbein's pictures of the old Testament, as well as his pictures of Death, were published in France. They subsequently spread over all the lands of western Europe. The best copies of the Dance of Death appeared in Venice in 1545. The original editions came out with French, Latin, and Italian text, the Bible pictures with Spanish and English text besides, but none of either books with German text. Holbein's art had grown beyond the mind and perception of his nation, but, in consequence, it belongs not merely to his own nation, but to the world, finding abroad more sympathy than at home. What a difference between him and Albert Dürer! His works also were disseminated abroad; Dürer also was highly esteemed in the Netherlands and in Italy; but the German alone can arrive at a complete understanding of his creations—at that time as at the present day—and he even delights in Dürer's hardnesses, defects, and peculiarities, just because they are German, belonging less to him personally than to his nation in general.

We cannot say that Holbein, while he admitted the general elements of culture belonging to the epoch, and rose to the free form of the Renaissance, alienated himself in any point from the German mind. He only discarded the narrowness and prejudice of the national character. But even this was sufficient to make him stand less near to the mass of the people than Dürer stood to them. Added to this, the religious and political confusions in Germany fully repressed all interest in art, which had been already long endangered. Dürer also had still to experience this. But he was standing already at the brink of life, while Holbein was in the prime of manly strength. In the same year in which Dürer executed his last principal work, the two panels with St. Peter and St. John, St. Mark and St. Paul, Holbein quitted his country, in order for some time to try his fortune in a foreign land.

CHAPTER XVI.

Holbein's departure from Basle.—Progress of the Reformation.—Disorders in Basle.—Stagnation of art.—The Laïs picture of 1526, and its corresponding piece.—Milanese influence.—Conjectures regarding the subject.—A document of 1526.—Holbein's plan to go to England.—Previous introduction, through Erasmus, to Sir Thomas More.—Departure in August, 1526.—Letter of recommendation to T. Ægidius in Antwerp.

UNTIL the year 1526, the Reformation had made steady progress in Basle. In spite of all opposition on the part of the bishop and the authorities of the university, the town council allowed public disputations upon various religious points, and even upon the marriage of priests. And the victory throughout remained on the side of the new doctrines. God's Word prospered, to use the words of an authority of the time. The convents were opened in the year 1524, and it was left to the pleasure of the nuns to marry. Œcolampadius was appointed professor of theology by the council, and delivered his lectures in the German language to a great concourse of hearers. It was indeed made a condition with him, that no more important innovations in religious matters should take place without the knowledge of the council, and on the 12th December of the same year the order was issued, that without the inspection and permission of the council nothing was to be printed, either in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, or German. In spite of this, the authorities did not hinder Œcolampadius, when he began to baptize children in the German language, from administering both elements of the Holy Communion, and from discontinuing all ceremonies in his church, even that of the mass. The council also entered into a quarrel with the bishop, by suddenly forbidding the payment of a yearly tribute, which had been awarded to him from every household, and which was always collected with great parade, without allowing him any compensation for the loss.

Under such circumstances, a great ferment prevailed in the city. Both parties stood vehemently in opposition to each other, and even mutually threatened each other with open violence. This state of things became specially critical at the beginning of the year 1525, when throughout Germany the peasants' revolt was raging, and a social revolution was added to a religious one. Within the district of Basle, the country people had resorted to arms, and were marching in crowds against the city. Only with the utmost

difficulty could the council appease them at the decisive moment, by promising them redress for their heaviest grievances. But the disorders were not hushed for long. Various parties soon appeared in the city itself. On the thus Christmas eve of the year 1525, and in the Lent of the year following, the radical reformation party had already formed designs for the destruction of pictures and the plunder of churches, which were only hindered by the prudent interference of the council. This was for Basle not only a disorderly, but in every respect a sad time. From April till October, 1526, the plague raged with ever increasing violence. Added to this, there were desolating hail-storms; and on the 19th September the lightning struck the powder magazine, producing a shock like an earthquake throughout the city. The ruins were hurled to a distance of 200 paces, the neighbouring houses were thrown down, and about forty people were killed or severely wounded.

How much art must have been repressed by such a state of affairs is easily to be imagined. There is extant an expostulation of the painters' guild to the council in the year 1526, by which we gain clear evidence of this fact. The associates of the guild complain especially, that they suffered encroachments from various other workmen, for instance, that the shopkeepers had false beards and carnival masks for sale, which was a trade belonging to the painters alone,[1] and they concluded by desiring that the council would graciously remember how they, who had also wives and children, and with whom it fared ill enough without this, could remain at Basle in the painters' guild, for some painters had given up the trade, and, if in these things and in others matters did not mend, still more would be obliged to give up the occupation of painters.[2]

Holbein also suffered under these circumstances. We have seen how within the last few years, the orders for church paintings had become less frequent, and how the paintings in the town-hall had come to a standstill. And instead of the record of worthy public commissions, there stands nothing else throughout the whole period in the accounts of the council, than such a notice as this: "Samstag nach Reminiscere," (the 3rd March, 1526). Item ij lb. x. s. Geben Holbein dem moler, fur etlich schilt am stettlin Waldenburg vergangener Jahren ze molen. Waldenburg is a little nest on the slopes of the Jura in the district of Basle. For this place, therefore, Hans Holbein had to paint some coats-of-arms, he, one of the greatest artists of all ages for the trifling sum of 2*l.* 5*s.* (2 gulden.) It cuts one to the heart to read

[1] "Item als die kremer scheinbert oder bäcken oder fasnacht antlitt feil haben das Inen ouch nit zustott, allein den moleren."

[2] "Zum letsten begerende sy genedenklich zu bedencken dan sy ouch wib vnd kinder haben domit sy ouch megen zu basel beliben den es ondas jetzen dan schwechlihen gott vmm das moler hantwerck den ettlich moller von dem hantwerck sind gestanden vnd wo es mit disen stücken vnd sunst nitt beser wirtt, ist wol zu gedencken es müsen mer darfon losen." Rathhausarchiv.; discovered by Herr His-Heusler.

it. People of his stamp were regarded in Italy as princes, and were the pride of the nation; in Germany however, such a man could not earn mere subsistence.

There is a painting of Holbein's which bears the date of the year 1526; it is a work in which the painter appears especially attractive, and it has recently become universally known through F. Weber's excellent engraving. It represents a young lady in the rich attire which at that time was worn in Switzerland and South Germany, a purple slashed dress, with yellow silk sleeves. A little cap of gold crowns her fair hair, the neck and bosom display their unveiled beauty, and are adorned with a thin gold chain, which follows the slightest movement of the form. With her left hand, the lady is holding together her flowing blue mantle, before her on a marble balustrade lies a heap of gold coins, and she is extending her right hand with open palm, as though she desired nothing more as the price of her charms. The idea of this gesture agrees with the inscription, which, according to a custom often appearing in Holbein's works, appears chiselled in the stone balustrade,—LAIS CORINTHIACA, 1526. The countenance is beautiful and regular, the brow nobly arched, the nose large and hooked, the lips finely cut. The expression betrays a mixture of tender melancholy and captivating charm. A dark green curtain forms the background.

The Basle Museum possesses a corresponding piece to this picture representing the same lady in almost exactly the same attire as before, sitting likewise before a curtain, and behind her is a marble balustrade. The yellow sleeves are alone wanting, and instead of them we see the arms bare; in the place of the golden cap she wears a black one. This lady is represented as Venus. This is shown by the small naked boy with two arrows, which the painter has placed by her. The ugly red-haired boy does not wholly accord with the ideal of a Cupid, but he has a certain family similarity with Holbein's own children, and with the infant Christ in the Darmstadt and Solothurn Madonna. This second picture also belongs to about the same time. It seems probable to us, that it was painted somewhat earlier than the other, and that the Lais was a renewed and still more successful attempt to represent the same idea. Venus is far less attractive in the expression of the features. The painter evidently imitated the type of Leonardo da Vinci's female heads and their tender smile, but he did not attain to that freedom, which is displayed in the far more tender and charming expression of the Lais. And the charm, which these pictures exercise, is increased by the excellent modelling of the form, and the perfect execution. These figures are conceived in a truly plastic manner. How just and effective in the Lais is the distance of the right hand from the balustrade, which is produced by masterly aerial perspective. The light falls, as is constantly the case with Holbein, from the right.

Many things in these pictures differ from other works of Holbein, and on this account they have been repeatedly regarded with doubt, but this, however, only arises from the fact that the critic has not made himself sufficiently acquainted with them. Rumohr declared them to be the works of a Netherland artist. Mr. Wornum imputes them to the Milanese school. But any one who has really accustomed himself to Holbein's style, will perceive here also his whole mode of conception, his acute precision, his absolute truth in the imitation of nature, and his spirited and accurate grasping of every personal characteristic. Especially do we perceive a peculiarity marking Holbein's works, in the form and movement of the hands. His execution of the picture also receives outward attestation from the fact of the similarity of Cupid with the family type of Holbein's children, and also from the notice in the inventory written by Basilius Amerbach in 1586, in which the pictures are mentioned as "Zwei täfelin daruf eine Offenburgin conterfehet ist; uf eins eschrieben Lais Corinthiaca. Die andre hat ein kindlin by sich. H. Holb. beide, mit 'ölfarben in ghüsenn" (two panels which represent an Offenburgin; the one is marked Lais Corinthiaca; the other lady has a child by her. H. Holbein painted both in oil colours, they are in a framework).

The pictures at any rate exhibit a foreign influence. Dr. Waagen perceives in them a Netherland influence, and even advances the supposition that they were executed in the Netherlands, whither Holbein went in 1526, on his journey from England, as we shall presently hear, and that they were then sent by him to his home, perhaps to Bonifacius Amerbach, as a proof of what he had learned in his journeyings abroad. This is in the first place improbable from the fact that, according to the evidence of Basilius Amerbach, the person depicted was a Basle lady, belonging to the famous patrician house of Offenburg. Secondly, we cannot find that the foreign influence here expressed is exactly Flemish. The tenderness of the warm, yellowish tint, the stronger use of ultra-marine, and the greater delicacy of the outline, are cited by Dr. Waagen in corroboration of his supposition. Yet this warm, yellowish tint is very different to the fine, reddish, flesh-tint used by the greatest Flemish colourist of that day, Quentin Massys. The pictures were not indeed, as Mr. Wornum asserts, painted by a Milanese, but the influence which Holbein here experienced is undoubtedly that of the Lombard school. From this school, Holbein may have learned this delicacy of outline, and this beautiful style of painting. At any rate, he had seen pictures of Leonardo da Vinci, of whom also the type of head reminded us, or at least of his school. That he had once been in Lombardy, we have regarded as probable, although it cannot be established with certainty. Evidently since then, he had been many times travelling. A letter of Erasmus of the year 1524 has casually preserved for us a notice of a journey to France. Yet this was certainly not his only journey in the last few years. When Holbein, as we have already men-

tioned, is given permission in the Basle document of the year 1538, to carry his works of art to foreign gentlemen in France, England, and Milan, and the Netherlands, this permission is extended to—"once, twice, and thrice a-year."

This double delineation of a beautiful woman, once as the goddess of Love and a second time, in the whole conception as well as by the name inscribed beneath, as a famous courtesan of antiquity, is also most remarkable on account of its subject, and inspires us with the wish to know more. Our curiosity is only increased by the notice of the Amerbach inventory, which even gives the family of the lady represented. The archival researches of Herr His-Heusler have indeed not only procured information respecting *one*, but even respecting *two* ladies of the Offenburg family, who led a highly suspicious course of life. The first of these is the widow of Squire Hans von Offenburg, Frau Magdalena, by birth Tschekapürlin, who is mentioned in the codicil to the testament of Frau Maria Tschekapürlin, widow of Morand von Brunn, made in 1523. Frau Magdalena's three children had been before appointed heirs, and were to pay their mother 100 gulden yearly. This arrangement was now cancelled, owing to Magdalena's course of life. If she were to return, and to keep herself good and honourable, the children were bound to give her as much as she needed for adequate support and necessary decent clothing, but nothing more. If, however, she did not return, or if she again departed from respectability, the children were pledged to do nothing. In the record of the division of the inheritance, dated the 5th January, 1526, it further appears that the heirs were only bound to send a sum of 10 gulden yearly to Frau Magdalena, who was residing at Frankfort. This seems to answer our expectations. But that, nevertheless, this widowed Offenburg cannot be identical with the twice depicted beauty, is evidenced by the fact, that she is mentioned as a married woman in the testament of Morand von Brunn, dated the 24th June, 1502, who settles a legacy upon her "umb des geneigten willen" (for the sake of the affection) which he has for her. This shows that she was at all events too old to be the lady depicted. Added to this, at that time, especially in Switzerland, women were usually called by their own family name, and not by that of their husband; she would therefore have been styled by Basilius Amerbach as a Tschekapürlin, and not as an Offenburgin. On the other hand, we have notices of a lady, by birth an Offenburg, Dorothea, wife of Joachim von Sultz, which may furnish us with a better clue to the matter. Among the Amerbach papers, there appears a judgment of divorce in 1545, from which we gather that both husband and wife led such a scandalous life, that they were imprisoned and expelled the country. The wife had accused her husband of ill-usage, and he his wife of adultery. We further gather that this state of things had existed already for years, and that they had been often separated and again united.

Holbein's paintings leave an impression on the mind of having been painted for a lover of the beautiful and not irreproachable lady, who had wished her depicted in a manner in which his love for her was expressed at the same time as his little respect for her. Her representation as the Goddess of Beauty and Love might perhaps be considered rather flattering than suspicious. In the Lais picture, on the other hand, it is only too unequivocally expressed what was to be thought of the beautiful lady, although affection, and even passion, may have caused such a graceful delineation of her charms.

The perfect execution of the two pictures shows that Holbein had received a commission for them, yielding a satisfactory recompense. This was indeed very rarely the case at this time, and it was not easy for him also in other respects to gain his due, as is shown by an authentic document[1] a circular letter dated the 4th July, 1526, signed with the name of Heinrich Meltinger, the burgomaster of that time, and addressed to the "venerable Herr Vicar and preceptor of the Order of St. Antonius at Isenen (Issenheim) our dear and gracious master." It is as follows:—

"Venerable, gracious, and dear sir, receive our friendly and ready service. Hans Holbein, painter, our citizen, has proposed to us to paint an altar panel, such as his deceased father painted in former years. He left some implements of an expensive kind, weighing about three hundred and two cubic measures, with you at Issenheim, which he, Hans Holbein, repeatedly during the lifetime of his father, and at his desire, and also after his decease, being his heir, demanded of you, but could never obtain; for what reasons he knows not. Thus the matter has been delayed to such an extent that the peasants, he is informed, have wasted these implements in the last uproar, and when he again desired them of you, as his father's heir, you referred him, with his request, to the peasants, with whom he has nothing to do, and to whom he has intrusted nothing, and notified to him an appointment on the Saturday after the next Ulrici (7th July) at Ensisheim. We, having heard his business, and given credence to it, and being well inclined to further him, have not allowed him to keep such an appointment, or to make any demand of the peasants (with whom he, as we have heard, has nothing to do), but have firm confidence in you, that you will weigh the matter thoroughly, and hand over to him, as the heir of his deceased father, completely and without difficulty, the aforementioned implements, or, in case nothing of them now exists, compensate him for their loss, and so show yourself towards him in the affair, that he may feel that our intercession has been advantageous, and that no further steps are necessary. Such behaviour on your side we wish for him, to whom it is justly due."

We have already mentioned this document, as an evidence that Hans

[1] Discovered by Herr His-Heusler.

Holbein the father had also pursued his art in Alsace. He is spoken of here as deceased; his death, as we know, had taken place in 1524. The Council of Basle, who seems to have afforded ready and powerful assistance under all circumstances to the people of their city, interested themselves here also in Holbein. The painter must have needed this protection at such a period of misery and disorder; the letter itself alludes to the riots of the peasants.—Implements of such value probably consisted of colours and painters' gold.

Under circumstances such as existed at Basle at this time, it must have been difficult for Holbein to obtain the livelihood necessary for himself and his family, and thus the idea of a journey occurred to him, which should lead him beyond the adjacent territories.

Carel van Mander states that many years before Holbein went to England, the Earl of Arundel, who had travelled through Basle as English Ambassador, had seen the works of the painter, and had endeavoured to persuade him to go to England and try his fortunes there. The possibility of this is not to be denied, but the authority which states the fact is not so trustworthy that we can believe it implicitly. Far more probable sound the explanations of Sandrart, who sees in Erasmus the cause of Holbein's journey to England. The great scholar was well known there. King Henry VIII. regarded him with especial favour, and with him as well as with a number of cultivated men, high in position, Erasmus was in constant correspondence. After a troubled and sorrowful youth, it was in England that, through the generosity of such patrons, he first enjoyed a life free from care. Erasmus may have hoped a similar lot for the painter, whose art and character interested him, though perhaps the first impulse to the journey may have come from another quarter. Uncertain as this is, it is assuredly to be imputed to Erasmus' example and encouragement that the plan ripened and was at length carried out. With no one was Erasmus more intimately acquainted than with Sir Thomas More, the great statesman and scholar, and he had already, in the year 1524, availed himself of the opportunity of sending his two portraits before-mentioned to England, to speak to More of the proposed journey of the artist, and to recommend him to the assistance of his friend. Although this letter is lost, the answer is still in existence; it bears the date of the 18th of December, 1525. Herman Grimm [1] has the merit of having furnished evidence that this is one of the numerous cases in which the correspondence of Erasmus shows an error in the date. The letter evidently belongs to the year before, 1524. As a reason for this, Herr Grimm mentions the circumstance that the death of Linacre is mentioned, which took place on the 20th of October, 1524, also Luther's letter to Erasmus, and the publication of the paper "de libero arbitrio," both of which belong to the same year; and the approaching

[1] Ueber, "Künstler und Kunstwerke," ii. year, Nos. 7 and 8, Berlin, 1866.

completion of the Hyperaspistes, which appeared in 1525. A circumstance which fully confirms this we have yet to add: the letter is dated "Ex Aula Grenvici." The court spent Christmas 1524 at Greenwich, but in the following year the Christmas festival was passed in the utmost quiet at Eltham, because the plague prevailed in London.[1]

Towards the close of this letter he writes: "Thy painter, dearest Erasmus, is a wonderful artist, but I fear that he will not find England as fruitful and profitable as he hopes. I will, however, do my utmost that he shall not find it entirely unprofitable."[2] From the wording of this passage it might be inferred that at that time Holbein was already in England,[3] but we have distinct evidence that his journey took place later, and therefore Sir Thomas More must have based his opinion of him upon the portraits sent over, which truly justified his admiration.

Some time, however, elapsed before Holbein carried out his resolve. The earliest records of Iselin inform us that "he set out on his journey in 1526, in the autumn."[4] Iselin had for this date the same source as that which now stands at our disposal, namely, a letter from Erasmus, dated August 29th, 1526, in which he commends the painter to his friend Petrus Ægidius in Antwerp, with the following words:—"The bringer of this is the artist who has taken my portrait. I do not wish to trouble you with his introduction, although he is a distinguished artist. If he wishes to visit Quentin (Massys), and you have not time yourself to take him to him, you will perhaps allow your servant to show him the house. The arts are stagnating here. He is going to England to scrape together a few angels. (Play upon the words *Angliam* and *Angelatos*—10 shillings.) You can give him what letters you like."[5] We cannot be informed more unequivocally of the reasons which

[1] "Grafton's Chronicle," new edition, London, 1809, vol. ii. pp. 370—386.

[2] "Pictor tuus, Erasme charissime, mirus est artifex, sed vereor, ne non sensurus sit Angliam tam fœcundam ac fertilem quam sperarat. Quanquam ne reperiat omnino sterilem, quoad per me fieri potest, efficiam."

[3] Hermann Grimm has endeavoured to prove this. See "Künstler und Kunstwerke," vol. ii. Nos. 7 and 8, 1866, and "Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft," edited by Dr. A. v. Zahn, vol. i. 1868, No. 1. Refuted by me in Nos. 2 and 3 of the last-named work. That Holbein was there already, Herr Grimm infers from the tense "sperarat," which admits of no other interpretation. The "plus quàm perfectum" is, however, explained by the custom of the Latin tongue, and whether Holbein were present or no, it makes no difference. When More says "sperarat," he places himself in Holbein's mind, at the time when the latter will feel himself undeceived, and at this moment the action of hope is already completed. He says of himself: "I find it otherwise than I had hoped." According to the modern use of language, which does not distinguish the absolute and the relative present, "sperarat" is in this place most justly to be translated as "hopes."

[4] "Profectus est anno 1526, circa Autumnum."

[5] "Qui has reddit, est is, qui me pinxit, ejus commendatione te non gravabo, quanquam est insignis artifex. Si cupiet visere Quintinum, nec tibi vacabit hominem adducere, poteris per famulam commonstrare domum. Hic frigent artes; petit Angliam ut corrodat aliquot Angelatos, per eum poteris quæ voles scribere."

induced Holbein to take the journey. It was exigency which drove him abroad.

The date of this letter is not to be controverted, for its purport, in spite of its brevity, sufficiently verifies it.[1] In the first place, we find the passage: "You will be so kind as to take care that the works of Hieronymus are bound and sent over to the Archbishop of Canterbury."[2] The concluding volume of the works of Hieronymus appeared in February, 1526, and the transmission of the copy to Archbishop Warham was somewhat delayed. On the 29th of May, 1527, Erasmus had received no tidings respecting the arrival of his present, for at this date he wrote to Warham: "I wrote to you a short time ago, and sent you Hieronymus in a gilded binding. If the volumes have reached you I shall be very glad."[3]

A second evidence is furnished by the fact that this letter to Ægidius stands in connection with another, addressed to him on April 21st, 1526. It begins: "Johannes Frobenius has paid me four hundred gold crowns on your brother's account; the rest not yet."[4] In the letter of the 29th of August, however, Erasmus says that he is expecting from Peter's brother, besides some other matters, that which still remains of this small account,[5]

To examine the purport of these two letters is, however, also interesting in another respect. The manner in which Erasmus speaks of the artist, on the 29th of August, sounds strangely haughty and reserved. He does not even mention his name, and does not wish to trouble Ægidius with his introduction. Did Erasmus really regard the artist as standing so far beneath him, that he felt himself only able to recommend him with the utmost reserve, and almost begs pardon for having done so? But in the letter of the 21st of April, we learn that a slight annoyance existed between Erasmus and Ægidius; that the latter felt himself aggrieved because his friend wished to take his money matters out of his hands; and the letter of August tells us that Ægidius had shortly before lost his wife. These furnish us with very different reasons for the roundabout manner in which Erasmus recommends the painter to him. "By him," he says afterwards, "you can write what you like." Only too often does Erasmus complain of the untrustworthiness of the persons through whom he was obliged to send his letters, and exhorts his friends to be careful

[1] Hermann Grimm has endeavoured to dispute this date, and to place the letter in the year 1524. His only evidence for this is, however, based on an error. He is ignorant that the concluding volume of the works of Hieronymus appeared in 1526, and he imagines that the letters of Hieronymus (vols. i.—iii. of the works, which came out in August, 1524) were here alluded to.

[2] "De Hieronymi libris concinandis ex Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi transmittendis, opinor tibi fuisse curæ."

[3] "Scripsi nuper misique Hieronymum inauratum, quæ volumina si perlata sunt, vehementer gaudeo."

[4] "Præterea nihil."

[5] "Id quod supererat ratiunculæ."

in this respect. Holbein, on the contrary,—we see here—is a man in whom confidence may be placed.

Moreover, we see from this passage, that Erasmus had before spoken to his friend of the artist who had taken his portrait, and the expression, "if he wishes to visit Quentin, and you have not time yourself to take him to him," shows that Erasmus desires that his friend should make Holbein personally acquainted with his Brabant contemporary in art. We have no information whether this introduction did take place, and whether the artist remained in Antwerp for a long or short period. The first traces, which we again find of him, point to England, and belong to the following year, 1527, the date affixed to many portraits of personages belonging to the circle of the most intimate friends of Erasmus in that country.

CHAPTER XVII.

First Journey to England.—Travel in the sixteenth century.—Holbein's route.—Passage across, and arrival in London at that time.—The impression made by the city and country upon German travellers of the sixteenth century.—London and Westminster.—Hampton Court.—Characters and customs of the English.—Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey.—Love of splendour and taste for art and science in the upper circles.—Native and foreign artists in England in Holbein's time.—The spurious and genuine works of the master in England.—The Windsor Castle collection of sketches.

LIVING as we now do in a period, in which great numbers, indeed whole classes of men are in a state of constant motion, and the remotest points are reached easily and with rapidity, yet the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as regards travelling, do not stand behind our own to such an extent as we are wont to imagine. In spite of the bad means of communication and the still worse highways and hostelries, in spite of the dangers of the way, there prevailed at that time a love of travel, of which we can scarcely form a conception, and which pervaded all classes and positions. In Germany, the highways were most insecure; nowhere else were there so many waylayers and robbers as here, the worst of all being of course the nobles, who delighted in seeing a common thief brought to the gallows, but only because he spoiled their trade.[1] Scarcely better than the highway robbery was the nuisance of the tolls, which were levied by every small imperial city and by every petty prince. What a picture of this do we find in Albert Dürer's journal of his journey to the Netherlands! and he travelled tolerably and with an episcopal safe-conduct which he had obtained. In spite of this, the desire for travel was nowhere so lively and so usual as in Germany. The pilgrim proceeded to places sanctified by holy relics, and feared not the path over sea and mountain; the knight rode forth to adventure and courtly service; the soldier went in search of pay, and the maiden in search of soldiers. The merchant travelled on his business; in all important places in Europe, the great German trading houses had their factories, and they fitted out their vessels for distant shores. Monks repaired from place to place to preach and to beg; by begging also, and occasionally by stealing, the travelling scholars helped themselves on their way; a charming description of their doings is given us in Thomas Platter's history of his

[1] See story of this in "Schimpff und Ernst," Berne, Apiarius.

youth. Above all, however, travel was usual with artists and artizans, who not merely by fighting, but also by the work of their hands gained money for their livelihood. Whoever could, travelled on horseback; in this manner travellers were expedited by the post, which Franz von Taxis at that time began to establish in Germany. Any one to whom this method was too expensive took his journey on foot. Dürer, to whom Pirkheimer lent 100 gulden for the purpose, could ride to Venice; Holbein was certainly not in such a happy position. He may perhaps have made the journey, as the "famulus" of Erasmus, who had generally one on the road as a letter-carrier. To these "famuli" he himself gave what was necessary for the expenses of their living, and it was relied upon that those to whom they had something to bring should assist them, and help them on with small donations. There is a highly interesting letter from Erasmus to a "famulus," whom he had despatched to England, and to whom he sent some instructions on the way.[1] "It is a pity that we cannot look into the future," thus the letter begins, "if you had set out two days later you would have had a travelling companion, who would have made the way to you on foot as easy as if you had gone in a carriage, for he is full of merry stories." Erasmus then mentions that the way led through unsafe districts, and he exhorts the "famulus" not to be afraid of the sea at Calais. "We hear," he says, "that the sailors, with whom one has to do there, are not more gentle than the sea itself;" and that the passage was not only troublesome but also expensive appears in other letters of Erasmus. Holbein did not indeed go the direct way, but by Antwerp, and he stayed there probably for some time in order to earn something; he then proceeded to Calais, according to the usual custom. The voyage from here to Dover could be made with a favourable wind in five or six hours;[2] this was also long enough to experience all the torments of sea-sickness. The travellers of that time feared this especially.

[1] See p. 983, to Nicolaus Cannius, May 29th, 1527.

[2] According to Hentzner, who visited England in the year 1598. See Rye's excellent book, "England as seen by Foreigners," London, 1865, to which we have frequently referred. The same is also testified by many German descriptions of journeys in the end of the sixteenth century, to which we have likewise referred; for instance, the "Badenfahrt" of Duke Frederic of Würtemberg (1592), and Joh. With. Neymayr's "Description of the Journey of Duke John Ernest of Saxony." Some description of London in Holbein's time is given in the pamphlet, "Ein glaubwirdige anzaygung des tods, Herrn Thome Mori, vnd andrer treffenlicher männer inn Engelland, geschehen im jar, MDXXXV." Respecting English customs, &c., there is much in Erasmus' letters, in the "Utopia" of Thomas More, and in S. Münster's "Cosmographey." An interesting description of London at a later time, likewise from a German point of view, is the "Geschicht-und Land-Beschreibung dess Königreichs Gross Britannien, &c.," Frankfurt-am-Mayn, published by Wilhelm Serlins. Respecting the connection between England and Germany, see Rye and Karl Elze, in his "Englische Sprache und Literatur in Deutschland," Dresden, 1864; Introduction to the edition of G. Chapman's "Tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany," Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1867; Froude's "History of England from the Fall of Wolsey," especially vol. i.; Maitland's "History of London and Westminster," 2 vols. fol.

Many lamentations over it are to be found in the letters of Erasmus, and in the notes on the journey of the Bohemian Baron von Rozmital, who visited England in the year 1466; the author, one of the suite, remarks: "My master and the gentlemen of his company suffered so much from the sea, that they lay on the vessel as if they had been dead." (Meinem herrn und andern. gesellen that das mer so we, dass sie auf dem schiff lagen, als wären si tot.)[1]

One of Holbein's most beautiful drawings in the Städel Museum in Frankfort-on-the-Maine represents a vessel at sea. When it was executed is not to be ascertained, and thus we mention it now, when the artist first saw the sea and ships. It is a large sheet, about one foot high, and some inches wider; it is an etching painted in water colours. It depicts a noble three-masted vessel lying ready for starting. A boat with two rowers, whose action and exertion of power is given in a masterly manner, is approaching from the background. All is in motion on the deck. Sailors are climbing up the masts and unfurling the sails. One of the crew is embracing a girl; a second is sitting on the bowsprit and drinking to a prosperous voyage; sea-sickness is already appearing in a third. Behind are two musicians, who are giving the signal for departure, and beside them is one of those splendid figures of soldiers, which so often appear in Holbein's works. Silent and conscious of power, the bearded warrior stands there, holding his banner proudly aloft. He casts no glance back on the shore he has left, but turns his eye with earnest confidence towards the goal.

Just so did the painter stand there, as he now crossed the channel, away from his home, which had afforded him nothing, and where he could not remain, on his way to a foreign land where he had to begin again and make a path for himself. But he had reason to have confidence in himself.

It was the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII., who had ascended the throne on the 22nd April, 1509. He was the first after a long period, who had entered upon the sovereignty with undisputed right of succession; his father had amassed immense wealth for him; his personal qualities had gained him the love of all people. In form he was beautiful, vigorous, and stately; in appearance truly royal; added to which he was easy and winning in speech and behaviour, and devoted to knightly exercises, well-cultivated, and highly gifted. That immediately after his accession he rejected those who had served as instruments to the avarice of his father had won him the favour of the people. The policy of his government, as well as his warlike undertakings, had been successful. Had Henry died after the first twenty years of his reign, he would have been numbered among the greatest personages of English history; and it would have been thought, as Froude demonstrates, that such an event had robbed the country of its best hopes: those

[1] Rye, p. 181.

qualities of the King, which subsequently showed themselves in such a fatal manner, were held within due limits so long as Cardinal Wolsey stood at his side as guiding minister; a fact which furnishes brilliant testimony as to this true and statesmanlike, although in no wise irreproachable character.

Hitherto the court-life had been full of brightness and splendour. In the eyes of the multitude, the popular character of the King was invested with a new charm by his love of pomp. One noisy festival followed another; balls, banquets, knightly plays, in which Henry himself took his part, pompous theatrical pageants, in which the dramatic taste of the nation already showed itself. But the merry monarch had also a feeling for more earnest matters. Destined originally, as the younger son, for a high ecclesiastical office, he had had almost a learned education. Persons who stood in intercourse with him could scarcely sufficiently praise his truly divine gifts. He was versed in languages; spoke French, Spanish, and Latin, and knew not merely how to speak, but how to write well; he was familiar with theological study, had an extraordinary acquaintance with mathematics and mechanics, and showed himself from the first inclined to men of science. The same tendency was also favoured at the court by Queen Katharine of Aragon, of whom Erasmus speaks as a woman of rare learning.[1] Cardinal Wolsey also cultivated the study of the *belles lettres*, which had just begun to penetrate into England, and he afforded great support to the universities. The clergy and the nobles emulated the leading personages.

The difference of education and of the whole nature which existed in England between the people, with their rough and reserved character, and the upper classes, was certainly considerably greater than in Germany. Sebastian Münster, who describes the common people as coarse and ignorant, extols the nobles for being respectful and friendly to strangers; and Erasmus also repeatedly praises their rare affability, and at the same time reminds his "famulus" not to be induced by it to carelessness and forwardness, and ever to preserve due modesty in spite of their condescension. "It is a great thing," he exclaims in the same letter, "to see this England so celebrated by all scholars, and it is at the same time improving both as regards manners and knowledge, to have intercourse with so many grandees and so many men of science!" Erasmus had felt also in a material point of view the benefit of the spirit which prevailed in these circles. All that he possessed of worldly goods, he once says,[2] he owed to England. The English aristocracy was then, as now, truly animated by an aristocratic spirit, and strove to show themselves worthy of their privileged position, making it a matter of honour to promote science and to give employment to art, in perfect opposition to the spirit which prevailed among the princes and nobles in Germany.

Art in Germany was essentially thrown upon the citizen class; thus arose

[1] Op. p. 1171. [2] Op. p. 124.

its free spirit and its independent feeling, and its close connection with the whole life of the nation; at the same time, however, it did not overcome a certain narrowness of character, and it suffered besides under the oppression which this period of political and religious revolution exercised upon the German cities. Plastic art in England, on the contrary, stood at this time almost exclusively in the service of the court and the aristocracy. This refers to one branch of it which had been brought to a stage of development peculiar to the land itself, namely, architecture. In the building of great churches, which stand as the production of a whole people, English architecture had never achieved creations equal to the French and German works; equally little could it rival Germany and the Netherlands in the design of town-halls, in which free municipal life is expressed. Its splendid and original productions we find, on the other hand, wherever the demands of the aristocracy and higher clergy are to be satisfied, in chapels and chapter-houses, colleges and palaces. A similar position was occupied by painting, regarding which at that time we cannot speak of any native development of art, though there were a few native masters. Italian and Netherland artists here found a rich field for their works among the grandees of the court, and especially in the King himself. Henry VIII. not only took pleasure in building, but he had interest in many other branches of the art, not merely because it tended to courtly splendour, but also from pure artistic feeling. He delighted in beautiful arms and implements, but he had no less pleasure in paintings. The tendency to collect works of art began in England with him. The inventory of his pictures, carriages, and tapestries, kept in the palace at Whitehall, is highly valuable, and is to be found in the British Museum.[1] The key to his gallery in Whitehall was kept by Henry VIII. himself, according to a document of that day, as was the case also with Francis I. of France who took pleasure in himself showing his gallery at Fontainebleau to visitors of rank.[2]

This was the soil upon which Holbein now entered, yet he was far enough removed from finding the field free for him. Although he was occupied at once by men of the highest circles in close connection with the court, it seems to have been almost ten years before—and this during his second sojourn in England—he found opportunity of working for the King himself. If we enquire as to the artists who were active there on his arrival, we find in the first place John Browne, who had been for twenty-five years sergeant-painter,[3] or

[1] Published by Mr. Wornum, "Holbein, Appendix."

[2] "State Papers," Letter from Wallop, 17th November, 1540, pp. 479—486, where it says of Francis I. . . . "and from thence brought me into his gallery keeping the key thereof Hymself, like as your Majestie useth."

[3] Sergeant = servant. See Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting"; J. G. Nichol's "Notices of the Contemporaries and Successors of Holbein"; G. Scharf, "Additional Observations on some of the Painters contemporary with Holbein," in the "Archæologia," vol. 39, London, 1863.

appointed court-painter, in the service of Henry VIII., and who was, moreover, a man so respected by his fellow citizens, that in 1522 he was chosen Alderman of London. When he died, in 1532, he was succeeded in his appointment by an Englishman, Andrew Wright, whose death took place only a few months before that of Holbein; and from the year 1514—1530, Vincent Volpe was employed by the court, and he painted, among other things, the pennons and flags for the great vessel Henry Grace à Dieu. To artists of this kind we may assign those small and interesting delineations of the deeds and festivities during the reign of Henry VIII., as well as his meeting with Francis I., known under the name of the Champ de Drap d'Or, his embarkation for Boulogne, and the Battle of the Spurs—pictures which are to be found in Hampton Court under the name of "Holbein." Among foreign painters, the Italians, Bartolommeo Penni, and Antonio Toto, seem to have arrived at considerable importance; they are always named together in the accounts of the royal household, and Toto was also active as an architect. Next appear the Netherland artist family of Hornebaud: first, Gerard Hornebaud, traces of whom are to be found in England after the year 1529, and his daughter Susanna, the famous miniature painter, extolled by Dürer, and at that time the wife of one of the King's archers, Master Henry Parker. Susanna's brother, Lucas Hornebaud, was also an excellent master in this branch of art. He was naturalized in England in 1534, and died in the spring of 1544. We learn this from an original passage in the royal Household Accounts, in which the payment of his monthly salary is noted in the April of this year, but in May we read: "Item for Lewke Hornebaude, paynter, wages 'nihil, quia mortuus.'" Of all the artists of that time in England he was the best paid. His salary amounted to 33*l.* 6*s.* yearly, while Holbein subsequently received no more than 30*l.*

But although the German master found here during his life, rivals enough in the eyes of succeeding generations, he so far outshone his contemporaries, that by his side they have almost all passed into oblivion. Recent investigation of documents has discovered historical records concerning them; but, of that which they produced, we know as good as nothing. In isolated instances it appears, perhaps, that the name of Penni or Hornebaud has clung traditionally to a picture. But in general, no other name but "Holbein" is linked in England with the paintings of this epoch.

If we would gain an idea of Holbein's activity in this country, the works of the master which we find in England are insufficient for the purpose; among the galleries on the continent, which contain works of the first rank by Holbein belonging to this epoch, we may name especially those of Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Hanover, and Paris. But England also possesses numerous works by his hand; two of his grandest productions are to be found at Arundel Castle and Longford Castle; several important works are in

the possession of the Queen, especially in Windsor Castle. There are portraits by him in the hands of private persons in various places. Yet, the mass of works bearing Holbein's name stands in no proportion to those which were actually executed by him. We find this also elsewhere, and in most German galleries. Here likewise the genuine Holbein works form only a small portion of those imputed to him. The historical knowledge of art was yet so much in its infancy, that certain great names became collective designations for whole classes of pictures. Almost every portrait in the sixteenth century was denominated "Holbein;" not merely German, but French, Flemish, and even Italian works obtained this honour, while Holbein's actual creations were often paraded under another name, for instance, Mr. Morett's portrait in the Dresden Gallery has been ascribed as is well known to Leonardo da Vinci. The confusion is however greater in England than elsewhere. From what period it dated, it is difficult to ascertain; yet in the time of Charles I., it existed in no wise to the same extent that it has done in the last century. In the Catalogue of his collection, the name Holbein is not attached to numerous paintings which now bear it. The first explanation of the matter occurred through Waagen's criticism, in his book, "Kunstwerke und Künstler in England," and more fully in the later English elaborated work, "Treasures of Art in Great Britain." What he here accomplished was extraordinary, considering the state of historical knowledge respecting Holbein at that time. Subsequently, however, a great number of pictures, whose denomination as Holbein's he had allowed to stand, were set aside, when in 1861, it was discovered that the year of Holbein's death was 1543 instead of 1554. The difference in all the later pictures that had been attributed to Holbein had already struck Waagen, and it is a grand evidence of his artist eye, that he expressed his opinion, that a change in the master's manner must have occurred about the year 1546.

Yet there is little done towards introducing the results of this discovery into English collections. Everywhere pictures by "Holbein" are shown which could not have been painted until after his death; even paintings dated after the year 1554, which previous to the recent discovery was believed to be the year of his death, were adorned with Holbein's name. In the portrait exhibition of 1866, a picture of Sir John Thynne, belonging to the Marquis of Bath, and bearing the date 1566, and one of the Countess of Lennox in Hampton Court, dated 1572, were marked as "Holbein's." In Hampton Court also there appears under Holbein's name a work of the seventeenth century, erroneously given out as the head of Somers, jester to Henry VIII. In Arundel Castle, which possesses Holbein's greatest masterpiece preserved in England, two inferior portraits of the time of James I. are attributed to this artist. The above-mentioned portrait exhibition, which afforded the best

means of becoming acquainted with the artistic productions of this epoch contained sixty-three works denominated "Holbein," nine of which were genuine. But among seven so-called "Holbein" portraits—to possess one real one—this is for England on an average a very favourable proportion. In the gallery of the Queen at Hampton Court, twenty-seven paintings bear this name, only two of which, the portraits of Reskymer and Lady Vaux, are really entitled to it.

On the other hand, the library of the Queen at Windsor Castle, contains a collection of eighty-seven[1] heads sketched by Holbein's hand, which is of inestimable value; those only who are familiar with these drawings can arrive at a true estimate of Holbein as a portrait painter during his sojourn in England, just as it is necessary to be accurately acquainted with the sketches of the Basle Collection, in order to form an idea of his works during his period at Basle. These heads are drawn on paper with charcoal and various coloured chalks, the sketches are often effectively traced over with the brush by the master's own hand, and frequently by a slight shading of Indian ink he has aided the effect of the outline in a marvellous manner. Much of the most delicate parts is indeed effaced or rubbed off, so that in many cases the original harmony of the effect is somewhat marred. In most cases, the drawing itself does not seem so much to have been his object, but as a study for painting, although only the smaller portion of the sketches are known to us in the finished pictures. The heads are usually drawn on the same scale as is the painting, so that many of them are as large as life; several of them are pricked with pin-holes, which show that they were used for tracing. The names of the personages represented, which are noted down on many of the sheets, are not written in Holbein's hand, but are of later origin, so that these denominations cannot be regarded as historically authentic; for, although the correctness of the names has in many cases been established, the incorrectness in many other cases is indubitable. According to Walpole's[2] statement, mention is made in an old inventory belonging to the Lumley family of a similar book of sketches, with the addition that it was in the possession of king Edward VI., and that the names of the persons represented are written by the hand of Sir John Cheke; he was one of Edward's preceptors, and lived not far from the time at which the sheets were executed.

The collection is said to have been sold to France, but in the following century it was presented to King Charles I. of England through the French Ambassador Mons. de Liencourt. The king exchanged for this collection, the picture of St. George by Raphael in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke, and the latter transferred it subsequently to the Earl of Arundel, the famous art collector, who was intimate with Rubens, and was one of Holbein's greatest

[1] According to Walpole, 89; however, two smaller sketches, indubitably not by Holbein, but later and inferior works, have in consequence been withdrawn.

[2] "Anecdotes of Painting." Edit. by R. N. Wornum, 1862, i. p. 85. Obs. 3.

admirers. At that time many of these heads were engraved by Wenzel Hollar on a small scale, some of them not very faithfully.

The collection was originally still greater than it is now. For instance, the sketch for the picture of Mr. Morett, copied by Hollar when it was in the Arundel Collection, is wanting at Windsor. It was purchased a few years ago for the Dresden Gallery, where it now hangs by the side of the painting. At Wilton, near Salisbury, the seat of the Pembroke family, who for a time possessed the entire series, there is a sheet containing the head of Thomas Cromwell, which was left there and which hangs there in a frame. A principal piece containing the head of Henry VIII. himself, which does not appear in the Windsor Gallery, is to be found in the Cabinet of Engravings at Munich. Other sheets are to be found in the Galleries at Berlin and Basle, as well as in the British Museum.

Perhaps the sketches, after the breaking up of the Arundel Collection, came again into royal hands, but all information on the subject is lacking. They were completely forgotten, when Queen Caroline found them in a closet in Kensington Palace. They were then framed and hung up at Kensington. They have now been taken to Windsor, where, under the direction of the late Mr. Woodward, the Queen's Librarian, they were re-mounted with the utmost care, and kept in two portfolios.

In the year 1792, Chamberlaine issued almost the entire collection in engravings by Bartolozzi. Valuable as this splendid work is, and much as it strives throughout to produce an actual fac-simile, even in the touches of colour and in the tint of the paper, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that this aim is not yet attained. The character of the original often appears weakened, and is materially marred by a certain elegance in the execution and conception. In the Windsor Collection there is, however, a fac-simile of wonderful fidelity, which F. C. Lewis engraved after the picture of Cecilia Heron, one of More's daughters. This so far surpassed the other sheets of Bartolozzi, that Chamberlaine saw that they could not possibly stand beside it, and therefore he had Lewis' plate destroyed, that it might not render the whole publication worthless. Recently most of the sheets have appeared in large and excellent photographs, but here also the absence of the delicate touch of colour deprives them of one of the principal charms of the original. We request our readers to examine the engravings or photographs which are accessible to them in most places, if they would gain an idea of Holbein as portrait-painter during his sojourn in England.

Holbein certainly did not torment the people whom he painted with many repeated sittings. He depicted them, even in the sketch, with wonderful fidelity and completeness, so that this seems to have been afterwards sufficient for the painting. In numerous sheets we see short observations written in the painter's hand, relating in general to the colour of the dress or of the beard

and hair. Those in the Windsor Sketches, which belong to the earlier years, are in general grander in effect, and those belonging to his later residence in England are on the contrary more delicate and fine in their execution. At first he usually drew upon untinted paper, but subsequently he gave a reddish colouring to the whole sheet, which corresponded with the flesh tint of the countenance. Any one who is less acquainted with the northern art of this period will find these sketches more suitable to his taste than the finished paintings of Holbein. Our modern eye is less accustomed to understand and to appreciate the loving completion, pervading every detail, which is exhibited in his paintings, and can more distinctly perceive the artistic masterly power displayed, when in a few bold touches its aim is reached with such marvellous truth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The house of More.—The family life at Chelsea.—Sir Thomas More and the king.—His domestic life.—Portraits of More, and portraits which erroneously bear his name.—Portrait of Sir Henry Wyat.—Works belonging to the years from 1527 to 1529.—Portraits of Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher of Rochester.—Sir Henry Guildford.—Nicolaus Kratzer.—The Godsalves.—Sir Bryan Tuke.—Some sketches.—The picture of More's family.—Original sketch in Basle, and studies at Windsor.—Copy in the possession of the Winn family.

BETTER recommendation Holbein could not have found, in the circles to which he was directed, than that of Sir Thomas More, to whom he was introduced through Erasmus. If he went up the Thames to Westminster, past Lambeth House, the residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he arrived, after some time, at the village of Chelsea, which has now almost become absorbed in the mighty city itself. Here lay More's country-house. The records of old biographers, Mander at their head, tell of Holbein's hospitable reception in this house, though they meet with no express confirmation from other sources. In Erasmus' correspondence we find nothing further on the matter, yet this is not to be wondered at. The correspondence of the two friends had become irregular for the last two years, principally from More's accumulation of business since he had entered the service of the king. We may therefore give credence to the statement, which is in itself probable. Noble hospitality was the custom in England generally, and it was especially usual in More's house, which affords us a true model of English family life. Erasmus himself had here found a hospitable reception. Some years before, when he had sent his "famulus," John Smith, an Englishman, to his native country, and had warmly commended the welfare of the young man to his friend, More received him into his own service and household. More had already promised to do everything for Holbein that lay in his power, and the artist had long before introduced himself to his notice in the best manner. Not only from Erasmus' portrait must Sir Thomas More have known him, but in the Basle edition of his "Utopia" he must have seen the title-page, on which stood the abbreviated name of HANS HOLB. And if he before had known nothing of this, as may be imagined, he may now have learned from Holbein himself that he was the

designer of those two other pretty woodcuts, which had been prepared expressly for the "Utopia."

Some letters of Erasmus have furnished us with a charming description of More's house, and the life which was led there. "He has built himself on the banks of the Thames," so says his friend, "not far from London, a country house, which is neither small, nor is it enviably magnificent, but thoroughly comfortable. Here he lives in his immediate family circle, with his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law [in Holbein's time she was not yet married], and eleven grandchildren, who have been gradually added to the number."[1] To live thoroughly with his family was More's principle. In former years, when he practised his profession as a lawyer, or subsequently when under-sheriff and justice of the peace in London, he always set aside the remainder of the day for his own family. When he returned home, although wearied with business, he talked, as he himself relates, with his wife, chattered with the children, and spoke with the servants. This he did no less regularly than he fulfilled the duties of his vocation, because it seemed to him necessary for any one who did not wish to be a stranger in his own home. He expressed it as a principle that to those whom he had received as companions in life, either by nature, accident, or choice, everybody ought to be as agreeable as he could possibly be, without ruining them by kindness, or making his servants masters by indulgence.

When he subsequently, contrary to his own inclination, entered the service of the king, who would not dispense with this man, distinguished as he was for his talents, learning, and character—England's only genius, as his teacher Colet calls him—his time was still more taken up. Besides repeated employment as Ambassador, he was, when Holbein came, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chancellor of Lancaster, and member of the Common Council. He was so indispensable to the king from his personal qualities, that Henry constantly sent for him to speak to him on theology, geometry, or secular matters, or to study the heavens with him at night. But also from the elegance of his mind, the cheerfulness of his nature, his striking wit, and his fine talent for conversation, the king and queen unceasingly desired intercourse with him. More, who felt this as a burdensome fetter to his freedom, and to whom the repeated removal from his family was a heavy tax, had no resource at length but to place himself under constraint, and to restrain his cheerfulness more and more, until at last the court no longer sent for

[1] Letter to J. Faber, bishop in Vienna, without date, but belonging to 1532 or 1533; "Opera," iii. p. 1809 et seq. See, regarding More and his domestic life, letter of Erasmus to Hutten in the year 1519, p. 472 et seq.; More's dedicatory epistle to Petrus Ægidius in the "Utopia;" More's "Life of More;" Mr. Roper's "The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, Kt." Recent biography, "Thomas Morus. Aus den Quellen bearbeitet," von Dr. G. Th. Rudhart; Nuremberg, 1829.

him so regularly. But even in his own house he received sometimes a visit from the monarch. It occasionally happened that Henry would suddenly arrive in Chelsea, in order to spend some hours with him in pleasant conversation. Repeatedly he would come unexpectedly to dinner, and after the meal would walk up and down the garden with him, placing his arm familiarly round More's neck. It was on one of these occasions that his son-in-law, Roper, congratulated him upon these evidences of the king's favour, and More, whose clear eye saw through the monarch, answered in the memorable words: "I thank God, my son, I find indeed that his Grace is my very good master, and that he thus distinguishes me with his favour beyond any subject in this kingdom. Yet, son Roper, believe me, I have no reason, therefore, to be presumptuous; for if my head could gain the king one castle in France, it would fall immediately."

"One could imagine," said Erasmus, "a second Republic of Plato in More's house; but no! that is too small a comparison. With more justice we might call this house a school of genuine Christian feeling. There is no one here, man or woman, who is not occupied with the *belles lettres*, or with profitable reading, although the first and pre-eminent effort is directed to piety of conduct. There is no dispute, no unbecoming word is heard, none is seen idle, and this spirit of true discipline is not maintained by this rare man by frowns and scolding words, but by gentleness and kindliness. Each does his duty, but there is joyfulness in doing it, and there is no lack of jest and cheerfulness within due limits. The lot of this house seems to be happiness. No one can live in it without feeling himself better for it, and that all error is far from him."

That Holbein was worthy to share the life of such a house furnishes convincing evidence in favour of his morals and his education. Only one thing had he here, indeed, to hide; namely, his Protestant opinions. Sir Thomas More, to whom Erasmus could dedicate his "Encomion Moriæ," who showed himself as the decided opponent of the ignorance, coarseness, and immorality of the clergy, was, nevertheless, a still more vehement enemy to any opposition against the doctrines and constitution of the Church itself. And when he subsequently became Lord Chancellor, he who in the "Utopia" had advocated freedom of conscience, persecuted the heretics with all the zeal of fanaticism.

If More interested himself in the artist, the first thing naturally was that he should have his portrait painted by him. There is, indeed, a portrait of him existing, bearing the date MDXXVII., perhaps Holbein's earliest work in England. It belongs to Mr. Henry Huth, in London; and, in spite of many retouchings, was reckoned among the best works in the National Portrait Exhibition of the year 1866. We see More before us in half-length figure, life-size, in a dark green upper coat, with fur collar and purple-coloured

under-sleeves; the hands are resting in each other, the right hand holding a paper, while the arm is slightly leaning on a wooden table, on which the date is inscribed. He is looking towards the right.[1] His head is covered. He wears a heavy golden SS-chain, so called because all the links have the form of a Latin S; while a double rose, in remembrance of the union of the Two Roses of York and Lancaster, is fastened to it—an ornament which only knights might wear. The background is formed by a green curtain, with a red cord, which only to the right of the spectator reveals a glimpse of the blue sky. More is beardless, and wears tolerably long hair, as we see in all the persons painted by Holbein at this time in England. To shave the hair of the head, and to wear a full beard, was customary in Germany at the beginning of the century; in England, and especially at the court, this custom was not introduced before 1530 or 1535. In later years More also wore a beard, as we infer from the statements respecting his execution. When he laid his head on the block, he pushed his beard aside, which, as he said, had committed no treason.

His appearance accords fully with the description which Erasmus sends to Hutten of More's exterior: complexion fair, hair dark brown, eyes grey. We can still see that he was once justly considered a handsome youth. But the cheerfulness formerly diffused over his countenance may have disappeared since Erasmus last saw him, from the seriousness of life, and from his political employments. His face, it is true, shows that calm repose which indicates the utmost harmony of nature and inward peace; but the expression is one of the deepest seriousness, though gentleness is linked with it. The finely-cut lips are firmly closed, there is something almost visionary in the bright and penetrating glance, though otherwise the features betoken clear judgment, combined with noble moral strictness and nobility of feeling. In looking at the picture, the words occur to us with which Erasmus in another passage concisely sums up More's characteristics: "He possesses that beautiful ease of mind, or, still better, that piety and prudence, with which he joyfully adapts himself to everything that comes, as though it were the best that could come." This was the disposition which enabled him subsequently to preserve his equanimity, his character, and even his cheerfulness, under all circumstances. It remained to him when, in prison, he wrote with charcoal these touching lines:—

"Flattringe Fortune, looke thow never soe fayre,
Nor never so pleasantly beginne to smile,
As tho' thow wouldst my ruine all repayre,
Duringe my life thow shalt not me beguile;
Trust I shall GOD, to enter in a while
Thy haven of Heaven sure and uniforme,
Ever after thy calme looke I for noe storme."

[1] From the spectator.

This repose, purity, and gentleness he retained to the last moment when he mounted the scaffold.

Various portraits by Holbein bearing the name of Thomas More occur in other places, but the denomination is erroneous, for they represent wholly different personages, and are some of them not the work of our master. This is the case with the small picture in the Brussels Gallery of a bearded man raising his hand to his chin, with a little dog lying before him, engraved by Vorsterman in 1631, and at that time mentioned in the Collection as by Jan van der Wouwere.[1] It is undoubtedly the work of a French artist, and as such it was declared by Count de Laborde in the year 1850.[2] On the other hand, there is a half-length portrait in the Louvre, half life-size, a beautiful Holbein original, extremely life-like in its conception, and, from its whole execution, belonging probably to the period of his first visit to England.[3] Nevertheless, it does not represent More, but Sir Henry Wyat, of Allington Castle, in the county of Kent, knight and banneret. He was a statesman of the time of Henry VII., and was appointed member of the Privy Council by Henry VIII. on his accession to the throne. He is the father of the Sir Thomas Wyat afterwards repeatedly depicted by Holbein. His personality is established by several copies of the picture which appear in England.[4] That the personage represented was named "Morus, High Chancellor of England," surely only arose from his splendid chain, which is laid on in real gold, as was usual in the portraits painted in England. Such a concession was obliged to be made to the love of splendour prevailing in this country. Wyat's right hand is grasping the cross which is hanging on the chain; the left is holding a sheet of paper. He wears a cap, which covers the ears; a fur-trimmed black dress, with green under-sleeves. His strong and impressive face is seen at three-quarters, and is turned to the left.[5]

On the other hand, there are two masterly heads of More in the before-mentioned collection of Holbein portrait sketches in Windsor Castle. Both have unfortunately suffered much. One is evidently the study for the picture in Mr. Henry Huth's possession; the other, which almost entirely accords with the former, only that the upper lip shows a slight trace of beard, may

[1] Musée Royal de Belgique, No. 19. Catal. by Ed. Fétis, 1865, p. 141. From this picture the engraving of More in the correspondence of Erasmus, edited by Clericus, is taken.

[2] La Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France, i. p. 189. Another so-called More in the Hague, and another in the Leuchtenberg Gallery, St. Petersburg.

[3] Cf. Waagen, "Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris," p. 551.

[4] One in the possession of Mr. Robinson in London; a second in the possession of the Earl of Romney. Both of high artistic value.

[5] A picture which Mechel had engraved as "Morus," is, as Hegner states, p. 87, the Basle Burgomaster, Jacob Meier zum Hasen. The original, which was undiscovered, has been seen by the author in the collection of Prince Czartoryski at Paris. The Meier Madonna in the Dresden Gallery was also called formerly the "family of Sir Thomas More."

have been drawn for the picture of More's family, which was executed two years later.[1]

Among all the pictures of this Windsor Collection, perhaps none in grandeur or boldness equals the life-size head of Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, which we have here subjoined in a woodcut illustration. The outline, as well as many of the lines of the countenance, is given with the utmost exactness and decision, and the touch of colour produces an extraordinary effect. The grandeur and severeness of conception, the plastic feeling and the noble simplicity, cannot be sufficiently admired. The finished painting, still in Lambeth House, accords with it perfectly. The costume is, as in the sketch, a white surplice, large fur collar, and red under-garment, a narrow strip of which appears at the neck. It is a half-length figure. Not merely is the head characteristic and full of individuality, but also the hands of the old gentleman, which are resting on the gold-brocaded cushion. To the right of the spectator is an open book; somewhat further back, on a table, are other books and a mitre; to the left, a magnificent large cross of gold and jewels, executed with such nicety that Jan van Eyck could not have done it better. The background is formed by a yellowish brown curtain. This picture was to be seen in 1857 at the Manchester Exhibition, and in 1866 in the National Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington.

There is in the Louvre a second copy, which fully accords with that in Lambeth House, only that it has a green background. It is likewise so excellent that we do not hesitate to regard it as a repetition by the artist's own hand; in its colouring it is even more agreeable and harmonious than the picture in Lambeth House, which is not without a certain hardness, and has a colder grey tint, though in the general effect it is still more imposing and speaking. Both copies bear an inscription, giving the date 1527, and Warham's age of seventy years. They were therefore executed during the first year of Holbein's residence in England. Warham, who had always shown himself a benevolent and generous patron to Erasmus, exhibited at once an interest in the painter, and allowed him immediately to execute two portraits of himself.

William Warham was born in 1456; the old man is already bent by age, but earnestness and energy still speak in unbroken power in the strongly developed lower part of the face. His whole appearance shows that elevated dignity which becomes a man who is at once a high ecclesiastic and statesman. Under Henry VII., as well as during the early years of Henry VIII., he had been Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, and had shown himself an experienced and upright minister, until at length, by his request, the King took the great seal from him in 1515, and Wolsey was appointed in his stead.

[1] In two copies of it, at Thorndon and East Hendred, More is depicted with a moustache. Wornum, p. 401.

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM OF CANTERBURY.
(Sketch, Windsor Castle.)

He then stood aloof from all political life, devoting himself entirely to the duties of his high ecclesiastical office. He had now much to suffer: the proud Wolsey by many acts infringed on the dignities and privileges of the primate. He stood there as the representative of an age, the foundations of which were shaken, and he must have foreboded much of that complete overthrow which was shortly impending. But Warham's expression in the picture tells us that the motto which we read at the head of his cross is not in vain: "AVXILIVM MEVM A DEO." (My help is from God.)

Probably it was about the same time that Holbein depicted also the second patron and friend of Erasmus among England's high ecclesiastics, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, whose portrait appears in two beautiful sketches: one among the Windsor drawings;[1] the other, still more carefully executed, in the British Museum. We are not acquainted with any painting by Holbein from them.[2] The worn countenance, with its honest, modest, but anxiously conscientious expression, shows completely the man whose wonderful purity of life, combined with profound and unostentatious learning, as well as incredible kindliness of demeanour towards high and low, is extolled by Erasmus, and whose unselfishness, piety, and true fulfilment of his religious duties are celebrated by all contemporary authorities.[3] Even by Froude,[4] the distinguished historian of that epoch, who however persists in a one-sided point of view, this man, who in 1535 shared Sir Thomas More's bloody fate, is thus characterized: "Fisher was the only one of the prelates for whom it is possible to feel esteem. He was weak, superstitious, pedantic, and even cruel towards the Protestants. But he was a sincere man, living in honest fear of evil, so far as he understood what evil was, and he could rise above the menaces of temporal suffering under which his brethren of the episcopal bench sank so rapidly into humility and subjection."

One other man belonging to More's immediate circle and to the party of Wolsey's adversaries, and who was also in correspondence with Erasmus, was painted by Holbein in this same year; namely, Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII. He was a warrior and a scholar. When, in the year 1511, 1,500 archers were sent to the King of Aragon to help against the Moors, he accompanied them by royal order; subsequently he took part in Henry the Eighth's expeditions against France; in 1513 he bore

[1] It appears in Bartolozzi's engraving, besides some illegible strokes, to bear the date 1525; the inscription of the original, however, referring to his end, is as follows, in Italian: "Il Epyscopo de resester fu tagliato il capo l'an 1535."

[2] The picture in St. John's College, Cambridge, is no original. Dallaway, in the notes to Walpole, mentions a picture of Fisher at Didlington, Norfolk, which we do not know. A bearded man who was to be found under this name in the Portrait Exhibition, 1866 (belonging to Major J. H. Brooks), is neither a Fisher nor is it by Holbein.

[3] "Ein glaubwirdige anzaygung des tods Herrn Thomæ Mori," &c.; translation of a Latin letter, also ascribed to Erasmus.

[4] Vol. i. p. 301.

the royal standard at Therouenne, and was appointed Knight Banneret at Tournay. In the painting in Windsor Castle,[1] he is holding a staff of a Lord of the Treasury, an office at which he arrived in 1526; the chain of the Order of the Garter, of which he had been made knight on the 24th April, 1527, adorns his throat.[2] Added to this he wears a gold-figured dress, and a black overcoat with a collar of sable. Dignity, power, and reflection are expressed in the strong countenance, the yellow colour of which is not, as was supposed, to be imputed to retouching, but is peculiar to the individual himself. The same colour of the face appears in the original drawing in the Windsor Collection. The background is formed by a green curtain, which, somewhat drawn back, reveals a glimpse of fig-leaves and blue sky. A cartellino, painted as if it were sealed to the background (the same occurs frequently in Holbein's works), bears the date 1527, and the age of forty-nine years.

A portrait of Lady Guildford, formerly in the Duke of Buckingham's collection at Stowe and now belonging to Mr. Frewen, was in the National Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington in the year 1868.[3] Wenzel Hollar has engraved two half-length portraits of Sir Henry Guildford and his wife, though only from sketches.

To 1527, lastly, the small portrait of a man in the Dresden Gallery belongs; it is a half-length figure, with cap and fur-trimmed coat, and small brown whiskers. In spite of a certain hardness in the execution we cannot doubt that it is the work of Holbein. The date stands on a paper held in the hand.

In the following year, Holbein's reputation seems to have already penetrated to a wider circle. He painted his German countryman, the astronomer of the King, Nicolaus Kratzer, born in Munich, whose portrait Dürer had also taken some years previously when he met him in Antwerp. The painting—now in the Louvre and certainly one of the best of Holbein's pictures there—had been seen by Carel van Mander in the possession of the art connoisseur Andries de Loo in London, and had been called by him "een feer goedt Conterfeytsel en meesterlijck ghedan." Kratzer, large as life and a half-length figure, is looking towards the right, from whence also the light falls. Holbein delights in showing the countenance as much as possible in full light. He wears a black cap and black coat, with a brown upper garment over it. A white ruff and the edge of a red waistcoat appear at the neck. In his right hand he holds a pair of compasses; in his left a polyhedron. Various mathematical

[1] It was in the Manchester Exhibition as well as in the National Portrait Exhibition.

[2] The biography here, as in many other instances, is taken from E. Lodge's text in Chamberlaine's work. See also Stow and Grafton's "Chronicle of England."

[3] The author has not seen the picture himself, and follows the statement of Mr. Scharf, who considers the picture to be original.

and astronomical instruments—for instance, a ruler, a protractor, scissors, hammer, and compasses, to the curious delineation of which Mander justly draws attention—are hanging on the wall or lying on the table, on which there is also a sheet of paper with an inscription bearing Kratzer's name, his age of forty-one years, and the date 1528.

The beardless face is not exactly beautiful; a large nose, broad mouth, coarse chin; he is a thoroughly Bavarian figure, somewhat heavy, but also full of character, and producing an extremely jovial impression. He is thus depicted also in contemporary records,[1] and it accords with the anecdote mentioned by Mander, respecting his naïve answer to the question of the King, why he had not learned better English during the long time he had been in the country. "Pardon, your Majesty," said he, "how can a man learn English in thirty years?" Holbein, who conceived every man in the manner that befitted him, here gave masterly prominence to the national character, and contrived to depict a personage of this stamp with the same striking truth shown in the aristocratic portraits we have just considered.

The Dresden Gallery contains a small panel with the portraits of Mr. Thomas Godsalve of Norwich,[2] and his son John, both sitting at a table. A letter which the father has just written, bears the name, and gives his age of forty-seven years. The date 1528 stands on the wall.

Father and son, the latter a young man, appear remarkably alike, and are true types of English country gentlemen. John Godsalve subsequently came to Court; he was made a knight by King Edward VI., and died in 1557 on his own estate. A second portrait of him by Holbein's hand, but evidently done several years later, is to be seen among the Windsor sketches, which we shall presently mention. It is not a study for a picture, but is completely executed in body-colours, and is one of the most masterly works of the collection. John Godsalve here wears a violet coat, which, standing carelessly open, exhibits the shirt, and over all is a black upper garment trimmed with fur; in his hand he is holding a letter; the ground is azure-blue. The thin young man with a large sharp nose, scanty beard, hair hanging over his brow, and visionary blue eyes, which gaze earnestly at the spectator, has something puritanical in his character. A notice which confirms his strong Protestant bias is to be found in the account-book of the Royal household from the year 1538 to 1541, which also contains many things respecting Holbein. At the new year of 1539, when every one at the Court brought a gift to the Sovereign—the artists their own works, and the nobles costly vessels and such-like things—he presented the King with a New Testament.

Among those portraits which from their designation assuredly belong to this time, we may yet reckon a painting, the artistic character of which

[1] Letters from N. Bourbon.

[2] The catalogue of the gallery calls him erroneously *Sir* Thomas Godsalve.

renders it highly probable that it was executed at this period,—we allude to the portrait of Sir Bryan Tuke in the Munich Pinakothek. He also belonged to the circle of scholars. Among other things he wrote some remarks upon Chaucer, and was extolled by Leland as an excellent writer in the English language. He was treasurer of the King's household,[1] and died in the year 1545.

That he wears no beard and longer hair also indicates this earlier period for the execution of the work. His head is covered with a cap passing over the ears, such as was customary at that time in England. His upper garment is of black silk trimmed with fur; under it is a jerkin, also trimmed with fur and with pretty gold buttons, and sleeves ornamented with a gold pattern. Round his neck hangs a splendid gold cross, on which the pierced hands and feet of Christ are represented in enamel. The ground is formed by a green curtain, behind which is seen a skeleton pointing to an hour-glass almost run out. Below we read in Latin the passage from the Book of Job: "My short life, does not it come soon to its end?" Besides this the name of Io. HOLPAIN is introduced in the old Augsburg orthography. The picture declares itself as strikingly as possible to be the work of Holbein,[2] and it is one of the two genuine paintings among the eight portraits ascribed to him in the Pinakothek. It has, it is true, suffered; the hands especially have lost their shading from cleaning; many of the more delicate transitions have vanished, and the tint of the countenance seems immoderately red. Yet still from its truth and life-like feeling, as well as from its masterly execution, it is an excellent portrait, though somewhat sharp and severe in conception, as are many of Holbein's pictures of this period, especially that of Warham in Lambeth House.

The name of the subject of the painting, who was formerly styled "an ecclesiastic" at Schleissheim, and until recently, at Munich also, was ascertained by Waagen, who found a second portrait of the same individual by Holbein in England.[3] At that time it was at Corsham House, in Wiltshire, the seat of the Methuen family, and it has now passed into the possession of the Marquis of Westminster. It was in the National Portrait Exhibition of 1868, and was regarded by judges as a masterpiece of Holbein.[4]

[1] "Treasurer of the Chambre:" biographical notices in Fuller, the "History of the Worthies of England." T. Leland, "Scriptores nostri temporis."

[2] That Mr. Wornum doubts as to this picture, and considers it painted in the style of v. Melem, and says, "The style does not proclaim it to be the work of Holbein," would to me have been quite inconceivable, had not the painting hitherto been hung far too high. The new director, Professor Folz, who made many excellent alterations in the Exhibition, also assigned a better place to this work. Thus I saw it and can express my opinion with perfect certainty.

[3] "Kunstwerke und Künstler in England," vol. ii. 1838, p. 304. Professor Marggraf's catalogue of the Pinakothek, 1865, first contains the name. [4] Letter from G. Scharf, Esq.

Inscriptions give the name of Sir Bryan Tuke, his age fifty-seven years, and his motto, "droit et avant." Unfortunately it is not known—so far as the author's acquaintance with authorities goes—what was the year of Sir Bryan Tuke's birth, which would furnish us with the exact date of the picture. According to Waagen's description, the costume and bearing perfectly accorded with the painting at Munich, only that the figure of Death is lacking. Although it was unfortunately much dried up and effaced, Waagen extols the delicacy of the execution, and the wonderful charm of its truthfulness to nature.

The dress, the long hair, and the absence of beard render it probable that some other portrait-sketches must have been executed at this time. This is the case with a portrait of an unknown, half-length figure in the Florentine Collection of Sketches. He wears the cap passing over the ears, which was at that time usual in England; the hands are resting within each other. The background is formed by a panelling, crowned with small statues—a magnificent surrounding, decidedly indicating a man of eminence. There is also the portrait of Sir Thomas Elyot (died 1546), one of the most beautiful sheets of the Windsor Collection, from its spirit and delicate execution. He likewise belonged to More's circle of intimate friends, and was a man of various learning, educated for the law, a writer on medical, ethical, and historical subjects, and a translator from the Latin and Greek languages. He commended himself to the King by his acquirements; he was made a knight, and subsequently he was sent as an ambassador to Rome and to the Court of Charles V. After More's execution, his close friendship with him, and his adherence to the Catholic religion, rendered him suspected, so that from this time he retired from the theatre of public life. His countenance, with its decided features, is pleasing, from its refined and intellectual character. The head of his wife, Lady Elyot, who died in 1569 as the wife of Sir James Dyer, forms the corresponding sheet.

There is a master work of the artist in a painting in the gallery at Madrid, representing a man of middle age, dressed in dark attire, with little beard, large nose, and rather plain features, holding a paper in his hand. According to Waagen, the portrait is painted in a strong reddish-brown colour; and although the personal appearance is not very attractive, it is an excellent work. The dress and the wonderful adherence to reality, so far as the photograph of the original allows us to judge, place it decidedly in this period. Never did Holbein exhibit such grandly strict and even coarse adherence to reality in his portraiture, as in the years of his first visit to England.

As a work of this period we would also reckon, from the impression produced by the photograph, the portrait of a beardless and aged ecclesiastic, which was in the Gourtales Collection, and respecting the present fate of

which we know nothing. Nevertheless, a judge such as O. Mündler doubts whether it proceeds from Holbein.

Whether Holbein remained during this whole period the inmate of More's hospitable house is not known to us. Carel van Mander's statement of his three years' residence there, and of the manner in which More introduced him to the King, into whose service he had from this time entered, is nothing but a fable. There could easily have been opportunity for Henry VIII. to have seen the painter and his works in the house at Chelsea, but Holbein's works exhibit no evidence of his having been in communication with the sovereign prior to 1536, and we have no written documents upon this point until 1538.

Whether Holbein lived with More or no, at any rate he was in intimate connection with him until the year 1529. He then completed the most extensive picture which he produced during his first residence in England; namely, the large painting of the More family. The original has now disappeared; Carel van Mander saw it in London in the possession of the art collector, Andries de Loo. "This lover of art," he says, "had a large canvas, painted in water-colours, on which was depicted, as large as life, from head to foot, the learned and famous Thomas Morus, with his wife, sons, and daughters, all magnificently arrayed, a piece worthy to be seen and highly extolled." From De Loo's property at his death, it fell into the hands of a grandson of Thomas Morus, also called More.[1] Since then, all trace of it has been lost; again one of the numerous instances in which a principal work of our master has entirely disappeared.

On the other hand, the Basle Museum possesses Holbein's original sketch, which More sent to his old friend Erasmus, through the artist, when the latter returned home in the year 1529. We here see the family assembled in an apartment, simply furnished, though in accordance with such a house. It is probably the dining-hall, for on the left there is a high buffet, the top of which is covered with a flower vase, tankards, bottles, and dishes, probably silver from their noble form, though a rarity at that time in England, even in large houses. Similar table utensils, a candlestick and some books, are to be seen on the right on the window-sill. In the centre of the wall at the back, which is covered with a curtain, a large clock with weights is hanging. Yet it is also clearly enough indicated what sort of mind regulates the house. Some large folios are lying on the floor, and the greater number of those present, especially the women, have books in their hands or on their laps.

The arrangement of the persons has a serious and formal character, almost approaching to solemnity. There are here no genre-like accessories which catch the eye, but one common feeling pervades all present, producing in this calm assemblage of persons, devoid as they are of all action, a truly

[1] Sandrart here simply copies from Mander.

united and compact whole. The stately, though not magnificent, attire of all also adds to this character. The female heads are, unfortunately, as is the case with most female portraits which Holbein painted in England, injured by the stiff angular head-dress, which completely conceals the hair. Above or beside the separate persons, or at the bottom of their garments, the name and the age of each is written in Latin, and this apparently by More's own hand. The similarity with the address of the letter which Ægidius is holding, in the picture at Longford Castle, strikes the eye. By these notations, the year of More's birth, respecting which the statements differ considerably, is ascertained. In the sketch he is fifty years old; as this, however, from the mention of it in the correspondence of Erasmus, was executed in 1529, he was born about the year 1479.

He himself is sitting in the centre of the circle, with the great chain, and in attire, bearing, and expression, almost entirely as in the picture in Mr. Huth's possession. The hands, however, are almost entirely covered with the sleeves, probably for a good reason: "Manus tantum subrusticæ sunt"—his hands are of a somewhat awkward form; this is the only thing which Erasmus finds to object to in his physical appearance. At his right hand is his father, John More, judge of the King's Bench, a man of seventy-six years of age, whom Thomas More tended in his own house with the utmost care, and whom he never ceased to thank for his strict and simple education,—"an affable, gentle, merciful, upright, and pure-minded man, full of years, though vigorous and blooming," as Sir Thomas More calls him.[1] By his side stands Margaretha Gigs, twenty-two years old, a relative of the family, who was brought up with More's daughters, and soon after married John Clement; she has a book in her left hand, and is pointing to it with her right, apparently as if making a remark upon what she has read to the old man, towards whom she is bending down. In front of her stands the second daughter, Elizabeth Dancy, twenty-one years old, with a book under her arm, and engaged in drawing on a glove. She terminates the picture on the left. Opposite, quite in the foreground, the two other daughters are sitting on the ground, Margaretha Roper, twenty-two years old, the father's favourite daughter, who was wont to call her his Meg, and of whom we hear from contemporary sources that she was not only beautiful in form and figure, but that she greatly resembled her father in understanding and judgment.[2] She had enjoyed a rare education, wrote excellent Latin verses, and yet possessed a quiet and genuinely womanly disposition. Of the whole family she was the only one who thoroughly understood her father's mind and opinions, and a deep and touching love bound her with him. Some years later, when he, robbed of his possessions and goods, lay in the Tower, it was she who brought to him in his

[1] Erasm. op. iii. p. 1442.

[2] "Ein glaubwirdige anzaygung des tods Herrn Thomæ Mori," &c.

prison the liberal gifts of his friends contributed for his support. To her he directed that touching letter of farewell, which he wrote with charcoal on a slip of paper, and he addressed her in it as "Myne owne good daughter." And when he was led away from the base tribunal which had sentenced him to death, she pressed through the multitude, and twice fell weeping on his neck, till he also at last could no longer speak for sorrow, and even the rough halberdiers were not able to restrain their tears.

Margaretha is holding an open book in her lap; her countenance possesses somewhat of the fine superiority and mild repose of her father. The youngest sister by her side, Cecilia Heron, nineteen years old, holding a book and rosary, is turning round, it appears, to her stepmother, Alice, who is kneeling on a prie-dieu stool, behind the two daughters. More had wooed her as a widow, seven years older than himself, after the death of his first wife. The picture also tells us that she was neither "young nor beautiful," as we read in Erasmus' letters, who speaks of her in another passage as a somewhat too lively little old woman, though he does her the justice to say that she was a zealous and watchful mother.[1] By her side a chained monkey is jumping; from Erasmus' letter to Hutten we know that More had all sorts of animals in his house: foxes, weasels, monkeys, and birds of every kind, whose form, nature, and instincts it was ever his greatest pleasure to observe. Behind this female group, to the left of the father (therefore to the right of the spectator), stands John More, the son, nineteen years old, befittingly absorbed in a book; for Thomas More repeatedly informs Erasmus with great joy of his son's advance in scientific matters. John, of whom we otherwise know but little, and who at any rate seems to have had no specially conspicuous characteristics, here makes the impression of a gentle, reflective, and sterling youth. By his side is Henry Patenson, forty years of age, More's jester. Such a man found entrance even into this seat of the Muses. The custom usual in that day was especially prevalent in the great English houses, whose fools are well known to us from Shakespeare. Patenson, of whom More was very fond, is a rude and jovial fellow in his outward appearance. On his right, we see through a door with a wooden screen into an ante-room, in which two servants or secretaries—only indicated by very cursory sketches—are sitting, reading or writing, at the window.

The sons-in-law are not to be seen in the picture; yet we find there the betrothed of the son, Anna Grisacre,[2] a girl of fifteen years old, not however standing by the side of her lover, but just passing behind her father-in-law and the old John More, and turning towards the spectator. The young girl, with a far more worldly mien than the rest, surveys the circle with a bearing and

[1] P. 475: "Viduam duxit magis curandæ familiæ, quam voluptati, quippe nec bellam admodum, nec puellam, ut ipse jocari solet sed acrem ac vigilantem matrem familias." P. 1456: "Nunc habet vetulam ninium vivacem, &c." [2] Or Cresacre.

expression as though she thought quite differently upon most things than was the custom here; and this was indeed the case, as we know from small traits recorded.[1]

Beside the names of those depicted, written in More's handwriting, we find also in two places, in German, and evidently in Holbein's hand, some observations respecting alterations which were to take place in the execution of the painting. By the side of the kneeling housewife we read: "Dise soll sitzen" (she is to be sitting); and to the left above on the wall, close by the cupboard, where only a violin is hanging in the sketch, stand the words "Klavikordi vnd ander seyten spill vf ein bretz" (harpsichords and other instruments on a shelf). To introduce musical instruments was suitable to a house in which vocal and instrumental music was practised by all members of the family, and even Mistress Alice had been induced by her husband's cheerful and flattering persuasion to learn to play many instruments in her old days.

This sheet is the first fugitive sketch, especially intended to arrange the grouping of the numerous family. Yet the portraiture of all the heads, which are only sketched in a few lines, is complete and striking, and even the most delicate, life-like touches are given with wonderful certainty. This is especially perceived when they are compared with the seven large heads, drawn from life for the painting, and now in the portfolios at Windsor Castle. These sketches, which belong to the boldest and most spirited pieces in the collection, are in the first place, Thomas More himself, his aged father and his son, whose youthful grace is extraordinarily charming, the betrothed girl, and the youngest daughter Cecilia, both without names; and lastly, Margaretha Gigs, and the second daughter Elizabeth, under the erroneous denominations of "Mother Jak" and "Lady Bartly."

There are in England various copies of this family painting, for the most part of later origin and with many differences, described by Horace Walpole.[2]

[1] She laughed, according to Roper's account, over More's criticism, when she saw it one day by accident.

[2] See this more in detail in Wornum, p. 231 et seq. Besides the authentic copy at Nostell Priory, there is a probable copy of the former at East Hendred, in Berkshire, in the possession of Mr. C. J. Eyston, formerly at Barnborough, Yorkshire, the seat of the Cresacre family. A copy of the former, somewhat altered, is at Thorndon, near Brentford, in the possession of Lord Petre; in Walpole's time in Sir John Tyrrel's possession at Heron, in Essex.

A later composition of 1593, only partially based on Holbein's, is at Cokethorpe Park, Oxfordshire, in the possession of Mr. Walter Strickland, in Walpole's time at Burford, in the possession of the Speaker Lenthall, &c. In Mechel's work, besides a fac-simile of the original sketch, there is an engraving, "Ex tabula Joh. Holbenii in Anglia adservata," without further statement of authorities. That no original painting lies as a basis for it, is proved by the fact that the alterations to which Holbein's written observations in the Basle sketches allude, and which are to be found in Mr. Winn's picture, are not here attended to. The only differences from the Basle sketch consist in omissions; the violin on the wall and the men in the ante-

To go further into these is without interest for us; only *one* copy, which was long regarded as the original, and was alleged to be the same copy as that which Mander had seen at De Loo's, is highly worthy of attention. It comes, indeed, from a good source, namely, from the possession of the Roper family, through whom it passed by inheritance to Mr. Charles Winn. It is now in his seat, Nostell Priory, in Yorkshire. The identity with De Loo's picture is refuted by two facts mentioned by Mander. In the first place, he says that the grandson of Sir Thomas More, who bought the painting, was named More, and not Roper; in the second place, that it was painted in water-colours, and not in oils, like the picture of the Winn family. This was in the Portrait Exhibition of the year 1866, and proved indubitably with what justice Waagen had spoken when he said it was only a good old copy. Still this large picture is in a high degree interesting. Though the hand that copied it betrays, indeed, an able but in nowise clever painter, though the coldness of the execution is apparent in the unattractive accessories, still it shows us, to a certain extent, with what careful and delicate study the original picture had been executed. This is to be inferred especially from the hands, the masterly traced copies of which I possess, through the kindness of Mr. George Scharf. It is interesting that here, indeed, those deviations from the sketch are to be found, which were in view from Holbein's written observations. Mistress Alice is sitting in an arm-chair; instead of kneeling; a gold chain with a cross is suspended round her neck, and a book is in her lap; on the wall are the desired musical instruments, the violin and the lute. Some small alterations in the furniture of the apartment are also to be observed; the magnificent table service has almost entirely disappeared, and is replaced by flower-pots, musical instruments, and books. This may have seemed less picturesque to the artist, but more suitable to the master of the house. Many of the titles of the books are even to be read; Margaret Roper, for instance, has the Œdipus of Seneca in her lap. Two dogs are lying in front on the ground, which is strewn with green rushes; carpets were at that time rare even in wealthy houses. In the open door, John Heresius, More's "famulus," is leaning; he is a man of twenty-seven years of age, and in the ante-chamber the figure of a man reading is to be seen, almost turning his back to the spectator.

chamber are wanting. I have found Mechel's model in a sepia drawing in the "Gothic House," at Wörlitz, near Dessau. It is evidently a copy of the original Basle sketch, executed long after Holbein's time, and bearing some written notices in Lavater's hand. Mr. Wornum's statement that the Basle sketch was drawn in 1530 is erroneous. This date was placed *below* the picture by the same recent hand which has written the names of the persons below a second time.

CHAPTER XIX.

Return to Basle.—Holbein brings Erasmus the sketch of the painting of More's family.—Erasmus in Freiburg.—Events in Basle; the iconoclastic storm.—Unfavourable condition for artists.—The picture of Holbein's wife and children.—Authentic notices of Holbein's son, Philip.—Information respecting Holbein's daughter.—Continuation of the Town-hall paintings.—Rehoboam.—Samuel and Saul.—The circumstances of the time reflected in the pictures.—Hard times in his native country, and happy turn of affairs in England.—Second departure for London.—The Town Council seeks in vain to retain Holbein.

THE fifth and sixth of September, 1529, are the dates on the letters of Erasmus to Thomas More and Margaret Roper, in which he expresses his hearty delight at the sketch of the family picture, which the painter has brought over to him. "Oh that it were once more granted me in life," he writes to More, "to see such dear friends face to face whom I contemplate with the utmost joy imaginable in the picture, which Holbein has brought me!" "I can scarcely express in words, Margaret Roper, thou ornament of thine England," thus begins the second letter, "what hearty delight I experienced when the painter Holbein presented to my view your whole family in such a successful delineation, that I could scarcely have seen you better had I been myself near you. Constantly do I desire that once more, before my goal is reached, it may be granted me to see this dear family circle, to whom I owe the best part of my outward prosperity, and of my fame, whatever they may be, and would owe them rather than to any other mortal. A fair portion of this wish has now been fulfilled by the gifted hand of the painter. I recognize all, yet none more than thee, and from the beautiful vestment of thy form I feel as if I could see thy still more beautiful mind beaming forth." . . . . . "Greet thy mother," he says after many other things, at the close of the letter, "the honoured Mistress Alice, many times from me; as I could not embrace her myself, I have kissed her picture from my heart."[1]

[1] P. 1232. To More: "Utinam liceat adhuc semel in vita videre amicos mihi charissimos, quos in pictura, quam Olpeius exhibuit, utcunque conspexi summa cum animi mei voluptate." To Margaret: "Vix ullo sermone consequi queam, Margareta Ropera, Britanniæ tuæ decus, quantam animo meo persenserim voluptatem, quum pictor Olpeinus totam familiam istam adeo feliciter expressam mihi repræsentarit, ut si coram adfuissem, non multo plus fuerim visurus. Frequenter illud apud me soleo optare, ut semel etiam ante fatalem vitæ diem intueri contingat charissimam mihi sodalitatem, cui meæ, qualis qualis est, vel fortunæ, vel gloriæ bonam

Scarcely ever has Erasmus at any time written so heartily, and with such warmth of feeling. At the same time, such a lively acknowledgment of the artist is here expressed, that this is a new proof that the reserved recommendation to Ægidius did not arise from a cooler feeling towards Holbein, but from other circumstances. Holbein had certainly only to thank the efforts of Erasmus for all that he obtained in England.

From the work which he there found, the artist had remained absent tolerably long for a Basle citizen, whom the authorities, even when abroad, never lost sight of, and who was bound to his native country by duties to his family, to his guild, and to his city. He had, however, experienced in England not only good; he must also have had to struggle through many and universal calamities and cares. The King's love for the beautiful lady of his court, Anna Boleyn, had already raised doubts as to the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon; and the negotiations on this point placed not only the higher circles, but all England, and indeed the diplomacy of Europe, in excitement. Moreover, there had been a scarcity in London; the sweating sickness had been especially violent in the year 1528; many noble personages had been snatched away by it, and the King almost daily changed his residence; in More's house also the malady had found its way. Margaret Roper was seized most violently by the complaint, and the symptoms of death were already appearing when she was saved as by a miracle. More ascribed her recovery to his fervent prayer to God. Besides all this, during Holbein's sojourn abroad, a war had occurred between the King of England and Holbein's own supreme sovereign, the Emperor of Germany.

When he again returned home in 1529, he did not find Erasmus in Basle, but he may have halted a-day at Freiburg in the Breisgau to see his old patron, and to consign to him the gift from his English friends. From thence the letters of Erasmus were dated which we have before mentioned.

It was political events which had driven the great scholar away from his second home, "that nest to which habit had chained him for many years." While Holbein had been absent, his country had also seen stormy days. The mutual exasperation of the religious parties had at last led to that violent outbreak of hostilities which had been long foreboded. In Easter 1528, the

partem debeo, nec ullis mortalium debeo libentius. Hujus voti non minimam portionem mihi præstitit ingeniosa pictoris manus. Omnes agnovi, sed neminem magis quam te; videre mihi videbar per pulcherrimum domicilium relucentem animum multo pulchriorem. . . . Ornatissimæ Matronæ Aloysiæ matri tuæ multam ex me salutem dices, eique me commendabis et amanter et diligenter. Effigiem illius, quando coram non licuit, libenter sum exosculatus." Lastly, in Margaret's answer, p. 1743: "Quod pictoris tibi adventus tantæ voluptati fuit, illo nomine, quod utriusque mei parentis nostrumque omnium effigiem depictam detulerit, ingentibus cum *gratiis* libenter agnoscimus." In the first letter the painter is called Olpeius, a confusion with the name of a former "famulus," Severinus Olpeius. The name is nearer right in the second letter.

Council had been obliged to make the concession of giving up some churches entirely to Divine worship according to the Reformed ritual, and of removing all pictures from them. Earnestly they warned against sedition; they exhorted all parties not to call each other papistic, Lutheran, heretical, or as belonging to the new or old faith, but to leave every man unridiculed and uncontemned to pursue his own belief.[1] The times were, however, too much excited for these circumspect measures. A crowd of armed citizens in the following year effected the removal of the Catholic-disposed members of the Council. But, once gathered together and armed, the zealots could not disperse without committing violent excesses. The signal for the iconoclastic storm was given; it was the Shrove Tuesday of the year 1529. They began with the cathedral; one of the barricaded doors was burst open, and 340 men rushed in, pulling down and dashing in pieces all the pictures and altars. The orders of the Council were powerless against the self-assumed power. In the delusion that they were checking a culpable idolatry, the zealots proceeded to St. Ulrich, St. Alban's, and the other churches and monasteries. At five o'clock in the afternoon these heroic deeds were ended, and on the next day, Ash Wednesday, the 10th of February, the next act of the drama followed. Four hundred men, with the executioner at their head, entered the cathedral, dashed to pieces all that yet remained, dragged the fragments out before the palace, and abandoned everything to the flames of five bonfires. "There was no one who did not fear for himself, when these dregs of the people covered the whole market-place with arms and cannons," writes Erasmus to Pirkheimer,[2] and then he proceeds to depict the whole tragedy: "Such a mockery was made of the images of the saints, and even of the crucifixion, that one would have thought that some miracle must have happened. Nothing was left of the sculptures, either in the churches or in the cloisters, in the portals or in the monasteries. Whatever painted pictures remained were daubed over with whitewash, whatever was inflammable was thrown upon the pile, whatever was not was broken to pieces. Neither pecuniary nor artistic value could save anything."

Erasmus found that his remaining at Basle was at an end. It had already given offence to many of his noble patrons, princes and prelates, from whom he received pensions, that he should fix his residence in a city disposed to Protestant views. The die was now cast. Inwardly adhering to neither party, nothing was so hateful to him as barbarousness, and at this moment he had seen the greatest amount of it on the side of the Reformation. Indeed, he believed himself no longer safe in Basle, where his difference of opinion was known. He was obliged to resolve "to transplant the old tree," hard as this was for the elderly and sickly man, and he chose the neighbouring city of Freiburg for his residence, where Catholic opinions still held their ground.

[1] Ochs, v. p. 610.

[2] P. 1188 et seq.

The departure from a place which had become dear to him, and from many friends, could not have been without pain. When he entered the vessel which was to bear him down the Rhine, he uttered the following verse, which Bonifacius Amerbach, his companion on the voyage, noted down in his tablets :—

"Jam, Basilea, vale, qua non urbs altera multis
Annis exhibuit gratius hospitium.
Hinc precor omnia læta tibi, simul illud, Erasmo
Hospes uti ne umquam tristior adveniat."

With what feelings must Holbein have entered Basle under such circumstances! The circle of his old friends and patrons was thinned. Froben had ied two years before; Bonifacius Amerbach alone was still there. In the iconoclastic storm, without doubt, many of his own works had perished, altar-pieces and votive paintings, many beautiful designs for which we now possess among the sketches of the Basle Museum. His splendid painting of the Last Supper had only been in fragments. Here and there a work, such as the organ-doors of the cathedral, remained in its place; for these, on account of their lofty position, were protected from the first outbreak of the rude zealots, and the magistrates could afterwards have had no reason to remove them, as they served only for ornament, and did not belong to the pictures to which adoration was shown.[1] For it was expressly stated by the Swiss Reformers, especially Zwingli, that pictures, to which no adoration could be shown, should be allowed to remain.

Holbein, who at the beginning of the Reformatory movement had, with the truest conviction, advocated the Reformation in his own sphere of art, might now sing with all his heart the German Psalms which resounded in the houses of God and in the streets; might take the Lord's Supper in the spirit of Œcolampadius, whose views even Erasmus declared to be very obvious.[2] What an effect, however, must the eighteenth clause, "upon pictures," in the order passed in 1529 respecting the Reformation, have produced upon him: "We have no pictures in our churches either in the city or country, because they formerly gave much incitement to idolatry, therefore God has so decidedly forbidden them, and has cursed all who make images. Hence, in future, by God's help, we will set up no pictures, but will seriously reflect how we can provide comfort for the poor needy ones who are the true and living images of God."[3]

Scarcely had he returned, than he brought a tribute of compensation to his family, from whom he had so long remained absent, by taking a portrait of his wife and his two children, not with diligent care, on a solid wood panel,

[1] C. Gruneisen, "De Protestantismo artibus haud infesto;" Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1839.
[2] "Nisi obstaret consensus ecclesiæ," frequently occurs in letters.
[3] Ochs, v. p. 721.

but with rapid, powerful, and vigorous hand on mere paper. This picture, which exhibits them life-size, is in the Basle Museum, and even the Amerbach inventory states the names of the persons it represents. Only the three first figures 152. . . were left when the picture was cut out and fastened on wood. Yet the date was certainly 1529. Not only does the somewhat older appearance of the wife render this probable, but also the whole treatment. It accords with the pictures executed during the period of Holbein's first visit to England, in the bold energy of the conception and colouring, in the almost rude truthfulness, and also in the clearer flesh tint with its grey shadows, such as is not to be found in Holbein's works prior to this period. It is the same mind as meets us in Warham's portrait, and in the studies of the heads of More's family painting. The painter did not allow himself time for careful and well-adjusted grouping; just as his family chanced to sit before him, he depicted them, and this with such unvarnished truth, that the first effect is almost repulsive, because it is so far removed from all beauty. The full figure of the wife is unconcealed, and her features are in no wise charming. We imagine that we can perceive the same individual in the Solothurn Madonna of 1522, but what a difference have those seven years made which had elapsed since then! In her features many of the cares of life have left their trace behind, and her eyes look either weak or red with weeping. With touching motherly care, Frau Elsbeth is embracing her two children,—the little ingenuous girl, who is sitting on her lap and stretching out her right hand as if desiring something, and the boy, who is standing before her, looking upwards with a true-hearted expression, but with a seriousness that is almost melancholy. There is something touching in the simplicity and unaffected fidelity with which this family group is depicted. Here, where he renounces all idea of delicate execution, the breadth and boldness of the style remind us of Velasquez.

There is a second copy of this picture extant which has much suffered, so that any certain judgment upon it is scarcely possible; but although cleaned, the effect is so striking and the whole work is so excellent, that it has been considered as a repetition by the hand of the master himself.

It is now in the possession of Herr Brasseur at Cologne. This is also painted on paper which has been fastened upon wood. The sketch has not been cut out, and a piece has been pasted on the top with an inscription probably belonging to the sixteenth century:

"Die Liebe zu Gott Heist charita
Wer Liebe hat der Tragtt Kein Hass.

(The love of God is charity; he who possesses love bears no hatred.)

Thus the portrait, in order to be of interest to the purchaser, has been changed into an allegorical representation of charity. Some few differences appear. The

hair of the boy is arranged somewhat more smoothly; many little diversities appear in the fall of the drapery, and the right ear of the wife is—evidently more correctly—placed somewhat higher.

Ever since Carel van Mander and Patin, the biographers of Holbein have spoken of his unhappy conjugal relations, the quarrelsome character of his wife having, as they allege, essentially contributed in leading Holbein to set out for England. Not the slightest basis exists for such assertions, and we venture to regard them as mere fables. Even Dürer's wife, who was for a long period depicted as a second Xantippe, has, in recent times, experienced

an equally happy and thorough exculpation.[1] But in this instance, although there were no other grounds to rest upon, and especially no notice on the part of Dürer himself, still, at least, there was a letter of Pirkheimer's in existence which spoke of her in an invidious manner. As regards Holbein's wife, on the contrary, there is an absence of any document which could throw the slightest shadow upon her. We know nothing of her personally, and only recently, in the investigation of authentic documents of which we have already spoken, have we become acquainted with her name and the fact that

[1] Through Dr. M. Thauring, "Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst," vol. iv. Leipzig, 1869.

she was a widow. Mander and Sandrart repeatedly tell of the unhappy married life of the artists of that day; besides Dürer and Holbein, Sandrart states the same of Grünewald. Without investigating whether our authorities, whom we have never ventured to trust when they appear as historians, are right in single instances, we think it more suitable to raise the question whether a general truth may not perhaps lay at the bottom of these statements. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the spirit of a new age came into conflict with the old relations, this conflict extended to the outward relations of life of those artists who, from this mental progress, no longer fitted into the narrow limits of the petty citizen life to which they outwardly belonged. It may have been similar as regards their married relations. Dürer's wife was certainly an excellent spouse for a master artisan of an ordinary kind. She therefore deserves no blame because her husband was far beyond his position and surroundings, both by mind and education. From her point of view, she is not to blame if she maintained a good citizen-like order, and if she even, which Pirkheimer especially blames, looked a little jealous when her husband was too constantly in the superior society from which she was excluded.

The little boy in the picture of Holbein's family may well be about seven years old, and hence is identical with the child in the Solothurn Madonna. The little girl must have been born just before the father's departure, or perhaps not until after he had left. Some highly interesting and authentic discoveries by Herr His-Heusler have furnished us with information respecting the family. Among the most important are two circular letters of the Basle Council, which refer to a son of the painter. "To our honourable and dear citizen, Jacob David, the goldsmith in Paris," is the address of the first; it is dated Thursday, the 19th November, 1545, and its purport is as follows:—

"We, Adelberg Meiger (Meier), Burgomaster, and Council of the city of Basle, send greeting to thee, Jacob David, and inform thee that it has credibly reached our ears that thou wilt give no discharge to Philippen Holbein (but that thou hast brought him moreover in Paris before the Lord-Lieutenant), although he has served thee honestly and honourably his six years, which were promised by his father, the deceased Hans Holbein, our citizen, now when he, at befitting opportunity, desires to depart from thee, and this not alone on account of his honest and honourable service, as was thy duty before God and in all honour. Thus thou addest one cause of complaint to another, and aim'st at oppressing the good pious youth as far as thou canst and in causing his ruin. This thine unfriendly conduct has caused us not a little regret; we had in no wise foreseen it, but had rather hoped that if any one sought to hinder another in his success and welfare, thou wouldst have taken up his cause and protected him. As this, however, has not been so, and ye are both natives of Basle and our citizens up to this day; and the right of citizenship, and the help which was afforded thee when thy debts (as thou knowest) were to become the Imperial prize,[1] did not tend to thy evil but to thy good.

[1] David had lent an Antwerp citizen of the name of Kropf 1600 sonnenkronen, which the latter declined to pay in consequence of the war which had broken out between the Emperor and the King of France. The Basle Council interfered in behalf of its citizen to the Council of Antwerp, in a letter dated the 1st September, 1543, also in the same collection of papers.

Besides, this Philipp Holbein is in his minority, and is under the care of Franz Schmid, his brother, our citizen, and without his help and authority is qualified for no lawsuit; it is our pleasure, therefore, and we herewith request thee as our citizen, that thou forthwith and immediately breakest off the complaint brought by thee against Philipp Holbein and allowest him, Philipp, kindly and friendly to depart from thee, and because he has served thee honestly and truly, that thou givest him a good sealed letter of discharge, of which he may make use. In all this we express our earnest will and command; we have also written to the Lieutenant who is judge between you both, our citizens, not to continue the proceedings and to refer you both hither. And this done, and the complaint against Philipp at an end in Paris, and he dismissed from you with an honourable discharge, and thou still feelest on the other hand that thy claims and demand, which thou thinkest to have upon him, are of such a character that thou needest not to have let the youth go; thou shalt therefore, as our citizen, cite the said Philipp, also our citizen, to no other place than here in Basle to our municipal court, where we will bring forward thy complaints against him, Philipp, and will at once and immediately do thee justice, as befits and becomes so high an authority. All this we bring before thee in good feeling, presuming that thou wilt perform it with obedience, but nevertheless we wish to receive a written answer to it, through this our messenger, dispatched for this purpose by the city and Council."

In connection with this, there is a second letter addressed "To our Citizen's son, Philipp Holbein, now in Paris," the date of which is the same, and the purport of which is as follows:—

"We, Adelberg, &c. As Jacob David has brought you to law before the Lord-Lieutenant in Paris, we have written to him, as our citizen, to stop proceedings against you, to dismiss you kindly and friendly, and to give you an honourable and sealed discharge for having served him honestly and honourably the years agreed; and if he still thinks himself not in justice obliged to discharge you, he shall bring his complaint here before our municipal court of justice and to no other place, according to our citizen freedom and custom. And because we presume that Jacob David will act in accordance with our desire, we have wished to advise you also, and to desire you not to enter any further into any law proceedings at Paris, but to take your discharge from him, and to depart from him kindly. We have also written to the Lieutenant and Judge not to proceed any further in the matter, but refer you both hither for justice. Keep accordingly whatever occurs in this matter, and give us written information on the subject by this our messenger."

Whether this Philip Holbein is the boy in the family picture, or whether he is perhaps a younger brother, we cannot ascertain. In the first case he must have entered somewhat late upon his apprenticeship, and he would be too old to be mentioned in 1545, with the naïve expression, "the good, pious youth." In Iselin's notices respecting Holbein the following passage appears: "The sons whom he had, were goldsmiths; none of them were painters."[1] Iselin, who could have known Holbein's children personally and, from his connection with the Amerbach family, was in a position to draw his information from the best authority, was certainly right when he spoke of several sons.

Philip, who had received his education abroad, seems subsequently not to have adhered to Basle, but to have turned to Augsburg, from whence his

[1] "Filios uero habuit Johan. Holbein, aurifabros, pictorem nullum."

amily originally came. Paul von Stetten[1] mentions a diamond cutter of the name of Philip Holbein, who, towards the end of the sixteenth century, possessed an instrument for stone-cutting worked by water. This is certainly either the painter's son or his grandson of the same name, an interesting document of whom is communicated by Hegner,[2] from Mechel's Remains. It is "a supplication of the year 1611, from Philip Holbein, Imperial court-jeweller and citizen in Augsburg, to the Emperor Matthias, for the confirmation and improvement of his old and noble coat-of-arms, which was graciously accorded by letters-patent bearing the date of the 1st October, 1612."

As his grandfather, he mentions Johann, "the painter at that time celebrated throughout Europe;" and as his father, he speaks of Philip Holbein of Basle, who had served the deceased emperors, Charles V. and Ferdinand, in military matters and in other things. The statements regarding his former descent are confused and erroneous, evidently not without intention, because the aristocratic jeweller desired to conceal his descent from an Augsburg artisan family, and hence asserted that he had sprung from a noble family in the "city of Uri." The arms of the canton Uri are similar to those of the Holbein family; namely, a bull's head.

This Philip Holbein, who, according to Mechel's statement, was resident in Vienna since the year 1600, obtained his request, in spite of its inaccurate basis. One of his descendants, John George, "Reichshofkanzellist," obtained in 1756 the confirmation of the noble rank awarded to his family in 1612, with the surname of Holbeinsberg, and in 1787 was raised to the rank of a knight of the empire, with the title of a noble of Holbeinsberg.

Herr His-Heusler has also discovered that Holbein possessed three daughters. In Ludwig Iselin's papers, there is a list of all the persons who died between the years 1588 and 1612, and among them we find: The 8th of February, 1590, "Katharina Holbeinin, daughter of the deceased Hans Holbein, the distinguished painter, wife of a butcher;" the 15th September, 1590, "Küngoldt Holbeinin, daughter of the deceased Hans Holbein, the distinguished painter, and widow of a miller;" and lastly, the 17th September, 1594, "Felicitas Holbein, wife of Conrad Volmar, died of the plague." The name of the miller who had won the affections of Küngoldt (Künigunde) was Andreas Syff, as we learn from the baptismal register, and the offspring of this couple was extremely numerous. Between the years 1550 and 1567, there were three boys and six girls baptized. The youngest of the sons, Rudolf Syff (born 1564, died 1603), married Judith Weiss; and their daughter Christina (born in 1597) married Friedrich Menin (born 1595), the brother of

[1] Kunst und Handwerks-Geschichte von Augsburg, i. p. 444.

[2] P. 31. Discussed by Herr His-Heusler, "Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte;" Basle, vol. viii.

the engraver Matthäus Merian. Thus Holbein blood appears in one of the best known families of Basle, whose descendants have become widely ramified.

Religious art in Basle was at this time completely at an end. We have no evidence either that Holbein just now found employment as a portrait-painter. Probably he was occupied in sketching for woodcuts: for instance, in enriching his "Pictures of Death" by many of those sheets which were subsequently added.

At length, however, in the summer of 1530, the artist received from the Council an order for a work worthy of him. The independence and political importance of the city had been raised by the last decisive step; namely, by the thorough breach with the old ecclesiastical relations. It was now time for the paintings in the great Council-hall, which had been left since the autumn of 1522, to be brought to completion. Between the 6th July and the 18th November, 1530, Holbein received payment for them. It was formerly supposed that Holbein had only made a short visit to Basle in 1529. These authentic documents prove that it was not so; he received by various instalments the sum of 72 gulden to paint the apartment of the Town-hall ("vom saal vff dem Richthuss ze molen"). At this time, when he returned from abroad full of fame and success, he could make somewhat greater demands than before. For the narrow back wall, which was still unpainted, he now received more than half the sum he had had for the paintings formerly intended for the entire hall.

Artistically also, the master had made important progress during these eight years. None of his earlier compositions can compete with Rehoboam, an excellent original drawing of which is still to be seen at Basle. With vehement gesture, the young king is dismissing the messengers of the Israelitish people, who are imploring a milder rule. "Minimus digitus meus grossior est dorso patris mei: pater meus cecidit vos flagellis, ego cedam vos scorpionibus," he is replying to them: "My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins; my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions."[1] A page holding the scourge is standing before the throne, and Rehoboam is stretching out the little finger of his right hand towards those whom he is addressing. Thus Holbein, in the simplest and easiest manner, renders the purport of the king's words intelligible to the eye. The king's counsellors are sitting behind the rails within the grand vaulted hall, while on the right a glimpse is caught of the landscape, where Jeroboam is being crowned king by the revolted tribes. The future is thus introduced in the midst of the present. Among the fragments of the paintings, Rehoboam's head and right hand are still to be perceived. It shows, in spite of what it has suffered, great power of expression. He is here seen entirely in profile, while in the sketch he appears in full face.

[1] 1 Kings xii. 10, 11.

REHOBOAM.
(Sketch. Basle.)

SAMUEL AND SAUL.

The last picture, and indeed the largest of all, Samuel and Saul, is not numbered by former writers among the Town-hall paintings. But that it belongs to them is evident in the first place from the fact that in the original sketch, the same column appears as in Rehoboam; and secondly, that among the inscriptions in the hall, given by Tonjola, the following also appears:—

SAMUEL AD SAULUM.

"Numquid vult Dominus holocausta et victima, et non potius ut obediatur voci Domini? Pro eo, quod abjecisti sermonem Domini, abjecit te Dominus, ne sis rex."

The meeting of the King and the Prophet is conceived at the moment in which these words are spoken. Saul has gone to war against the Amalekites at the command of God, but he has not fulfilled that which the Lord had ordered him by his Prophet; namely, not to spare the men nor the women and children, nor the sheep and oxen. He had not killed them, but carried them away as spoil. Samuel then sets forth in anger; Saul perceives him; he dismounts from the horse which is led behind him, and proceeds towards the man of God with reverential greeting, while behind him are the warriors on foot and on horseback, the captive King Agag in their midst, and in the distance the captured herds, while still further we see the burning villages, kindled by the firebrands of war. In vain the King seeks to excuse himself; inexorably, with firm step and angry glance Samuel approaches him, points to the flocks in the distance, and hurls his curse upon him: "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, He hath also rejected thee from being king."[1]

This composition even surpasses that of Rehoboam. The effect is overwhelming. This imprecation scene in painting is equal to the greatest imprecation scenes in poetry; Sophocles is not more tragic and powerful, when his Œdipus calls down destruction upon Polynices, or Philoctetes utters his ὄλοιο against Ulysses. The effect is all the more intense, because the dramatic action is concentrated upon two figures. As a chorus, we see the band of warriors, among whom the dreadful sentence seems to echo with a hollow sound. The two principal figures on the left are so powerfully conceived, and display such strong action, that they afford a counterbalance in the composition to the whole group on the right. The flames kindled in the distance, proclaim the tone of evil which pervades the whole. The effects of light and chiaro-oscuro in Holbein's Basle picture of the Passion render it probable that here also similar effects were intended.

In the choice of subject, these two later pictures differ from the earlier paintings in the Town-hall. Their subject is no longer taken from classic antiquity, but from the Old Testament. In this, the difference of time is

[1] 1 Samuel xv. 22.

plainly to be perceived. They belong to the advanced epoch of the Reformation, which opposed the humanistic tendencies. Holbein, however, had not in vain had intercourse with Erasmus. He knew how to combine Christianity and the classic spirit. He had before indeed freely placed Christ and David among the personifications of the virtues and the examples of antique greatness of mind. In idea at least, one of the pictures, namely, Rehoboam, suits the former ones. It is a warning against haughtiness and despotism, just as Sapor was, and perhaps, also, not without some closer reference to the fate of the city. I cannot help thinking that this painting pointed to Basle's withdrawal from the German empire, whose nobles in their hostility to the citizens, and in their Rehoboam-like arrogance, had compelled the city to take the step. It would even be improbable if such a decisive event had not been remembered on an occasion such as the painting of the Town-hall. But does the spirit which pervades "Samuel and Saul" harmonize also with the spirit of the whole? Here, it appears to me, Holbein did not remain true to the fundamental idea which had formerly guided him. The darker spirit of blood and vengeance which marks this painting, does not accord with the rest, where, as in the representation and inscription of Sapor, clemency to the conquered is inculcated. In Samuel and Saul, however, there is a touch of gloomy puritanical feeling.

This is only to be explained historically. We must realize the entire difference of the periods to understand it. The old golden days were at an end, when art could do nothing better than celebrate grand republican feelings, inflexible justice, and patriotic love. The year 1530 was a gloomy day for Switzerland; it was the period immediately before the Kappel war, in which Zwingli fell, and Protestant Zurich yielded to the Roman Catholic cantons. The whole position of things was such as to proclaim the coming troubles. Civil war seemed on the point of breaking out; the two parties had already, in June 1529, advanced against each other, when the peace of Kappel intervened. When the five old places showed themselves slow in fulfilling the conditions of peace, it was Berne's policy to urge for the payment of the expenses of the war; Zurich, on the other hand, the intellectual centre of Reformed Switzerland, desired above all to see the religious concessions realized, and pursued this aim with a stormy zeal, which subsequently called forth new hostilities.

This discord was now filling the whole of Switzerland, and this it is which forms the idea of Holbein's Samuel and Saul. In reality, as in the picture, spiritual power, filled with plans of violence, stands opposed to secular power, reproving it for looking more to material advantage than to the word of God.

Added to these, there was also a third picture, all of which that now remains to us is the inscription beforementioned: Hiskia (Hezekiah), who

does what is well pleasing to God, and who orders the idols to be broken to pieces; thus did the painter himself feel constrained to glorify the idea which shortly before had led to the iconoclastic storm.

If we once more cast a glance upon the pictures of the Town-hall, both those now painted and those executed before, and endeavour to gain a distinct idea of their connection with each other, we must confess that these works are the first and greatest specimen of genuine historical painting in German art. Holbein had had no forerunner in such works, and after him, the art so unceasingly declined, that he had also no successor. It is just in these works that the master shows himself to be filled with the modern spirit. At the time when Raffaelle in his historical representations was introducing heavenly apparitions in order to designate the higher powers ruling over the world, Holbein works by means of the fact alone, and places an abiding and eternal Deity in the place of the transcendental. Would that the present could learn from him; in this point especially! How Holbein gave form to his grand ideas, how he devised, arranged, and composed his scene, we can see even in the sketches, if we unfortunately can no longer know how he executed them as paintings.

We hear it always and everywhere said by artists, It is all the same what we paint. This is as just on the one side as it is false on the other. The effect of art is produced not by the subject, but by the form; but the form is determined by the subject. The higher the purport is, the greater are the means afforded as regards form, in order to satisfy this purport. And thus no art can arrive at a true consciousness of its power, and at a true perfection of form, unless it has opportunity of attempting the greatest tasks.

The next notice which we have authentically of Holbein is that of the 7th October, 1531. It states that the master, Hans Holbein, has received "17 pfund 10 schilling," about 1*l.* 3*s.*, from "Beden Vren, am Rhinthor zemalen." This was, therefore, again a work of the most ordinary kind. There was on the clock at the Rhine gate the figure of the "Lallenkönig," that distorted face which is stretching out the tongue towards Little Basle, the genuine symbol of national peculiarity of the old stamp. In this Holbein was therefore evidently concerned, and, at any rate, he had to colour the carving.

But these were also sad times in Basle.[1] Two years in succession, 1529 and 1530, there was great scarcity, and in both the little river Birsig caused sad ravages in the town and in the surrounding country. In the bad winter that intervened, the wolves did great injury, similar instances of which have never again appeared. Added to this, disputes abroad and at home increased the religious excitement of the victorious Protestant party into a fanaticism which demanded blood, and which drew upon itself, like the old Church, the

[1] Ochs, vol. vi. chaps. 1—3.

curse of horrible persecutions upon those who differed in belief, a sad instance of which was the execution of Conrad In der Gasse. The Protestant tyranny was no less hard than Papal tyranny had been before. The ban was even passed upon Bonifacius Amerbach, because he could not resolve to go to the Lord's Supper with the congregation, according to the new custom. Added to this, there were religious differences between the separate cantons, which finally led to open war in the year 1531. Sad indeed must have been the state of things in Basle, when at this time the old Catholic cantons in the Kappel war overthrew Zurich and its confederates; when Ulrich Zwingli, who advocated his cause not merely by word, but by action, fell in the battle, and one hundred and forty men of Basle met their death on the field.

It may be imagined that an artist such as Holbein here found no work which could satisfy his inward desires, and could afford him even a moderate recompense. Remembrance of his years in England must have again occurred to him, when he had moved in wholly different circles, had painted men of the highest rank, and undoubtedly had been far more successful in his gains. New and brilliant hopes must have even beckoned to him from thence. Soon after he had left England, in the autumn of 1529, "that great Cardinal Wolsey," "the second King," as Erasmus called him, was overthrown, and Holbein's old patron, Sir Thomas More, was placed as Lord Chancellor at the head of the new ministry.

We possess two works by Holbein's hand, painted in London, and dated 1532, portraits of German merchants of the Steel-yard, which we shall presently mention. Probably the master had therefore set out on his second journey to England, as soon as the winter of 1531 and 1532 was over. As he was then absent for some time, the Council repented having let him go, and the Burgomaster Jacob Meier—not Holbein's former patron, but the Protestant Meier zum Hirschen—addressed the following circular letter to him:

"MASTER HANS HOLBEIN, THE PAINTER, NOW IN ENGLAND.

"We, Jacob Meiger, Burgomaster, and the Council of the city of Basle, send greeting to our dear citizen, Hans Holbein, and let you herewith know that it would please us if you would repair home as soon as possible. In that case, in order you may the better stay at home and support your wife and children,[1] we will furnish you yearly with thirty pieces of money, until we are able to take care of you better. We have wished to inform you of this, in order that you may conform to our desire. The 2nd Sep. anno 32."

But Holbein did not obey the honourable summons of his fellow-citizens. Worthy of acknowledgment as was the offer of the Basle Council, considering

[1] "Kind" (children): "kind" is plural, as we have already observed. Mr. Wornum has therefore erroneously taken this expression as singular, and asserted that Holbein had only one child, his son Philip, and no daughter, in consequence of which another interpretation of the family painting has been attempted. Immediately afterwards, Herr His-Heusler's discovery of Holbein's daughters ensued, and this has fully refuted it.

the needy circumstances at home, doubly oppressed as these had just been by the war expenses of the past year, Holbein had yet in England far better opportunity of gain; and, in the grand capital of the mighty kingdom which was at that time regarded as the city of the world, he had small longing for his little Switzerland, and the narrow disadvantageous life in the respectable Imperial town.

CHAPTER XX.

The Steel-yard.—Sir Thomas More resigns.—Warham's death.—Holbein employed by the merchants of the German Hanseatic League.—Portrait of Gysins.—Hans von Antwerp, in Windsor Castle.—Hans von Zurich.—Derich Born, in Windsor and Munich.—Small circular pictures.—Portraits at Brunswick, Vienna, and Petworth.—"The Wheel of Fortune" in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.—The divorce of Henry VIII. and the coronation of Anna Boleyn.—Splendid entrance of the Queen.—Pageant of the merchants of the Steel-yard, after Holbein's design.—Paintings for the Guildhall of the German Hanseatic League.—Fate of the original.—Sketches in the Louvre: copies.—"The Triumph of Riches and the Triumph of Poverty."—Their intellectual value and their artistic style.—Study of Mantegna and affinity with Raffaelle.—Utmost freedom in the forms of the cinquecento.—Sketch of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

MUCH had altered since Holbein had quitted the shores of England, and the consequence of this in the first place was his admittance into a wholly different circle to that of his previous visit. If he had calculated by his connection with More upon being employed by the nobles to a far higher extent than before, these plans were crossed by the circumstances of the time. On the 16th of May, 1532, the King had dismissed him at his urgent request from his high office. The tendency adopted ever more and more decidedly by the government of Henry VIII., his urgency for separation from Catherine, his endeavours to make himself head of the English Church, had long been counter to the convictions of the Lord High Chancellor. Quietly and cheerfully as ever he returned home after his resignation; on the following morning after mass, he repaired to Mistress Alice, and baring his head made her a solemn reverence, saying at the same time: "My lady, my lord is gone." With these words one of the servants was wont to announce that the Lord Chancellor had quitted the house, when he went to his business. She did not understand what her husband meant, until he explained to her that his high position was at an end. And when she now, after her wont, broke out in passionate reproaches, he answered them only with jests. A different life to the former one had now begun in the Chelsea House. During his high office Sir Thomas More had not amassed wealth: he had always been a father to the needy, he had exercised the greatest hospitality, and as soon as the necessary wants of his own family had been supplied, he spent with liberality all that he possessed.

All that now remained was a very modest income, which left no scope as before for his noble and generous patronage of art.

On the 23rd of August of the same year, Holbein's second patron, the aged Archbishop Warham, had died, taken away by a kind Providence before the complete overthrow of the ecclesiastical affairs in England, after having dictated from his bed a solemn protest against any decree of the Parliament, either carried or in future to be brought forward, which infringed on the rights of the Church and on those of the Papal See.

While the painter's connections on this side no longer availed him, new and fruitful relations opened in another direction; namely, with his countrymen, the merchants of the Hanseatic League, who at all times gave honourable reception to all distinguished men and able artists from their own country. His true home abroad for the next few years was the Steel-yard,[1] with its warehouses and dwelling-houses, with its old stone Guildhall, its summer-house on the riverside, its pleasant garden planted with fruit trees and vines, and its Rhenish wine-vaults, where the golden liquid was gladly drunk by Englishmen also, and German pastry and smoked ox-tongues were regarded by them as delicacies.[2]

From the years 1532—1536, we have portraits of German merchants of the Steel-yard, painted by Holbein's hand. These portraits possess certain common characteristics. For the most part they are taken in half-length figures, and various accessories and implements are introduced, which are executed with great care. On addresses of letters, there is generally the name of the person represented written in German with the place of his abode, London, and usually even the more exact address in the Steel-yard. Besides this, we find for the most part his age together with the date, his motto, or a couple of Latin verses referring to the portrait, all executed with care and introduced in suitable places. None of these pictures exhibit the name of the painter.

The picture most conspicuous in size as well as in artistic value, indeed, one of the most beautiful productions of Holbein, is the portrait of Jörg Gysin in the Museum at Berlin.[3] He was a special countryman of the artist. The family Gysin (or Gyze, as it stands on the picture) belongs to the neighbourhood of Basle; even at the present day, in the adjacent small town of Liestall, this name is to be seen on the sign-board of almost every house. He is a young man, beardless, with rather long fair hair, attired in a black cap, red under-garment of glittering material and black overcoat, both cut out at the top, so that the delicately plaited white

[1] I. M. Lappenberg, "Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes in London;" Hamburg, 1851. R. Pauli, "Bilder aus Alt-England," p. 149.

[2] The Cannon Street Railway Station is built upon the site of the ancient Steel-yard.

[3] Photographs are to be had from the publishers of the German edition of the book.

shirt which covers his bosom is seen. He is just occupied in opening a letter, and indeed a letter from his brother, as the plainly written address shows: "To the honourable Jörg Gysin, my brother, in London, England."

The almost similar addresses on most of the other letters fastened on the wall are also to be deciphered. One note sealed against the wall contains a Latin distich upon Gysin, gives his age of thirty-four, and bears the date 1532. Somewhat lower on the wall stands his motto—harmonizing thoroughly with the simple, bourgeois-like character, which his features plainly indicate—"Nulla sine merore voluptas" (All pleasure is followed by sorrow). He is depicted as sitting behind a table, covered with a splendid cloth, of a fine Oriental pattern; before him are a variety of implements, such as belong to the writing-room of a merchant—writing materials, scissors, pens and seal, a large account book, a round vessel with handles, probably of delicate Venetian glass, containing flowers, especially pinks, and the transparency and distinctness of which are incomparably represented. A ball of twine is hanging down. Two shelves contain books, rings, keys, a watch and seals, and a pair of scales. The background is formed by a green wall. In these accessories, the delicacy of the execution in every detail, and the perfect characterization of the most various materials, gold, steel, and glass, is unequalled. The work is executed with such careful accuracy and such just feeling, that the greatest still-life painter of later times, who places his utmost aim in such details, cannot rival it.

Naturally arranged as if accident alone had introduced them, all the things conspire to produce the artistic feeling desired by the painter. We see not merely the person of the young merchant, but we find him in the ordinary sphere of his activity, in the midst of the exercise of his daily calling. And how thoroughly his whole appearance, his nature, and his expression suit the scene! It is a genuine picture of a German man, German in the form of his countenance—the large, straight nose, the strongly and heavily-formed lower part of the face, and the moist eyes beaming with kindliness and honesty, which are directed to the spectator. What a good heart, what unostentatious integrity, what simple intelligence are expressed in this man! With composure and consideration he does what he is daily accustomed to do; even on opening the letter from his home he takes his time, and would give us an answer if we appealed to him. Holbein, true as ever, has depicted this personage before us, without in the least adding anything of his own, without raising him in any characteristic above that which he is in reality and what he appears daily. But what the man is, that is completely given; the essence of his nature is drawn from his innermost soul, and exhibited before us.

Perhaps in no portrait can we become acquainted with Holbein so thoroughly as in this work; for, besides its other advantages, it is in a rare state of preservation. Only the black of the overcoat has lost its transparency and fresh-

ness with time. Otherwise we find here, as a necessary result of the style of dress and the accessories, a variety of tints and a wealth of colours such as are not usual in the portraits of Holbein. The tint is clear, delicate, and luminous; and while, as we inspect the detail, the work appears to us a perfect wonder, the effect of the whole from the distance is no less striking. It opens to us unimagined beauties the longer we look.

To the same year belongs also a portrait in Windsor Castle, which was in King Charles I.'s Collection, and was accurately described in his Catalogue. It is not in such a good state of preservation as the former painting, and it bears evidence of many retouchings, and has become somewhat dark, but still from the first it did not possess the same delicacy of execution, nor the same wealth of colour. Yet the effect is highly vigorous and life-like. The person represented, about three quarters life-size, appears in half-length figure, looking towards the left, with dark eyes, brown hair and beard. The head is thrown into strong light. Over his black dress there is a dark overcoat, which was probably originally green; the head is covered with a cap, and the background is formed by a grey wall. He is on the point of opening a letter, and cutting with a knife the thread that fastens it. The address of the letter, written in a small and difficult hand, we read as follows:—

"Dem ersamen H[a]nnsen
Von Anwerpen . . . . vpn
Stallhoff zv h[anden]."

(To the honourable John of Antwerp . . . . in the Steel-yard.)

A note lying by the side contains the notice:—

"Anno Dni. 1532 A.D. 26 Julii
Ætatis suæ . . . ."[1]

Here we have, therefore, a man who subsequently comes into personal relation with Holbein. The goldsmith, Mr. John of Antwerp, is one of the witnesses at the drawing-up of Holbein's will. Holbein once designed a splendid drinking cup for him, on the sketch of which, in the Basle Museum,[2] there stands the beginning of the name—HANS VON ANT . . . He was employed by the King and the Court between the years 1537 and 1547.[3] We learn further respecting this man from the reports of the London Goldsmiths' Company.[4] On the 16th April, 1540, Thomas Cromwell recommends "right heartily" to the company, and with the desired success, the bearer of the letter, John van Andewarpe, in waiting on her Grace the Queen (Anne of Cleves),

[1] The age is no longer to be read. In the upper address the word "Anwerpen" is quite distinct, but only the first letter of the Christian name is certain.

[2] Skizzenbuch, No. 109.

[3] A. W. Franks, Archæologia, vol. xxxix. (Discovery of the Will of Hans Holbein.)

[4] William Herbert, "The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London," 1836, vol. ii. p. 138.

who intends to sue for the right of citizenship in London, and wishes, in the first instance, to obtain the freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company, as a step towards the granting of his request. We hear subsequently that he lived twenty-six years in London, married an Englishwoman, and had many children by her. That we do not err in the personage whom the picture represents is confirmed also by two incidents in the picture itself, which indicate the man's calling; namely, the leather apron which appears beneath his overcoat, and the gold pieces which lie before him. Gold and silver coins were exhibited by the goldsmiths in their shops. On the green tablecloth there lies a pen and a seal with the device of his house, which bears the form of a W.

Another goldsmith, Hans von Zurich, depicted by Holbein in 1532, is well known to us, but only through Wenzel Hollar's engraving.[1] Daniel von Wensin[2] tells us, though with some exaggeration, that, not long ago, almost all the goldsmiths in London were Germans, among whom, at that time, the Netherlanders and Swiss were also of course reckoned. Hans von Zurich, Holbein's special countryman from Switzerland, is a thin man, homely in appearance, kind and pleasing in expression. Hollar's engraving gives him in half-length figure. The original was in the Arundel Collection: we have now no more knowledge respecting it, and do not even know whether it was a drawing or a painting.

Another portrait in Windsor Castle, also belonging to the collection of Charles I., was painted in the following year. The whole execution is still more excellent, the shadows are more grey, and the cold and delicate tint reminds us of Gysin's portrait.[3] It represents, scarcely life-size, a young man with a thin and extraordinarily attractive countenance, almost a front face, with dark eyes and chestnut-brown hair. His right arm is resting on a stone breastwork, the left hand is lying on the right arm, and his whole bearing breathes an agreeable repose. The youth wears a black cap and a black silk garment. The delicacy of the detail is especially to be observed in the charming execution of the fine collar of the shirt, which is embroidered in black silk, in the style well known under the name of Spanish work. Fig leaves and blue sky at the back complete the picture. Under the breastwork we read his name, Derich Born, his age of twenty-three and the date 1533, and beneath is a distich of the following purport:—

"Give him only a voice, and thou wouldst believe that thou sawest him in his own person, living and not painted."

There also appears a second portrait of this Derich Born, only containing the head, which is little more than three inches high: this picture is oval, painted in oil upon paper, and, in spite of various retouchings, is a valuable

[1] Parthey, No. 1411.

[2] "Oratio contra Britannos;" Tubingæ, 1613. Quoted by Elze in the Introduction to G. Chapman's tragedy of "Alphonsus," 1867, p. 9.

[3] Waagen makes the same observation: "Kunstwerke und Künstler in England," i. p. 177.

gem in the Munich Pinakothek.[1] It is the same pleasant youth's face, only not quite so much seen in front. Here also the name is inscribed, only that in diminishing the painting, the last letter as well as the age and the conclusion of the date have been cut away; and here also the splendid execution of the Spanish work on the collar, as well as the fine and delicate tint of the colours, are to be admired.

Portraits of this kind in oil, on wood or paper, round or oval, and in a small form, were much painted by Holbein at this time. They form a transition to the miniature-painting which the artist executed at a later period, and they were generally like the portrait of Melanchthon, before described, not hung up, but kept in cases. To the year 1532 belongs, if we may give credit to a date inscribed on the back, the small circular portrait of a man with a brown beard and a broad, well-formed face, decidedly of German type, in a black coat, red waistcoat and black hat, now in the Welfen Museum in Hanover. In the following year, a very beautiful circular portrait, in the splendid gallery of Herr Gsell in Vienna, was executed, representing a young man with a black cap, black coat, and red under-garment. In his right hand he holds a pink, such as appears in numerous portraits of that period, especially in the North. This flower, which we have also observed in the vase in Gysin's portrait, had undoubtedly a symbolic signification. It is a beardless countenance, in character also indicating German descent, noble and significant, with a large nose and expressive lips, delicately closed; the smooth hair is black. The colouring possesses an unusually warm tint for this epoch. The ground is blue.

To the year 1533 belong two still larger pictures of merchants of the Steelyard, in half-length figure and half life-size, both according much in their mode of treatment. The more pleasing of the two, in the Brunswick Gallery, represents in full face a man attired in black, holding his gloves and two letters, the addresses on which contain the words "In London at the Steelyard," and a name which seems to be Ambrosius Fallen. The picture also bears the date, the age thirty-two, and the beautiful motto "IN ALS GEDOLTIG" (Patient in all things).

In the other portrait, which is to be seen in the Belvedere in Vienna, the colouring has suffered some change: the ground, originally blue, has become green, and the shadows are too grey, although the masterly power exhibited, both in the conception and form, is still to be perceived. The beardless young man in a black fur-trimmed overcoat, with his simple and earnest appearance, and his very beautiful life-like hands, is occupied, like Gysin and Hans von Antwerpen, in opening a letter; it is from his father, as the address in the low German dialect informs us:

[1] Cab. 166 a. The second of the two genuine Holbein works there; cf. above, p. 312. In the Catalogue it is only stated "alleged to be Holbein's."

"To the honourable Deryck Tybis of Duysburch, at the time in London in Wi . dgyss [Windgoos alley, a street behind the Steel-yard, where there were many of the houses of the German merchants], my dear son."

We thus here learn the name and the native city.

Still more accurate information do we gather from a second paper lying by the side and inscribed by the hand of the person himself.

"When I was thirty-three years old, I, Deryck Tybis in London, had this appearance, and I have marked this portrait with my device in my own hand, and it was the middle of March, 1533, by me Deryck [here stands the device] Tybis fon dus. . . ."

The same device or monogram, together with the inverted initials D T, stands on a seal, which we see on the table before him, with sealing-wax, pens, and writing material.

Lastly, to the same group belongs a painting which was executed a few years later. It is now at Petworth, the seat of Lord Leconfield. It represents a man with brown hair and full beard, taken at three-quarters, and life-size. The ground is blue, and a green curtain hangs on the left. Both hands are visible; the left, resting on a table draped with red, holds a letter with the address:

"To the honourable and noble Derick Berck in London in the Steel-yard."

Somewhat lower, by the side of a device, stands the name of the writer, which is not to be deciphered. By the side there lies a slip of paper with the words "Olim meminisse iuuabit," from which we infer that this picture was intended in memory of a beloved friend. Below on the right, upon the table-cover, we read the date AN. 1536, and his age of thirty years. The person represented, with his small dark blue eyes and black brows, his slightly bent nose, agreeably-formed mouth and prominent cheek-bones, has something unusually benevolent, sincere, and kindly in his expression; a mild seriousness is expressed in his features. The black of his attire, evidently satin, has a watery lustre, and the folds are sharply broken. The shirt with its Spanish work appears in front: this is also here painted with the utmost perfection.

To the year 1533, in which the greater number of the above-mentioned portraits were executed, belongs a sketch now at Chatsworth, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, representing the Wheel of Fortune; it is executed in body colours, and according to Dr. Waagen[1] is very spirited and genuine.

The four figures—the first climbing the wheel, the second sitting on the top of it, the third falling from it, and the fourth on the ground—are highly expressive. There are German inscriptions by the side, and the picture is marked with Holbein's monogram, the double H, and the date 1533. The idea of the Wheel of Fortune is familiar to Italy, France, and especially to Germany; it appears in the monumental works of the Middle Ages, for

[1] Kunstwerke und Künstler in England, i. p. 253. Treasures, iii. p. 351.

instance in the north portal of Basle Cathedral, and it frequently occurs in woodcuts. Possibly Holbein painted it therefore at the order of a countryman.

The year 1533 marks a turning point in English history. Henry VIII. had at length attained the object of his wishes in the matter of the divorce. What he could not obtain from the Pope, he had now effected without his consent. The Court held at Dunstable, under the presidency of Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, had declared the King's marriage with Catherine invalid. Scarcely had this intelligence arrived, than the most brilliant preparations were made for the coronation of Anna Boleyn, in order to compensate for all that had been impossible in her secret marriage with the Sovereign. London now saw days full of show and festivity such as the city had scarcely ever witnessed before, and Anna's coronation became, as Dr. Ranke[1] says, "the most complete expression of the defection of the whole nation from Papal rule."

It was an old custom that the days previous to the coronation were spent in the Tower, and thus Anna quitted Greenwich on the 15th May,[2] and was conducted with great splendour to London by the Lord Mayor. He proceeded to meet her with fifty large barges, the river was gay with vessels, and crowds were assembled on the banks. At that day the Thames was yet the silvery stream celebrated by poets; no smoke and steam concealed the blue sky, which smiled with the beauty of May upon the pleasant scene. At three o'clock, the Queen appeared in rich gold brocade, and as soon as she had stepped into her barge, accompanied by her maids of honour, the procession began to move on. At her right was a boat with musicians, who played unceasingly for her entertainment, and behind her, each in his richly-decorated barge, came numerous earls, bishops, and nobles, with the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, and Anna's father, the Earl of Wiltshire, at their head. In front of the Queen was the barge of the Lord Mayor of London, hung and covered with gold brocade and silk, adorned with long pennons and newly-painted flags, with two large banners at the stem and stern, bearing the arms of the King and his consort. The whole procession, however, was headed by a large vessel containing a colossal dragon, which moved continually and vomited fire; all round there were frightful monsters and wild men, who also ejected fire, and made a fearful noise. When the procession approached the Tower, the roar of cannons resounded from the numerous vessels lying on the banks, and cannons from the Tower gave a reply louder than had ever been heard before. The music played merrily between, and when the Queen disembarked, she was received at the gates by her consort, who embraced her tenderly.

On Saturday, the 31st May, there was a play, which even surpassed this pageant. Queen Anna was then brought from the Tower through the City of

[1] Englische Geschichte, i. p. 194.

[2] See Stow and Hall; also Froude.

London to Westminster, in order to receive the crown in the Abbey church on the following morning. The suite of the French ambassador—except the Venetian, he was the only representative of foreign powers who ventured to attend the ceremony—came first. Twelve French knights, in doublets of blue velvet with gold sleeves, rode on spirited horses, caparisoned with blue cloths, studded with white crosses. Then followed English nobles, then the knights of the Order of the Bath, the abbots in their splendid vestments, the barons attired in purple velvet, the bishops, earls, and marquises, each rank surpassing the preceding in splendour of costume. They all rode in pairs. Then came the Lord Chancellor Audley alone, and after him the Venetian ambassador, the Lord Mayor, the highest ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries of the kingdom, and lastly the Queen herself, under a golden baldachin, with ringing silver bells, sitting in a white carriage, drawn by two horses caparisoned with white damask which swept the ground. Here she sat in all her loveliness and beauty, arrayed in white silver-embroidered attire; her fair hair flowed down over her shoulders, and a diadem of gold and diamonds adorned her brow. The lady peeresses followed in their carriages, and the royal body guard closed the procession.

The streets from the Tower to Temple Bar were adorned in the most festive manner; the ground was covered with fresh gravel; from the windows of the citizens' houses there hung Persian carpets and Flemish Gobelins: but Cheapside, where the goldsmiths lived, surpassed all other streets, and was entirely decorated with velvet and gold brocade. The streets were lined on both sides with the different artisan companies, masters as well as men; and the constables of the City in gala attire, their staves in their hands, stood at intervals to keep the road free, and to preserve order among the closely-crowded people. The sheriffs rode up and down on their richly-caparisoned Flemish horses. Women looked from every window. Anna's first festive greeting was at Fenchurch Street, from the children of the City schools; but a splendid surprise awaited her at the corner of Gracechurch Street, "where was a costly and marvellous cunning pageant made by the merchants of the Stilyard: therein was the Mount Parnassus, with the Fountaine of Helicon [the relater thought, probably, of Hippokrene, which also begins with a H], which was of white marble, and four streames without pipe did rise an ell high, and mette together in a little cup above the fountaine, which fountaine ranne abundantly with Reynish wine till night. On the mountaine sat *Apollo*, and at his feete sate *Caliope;* and on every side of the mountaine sate four Muses, playing on severell sweet instruments, and all their jestes, epigrams, and poesies were wrytten in golden letters, in the which every Muse, according to her property, praysed the Queene."[1]

This festive decoration of the merchants of the Steel-yard was arranged

[1] Stow, p. 953.

and devised by Holbein. This is not, indeed, told us by the Chronicles which describe that splendid work of art. But in the collection of the late Herr Rudolph Weigel, there is a large drawing by our master, which can be nothing else but the sketch for it, so completely does it accord with the description given.[1] It is a highly-spirited sheet, very characteristic of Holbein, and belonging to the Crozat Cabinet. Only cursorily, and with bold touches, is the idea of the whole sketched with an etched outline and Indian ink. The architectural work below, which supports the whole, is in the richest, but, at the same time, purest Renaissance taste. In the centre is a semicircular arch, as if for a triumphal gate, terminated by two splendidly ornamented pilasters, from which a kind of large console proceeds on the right and left, in order to support the broad stage. High above, under a bower-like baldachin, crowned by the German eagle,[2] with only one head, Apollo is sitting with a small harp, and is extending his right hand, as if in blessing and protection, in the same manner as in Mantegna's "Madonna della Vittoria" in the Louvre, or in the gesture of blessing seen in the Infant Christ in Holbein's Meier Madonna. On both sides, somewhat lower down, are the nine Muses, singing or making music on drums and pipes, lutes and violins, not in ideal costume, but in the dress of the period. All these, no doubt, were represented by living persons. The stone fountain at Apollo's feet is splendid in form; yet here the execution is somewhat diverse from the design, which exhibits not four, but only two jets, and not gushing upwards, but flowing down below. At both corners of the stage stand tall and magnificent candelabras, with two coats of arms, one of which is divided into four compartments, and both are surmounted with royal crowns.

All this was assuredly executed with the utmost splendour. The German merchants made it an affair of honour to spare no expense on such occasions. We hear that twenty-one years later, on the entrance of Philip and the Roman Catholic Mary, £1,000 sterling were expended on similar festive decorations.

Indeed, the merchants of the Steel-yard, in arranging this spectacle in Anna Boleyn's honour, could scarcely turn to any other than to their countryman Holbein, who in this same year had taken so many portraits among them, and was employed for the company as such, as we shall presently see. He here displayed all the magnificence of the Renaissance style, which had already obtained such ascendency in Germany, but which was still new in England. What a difference between this festive decoration and the fantastic dragon vessel of the 19th of May, or another spectacle which immediately followed that of the German merchants in the procession, and which contained, after

[1] Engraved by Loedel in R. Weigel's Sketches.

[2] The merchants of the Steel-yard had also introduced the eagle in the painted glass behind their seat in the Church of All Saints, which they frequented. (Lappenberg, p. 127.)

Catholic fashion, the whole kindred of St. Anna! It was Holbein who now did his best towards the establishment of the Renaissance style in England, in painting, in art, in handicraft, and even in architecture. He had here produced his splendid trial piece; he had revealed the whole life and festive character of the Renaissance spirit, while he scorned as little as did the great Italian master, Leonardo da Vinci, to expend all the richness of his genius on such a decoration of the moment, which vanished with the hour.

In works, also, not merely designed for the passing enjoyment of the moment, the merchants of the Steel-yard claimed the power of their highly-gifted countryman. They ordered of him two paintings for the decoration of their Guildhall, in which the assemblies of the council were held, and the banquets and feasts took place. We have no information as to the time of the origin of these pictures, yet it is probable that they were executed at this very period, in which Holbein was occupied in other works for the Steel-yard and its members.

These paintings, the Triumph of Riches and the Triumph of Poverty, painted with figures life-size, and in tempera on canvas, obtained even in the sixteenth century a fame, such as scarcely any other work of the master has enjoyed. Carel van Mander, who accurately describes them, gives us the opinion of Federigo Zucchero concerning them, who copied them in England, in 1574. Although the Italians are generally too enamoured in the fame of their countrymen to award any praise to other nations, Zucchero declared that these pictures were as good as if Raffaelle d'Urbino had executed them. Zucchero, however, had even gone further with Goltzius, when the latter was in his house in Rome, and both had conversed about Hans Holbein and his works in England, for he had then said they were better than those of Raffaelle.

Of these much admired works, also, all trace is lacking. After Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1598, took the Steel-yard into her own possession, and expelled the Germans from their houses, great neglect and starvation broke in upon these buildings. When in the year 1606, under James I., the Steel-yard was given back to its possessors, the places were found in an evil condition, and all moveables, such as tables, seats, bedsteads, and even panels and glass windows, were almost entirely stolen. That, under such circumstances, a sparing hand watched over the pictures is scarcely to be expected. The Hanseatic League could now no longer raise itself to its former high position; and when soon after the common association of the merchants ceased, and the halls were let, the Hanseatic cities decreed to present the paintings to Henry, Prince of Wales, who, like his brother, Charles I., at a later period, showed himself a zealous friend of art.[1] The housekeeper,

[1] Respecting the pictures and their history, cf. Lappenberg, pp. 82—87.

TRIUMPH OF RICHES.
(Sketch. Paris.

Holtscho, mentions this on the 22nd of January, 1616, and adds: "I cannot, also, leave it unnoticed, that although these works are old, and have lost their freshness, yet His Highness, as a lover of painting, and as the works of the master, specially this work, have been highly commended, has taken great pleasure in them, as I have myself perceived, and have also heard from himself."

It may be supposed that the paintings subsequently belonged to the splendid art collection of Charles I. There Sandrart, in the year 1627, on his visit to England, saw them in the long summer-house of the Earl of Arundel.[1] King Charles may perhaps have given them to this great Holbein friend, in exchange for other objects of art; other instances of this occur. Afterwards, we only hear that during the latter part of the seventeenth century they were brought from Flanders to Paris, and remained there for some time;[2] since then they have disappeared. It is possible that they may again appear somewhere, although, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was said that they were wearing out.

Holbein's original sketch of one of the pictures, namely, the Triumph of Riches, alone exists; it is in the Museum of the Louvre,[3] a spirited and masterly sheet, sketched with the pen, shaded with Indian ink, and with white light introduced. We have inserted a woodcut of it. In the British Museum there is a fragment of an extremely rare and beautiful engraving of 1561, not made from the picture, but, as the accordance proves, from the sketch. It is dated Antwerp,[4] so that the drawing was probably there at that time. A part of the right side, and with it the principal figure, is wanting. There are also in the British Museum two copies of the paintings made by the Dutch artist, Johann Bischop, who died in 1686, and thus probably belong to the period when the paintings had been removed from England to Flanders. They are sketched with the pen and shaded with bistre. The Triumph of Riches exhibits many deviations from the sketch and from its old engraving.

[1] Cf. his own life.

[2] Félibien, "Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellents Peintres anciens et modernes," Paris, 1672, ii. p. 379: "Il y avait encore dans la maison des Ostrelins, dans la salle du Convive, deux tableaux à détrempe, qu'on a veûs icy depuis quelques années, et qu'on avait envoyez de Flandres."

[3] Not publicly exhibited. The so-called original drawing in the British Museum is only a tracing from it, differing in many unessential points (King's Library, screen 1, No. 17). Mr. Reiset, keeper of the Louvre Gallery, asserts, from numerous similar tracings with which he is acquainted, that it belongs to the period in which the sheet was in the Jabach Collection. Our woodcut is copied from that in Charles Blanc's "Histoire des Peintres," which faithfully adheres to the original. The engraving of 1561 in the British Museum hangs near the alleged original (King's Library, screen 1, No. 16).

[4] Marked "[F]AICTE PAR MAISTRE HANS HOLBEVN TRES EXCELLANT POINTRE Et imprime par Johan Borgne Floret' en Anuers lan M.D.XLI. Cum Privilegio." Whether this is the engraver or the publisher is therefore not evident. We know no second copy of the sheet.

Both it and the copies from it are without the greyhound in front, and Plutus, confused with Pluto, has a trident in his hand.[1]

The copies made by Zucchero in 1574, were, in the last century, in the collection of the Hesse Darmstadt privy-councillor Fleischmann, at Strasburg, who probably obtained them at the sale of the Crozat Cabinet, and they were engraved in Mechel's "Œuvres de Holbein."[2] Without doubt, these were the copies which Sandrart, according to his own account,[3] himself possessed. Respecting the further fate of the pictures, all information is wanting. Other copies, which were in Buckingham House, until this fell into royal possession, were obtained by Horace Walpole, and, at the auction of the collection at Strawberry Hill, they were purchased for sixteen guineas by Sir Charles Eastlake, whose widow now has them in her beautiful collection in London. The style of the drawing shows such an affinity with the school of Van Dyck, that, without doubt, Vertue was right when he regarded them as copies by Vorsterman, from Zucchero's sheets, which the former had undertaken to engrave, when they were in the Crozat Cabinet.[4] They are executed in black chalk, with white lights, with a slight touch of colour for the flesh-tints, and with an azure ground; and, next to the sketch in Paris, they afford the clearest idea of Holbein's work. Yet there is only a part there of the Triumph of Poverty.[5]

The representation of triumphal processions corresponded with the taste of the time. Public life was in all places rich in pageants, which on festive occasions were arranged with the utmost pomp. From these, literature borrowed its subjects—we have only to remember the "Trionfi" of Petrarch—and plastic art did so also. We have already become acquainted with the paintings of the Triumph of Death. We have repeatedly spoken of Andrea Mantegna's Triumph of Cæsar, a work which marks the highest point capable of being reached by the art of the Early Renaissance, and which met with scarcely less admiration and emulation in the North than in Italy. Yet still more constantly than a real historical subject, as in Mantegna's work, did an allegorical subject form the basis of such compositions. To this style belongs the triumphal car of Maximilian by Albert Dürer.

Although Holbein here moves in a circle of ideas and delineations familiar to his contemporaries, he had yet no direct model for the special subject of his painting, and we gather from the pictures themselves that he was not, like Dürer, in the evil position of being obliged to follow the programme of learned

[1] A trident is given to him also in the London tracing.

[2] Inscription below: "Ex museo Georgii Gulielmi Fleischmann consiliarii intimi Hesso-Darmstadiensis." Frider, "Zuccari delin," 1574.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 87 et seq. Sandrartische Kunstkammer.

[4] H. Walpole, "Anecdotes of Painting," ed. Wornum, i. p. 89.

[5] Both from drawings from Mr. G. Scharf, engraved in wood for Waagen's "Handbook of Painting," London, 1860.

men who had no idea of what could be expressed in art and what could not. Holbein also, in various instances, undoubtedly sought advice from learned friends. Latin verses were introduced into these pictures, just as, in obedience to the fashion, they adorned the portraits of many of the merchants, and the festive decoration at the entrance of the Queen. Whoever made these may have afforded the artist also material for much of the detail.[1] Yet Holbein was sufficiently familiar with the ideas of humanistic learning to devise this work itself in its principal features. At any rate, the conception of the whole is thoroughly artistic.

"AVRVM BLANDITIAE PATER EST NATVSQVE DOLORIS
QVI CARET HOC MOERET QVI TENET HIC METVIT."[2]

(Gold is the father of lust and the son of sorrow; he who lacks it laments; he who has it fears.)

The same sentence as that inscribed by the merchants of the Steel-yard over the central door of their Guildhall,[3] stood as a motto to the first picture. In an elegant, antique, and gilded chariot (as Mander expresses himself) is seated Plutus, the God of Wealth, a bald-headed old man with a long beard, bent forward, as if heavy cares oppressed him. His foot is placed on sacks of money, and an open vessel, full of coins, is before him. Somewhat lower is seated Fortuna, a youthful and beautiful woman, with graceful action, her eyes bound, her hair fluttering, and a veil, distended by the wind, like a sail. With full hand she is scattering money among the crowd, who are pressing round her chariot, the rich and the fortunate of antiquity, as the names written beneath inform us. That verse of Göethe's[4] occurs to me:—

"Leicht ist's, zu folgen den Wagen
Den Fortuna führt
Wie der gemächliche Tross
Auf gebesserten Wagen
Hinter der Fürsten Einzug."

Foremost advances the corpulent Sichæus, the husband of Dido, and the richest of the Phœnicians; on the other side of the carriage appears the head of the poet Simonides of Julis, who did not escape the reproach of the avarice and the venality of his muse. Behind Sichæus comes the Lydian Pythius, with a turban and in Oriental costume, a true picture of presumptuous arrogance. He it was whose love of money was derided by his consort, who placed a dish of gold before him when he returned hungry from a journey.

[1] The often-repeated statement (Walpole, p. 89) that More wrote the verses for it, is not mentioned by Vertue, and is without all external foundation, as well as internal probability. The poems do not appear in his works.

[2] The verses are given from De Bischop's copy.

[3] Lappenberg, p. 73.

[4] "Harzereise in Winter."

The profile head behind him is marked Bassa. . Perhaps Holbein had intended in him a ruler of the Persian dynasty of the Sassanidæ. The 24th monarch of this dynasty, Chosroes III., might here well find a place. Under him the kingdom flourished, he amassed immense treasures, he adorned his palace with fabulous magnificence,—it is said, with 40,000 silver columns, and in his old age the passion of avarice so overwhelmed him, that his subterranean treasure-chamber became his own dungeon.

The next couple are Crispinus, the favourite of Domitian, lashed by Juvenal for his luxury, and before him, Leo of Byzantium, with a sack of gold under his arm. He, a pupil of Plato's, had defended his native city against Philip of Macedon; but when the latter wrote to his countrymen that Leo had not surrendered Byzantium, because he had not paid the sum demanded, Leo hanged himself. A figure behind them, kneeling down in order to pick up the scattered gold, and whose face is concealed, is designated as Themistocles: this great general did not escape the reproach of avarice, when he accepted some cities from the Persian king; and as he excited the anger of the Greeks by rendering homage to the barbarian king, according to Oriental custom, by bending the knee, he is here depicted as bending in the dust before the Goddess of Fortune. Ventidius, also well known in Juvenal, is extending his mantle to receive the pieces of money; the same act is also repeated in the following figure with the Phrygian cap, designated as Gadareus; that is, an inhabitant of the rich Gades.[1] The carriage is followed by Crœsus, adorned with a crown, and seated on a noble horse which Narcissus is leading by the bridle. Behind them, also on horseback, are two other kings cast down from the height of their power and fortune, namely Midas and Tantalus; and last of all Cleopatra, who exposes her charms to the eye in unveiled splendour, and whose chariot is just turning to follow the stately train of Plutus.

Plutus' horses are driven by an experienced charioteer, sitting in front of the Goddess of Fortune, and designated as Ratio or "Reason." Though one of the crowd around may call out "Vividius!" (Drive faster), the bearded man with his sinewy arms, still unconcerned, holds the reins short. These are called Notitia and Voluntas, "knowledge" and "will," and the horses are moreover guided by four noble and divine female figures, two of whom walk by the side and two ride. The refractory pair of horses next the chariot, Usura, "interest," and Contract, are led by "equity" and "justice;" the foremost pair, which are rearing furiously and are designated as Avaritia and Impostura, "avarice" and "deceit," are curbed by Liberalitas and Bona Fides, "generosity" and "good faith." It is necessary to hold the horses somewhat in check, in order to escape the Nemesis, who is hovering threateningly in the rear.

[1] In Greek, τὰ Γάδειρα.

The Triumph of Poverty bears the following verse as its motto:—

"Mortalivm ivcvnditas volveris est et pendvla
Movetvr instar tvrbinis qvam nix agit sedvla
Qvid ergo confidetvr in gloria
Qvi dives est penvriam formidat ignobilem
Instabilis fati rotam semper timet mobilem
Degitqve vitam popre fallibilem
Qvi pavper est nihil timet nihil potest perdere
Sed spe bona lætvs sedet nam sperat acquirere
Discitque virtvte Devm colere."

(The desire of mortals is fleeting and wavering; they are moved and driven as a whirlpool in the storm. Thus we cannot trust in glory. He who is rich fears ignominious poverty; he fears hourly that the inconstant wheel of fate may turn, and so his life becomes a disappointment. He who is poor fears nothing; no loss threatens him, but joyful hope fills him; for he thinks to acquire, and he learns by virtue to serve God.)

In no splendid triumphal car, but in a poor wheelbarrow, Penia, "poverty," is seated, an old, lean, and half-starved woman, as Mander calls her. A thatched roof forms her baldachin, and Infortunia, "misfortune," sits beside her as her companion. She is raising her rod against those who follow her chariot, half-naked and desperate figures, one of whom is called by the artist Mendicitas, "mendicity." Instead of fiery steeds, two donkeys, Stupiditas and Ignavia, "stupidity" and "inactivity," and two oxen, Negligentia and Pigritia, "negligence" and "sloth," draw her vehicle along. But they are guided by four graceful and blooming female figures: Moderatio, Diligentia, Sollicitudo, and Labor, "moderation," "industry," "activity," and "work," the last especially a beautiful woman, beaming with freshness, power, and health. The reins, however, are held by Spes, "hope," who is looking confidently up to heaven ("houdende de oogen zeer beweeglijk hemelwaard geslagen," as Mander says); and behind her sits Industria, "industry," kindly advised by Memoria and Usus, "memory" and "experience," and distributing instruments of work, hammer and threshing flail, square and axe, to the poor and the needy who press around her carriage. Thus the artist, wholly in the sense of modern times, tries to solve the social question by self-help. The common fundamental idea of both pictures, however, is to warn against arrogance in prosperity, and despondency in adversity. Wealth and poverty can both lead to the right goal if only the journey be well directed. This gives to both the right of celebrating a triumph.

Filled with such a spirit, these paintings could well form a worthy and ingenious ornament for the banquet-hall of the famous commercial company. And truly, if it were contemplated in the present day to decorate the hall of an Exchange with wall-paintings, nothing better could be done than to recall these compositions to life from the sketches that exist of them.

The character of the pictures is allegorical. Allegory, however, is a kind of art which in the present day is depreciated by artists, by æsthetics, and by the public generally. It is remarkable that other epochs to which we, as regards artistic creative power, readily grant precedence, had not even an idea of this objectionableness of allegory. Not even antiquity and the Middle Ages, but the masters of the prime of modern art, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, knew nothing of this. If the artist so conceives with the power of his imagination, ideas which belong to the understanding; if he so pervades them with the warmth of his artistic feeling that he is capable of fashioning them into personal forms, and of presenting them living before us who will forbid him to do so? The only thing required is that he is actually able to do this. But if he can do it, he proves at all times his creative power, and thus affords a rich gift to our artistic conceptions. In Raffaelle's figure of Poetry, the essence of poetic creative power has been so perfectly personified, that in looking at it we believe and are convinced of its existence, just as the faithful worshipper is convinced that the mythical forms of his religion represented in pictures are actual beings. The same may be said of Andrea Pisano's Cardinal Virtues, of his "Hope" and "Poverty" in the old gates of the Florentine Baptistery, and also of Cornelius' Apocalyptic horsemen, or the Blessings of the Sermon on the Mount, which he devised in such wonderful groups for his cemetery paintings. We feel, indeed, impelled to assert that art generally has no higher subjects than those afforded by this free range of imagination. Here the artist feels himself most raised above the barriers which ordinary life, with its cares, sorrows and restraints, imposes on him, and he gives himself up freely to the impulse of his creative genius.

Such was the feeling which animated Holbein when he produced these pictures. He knew indeed, better than anyone, how to depict reality truly and distinctly. In his portraits he represented the different individuals with the utmost exactness as they were, artistically depicting even what was ugly and stupid, ordinary and prosaic, because he conceived everything with such love and such penetrating power, just as it was. Thus in historical representations he gave every action and every event with strong distinctness, just as the impartial eye must imagine them to have occurred. But here, for the first time, in the pictures of the Steel-yard, he felt himself freed and elevated. Here his imagination was itself to prescribe its law and limits, and pure beauty held its unfettered sway.

Who that is capable of reflection could, in the presence of these pictures, venture to revile allegory? Do we, perhaps, in the present day, better understand so-called historical pictures, battle scenes, or political actions? Who can comprehend them, until he possesses a catalogue with a long explanation of the respective numbers? But figures such as Holbein's Plutus, as his "Hope,"

and his "Work,"—to whom are they not tangible and actual? The picture clothes the idea, and its purport stands before us as a life-like personification. Many of the details are, indeed, first understood when we read the names inscribed by the side; many niceties and ingenious touches are only appreciated when reflection comes to aid. But the same is the case, also, with Raffaelle's wall-paintings in the Camera della Segnatura. The same may be said of these as of Holbein's Steel-yard paintings; they invite reflection and reward it richly, but by their appearance alone, they also satisfy the artistic eye, even before reflection has had time to be aroused. The spiritual purport, also, of the picture in its principal features strikes the impartial eye at the very first glance.

It speaks much in favour of our master, if, in this respect, we compare his creation with Maximilian's Triumphal Car, by Dürer. His splendid composition betrays, indeed, as we have already said, that it was made according to a programme forced upon him by others. The figures which surround the seated emperor are not intelligible without explanation, and this direct juxtaposition of real personages of the present time with allegorical figures is critical. When Holbein combined historical figures with allegorical, the personages belonged to remote antiquity, and could easily be united with them in an ideal world. But what gives to Holbein's creation above all a totally different stamp, and secures to it a totally different effect, is, that it expresses a general idea, and does not, like Dürer's composition, merely serve for vain personal glorification. As regards form, Dürer in this work adopted the Renaissance style as he has done in no other. The study which he here displays, the theoretic certainty, the artistic knowledge, are extraordinary. And yet his figures remain strange to us, while those which Dürer drew wholly from his national conception, and which he brings before us in the attire of his country, in German style and bearing, are thoroughly akin to us, in spite of all their hardness, angularity, and peculiarities.

How different is Holbein in the pictures of the Steel-yard. "In point of style and artistic merit," says Dr. Waagen[1] of the work, "it stands midway between Mantegna and Raphael, and is more than any other of his works calculated to prove Holbein to be *the* master in whom German art attained the free form of the cinquecento." With regard to form and style, the pictures stand, indeed, on the soil prepared by Andrea Mantegna. In the study of his works, especially in the Triumphal Procession of Cæsar, the German master learned the fundamental principles of structure and rhythmical movement, and found models for that free and graceful fall of the drapery which delights us here in the thoroughly ideal costume, especially of his female figures. The same model lastly influenced him in the choice of the base line as his point of sight, a choice praised by Mander as very judicious, and which is also to be

[1] Treasures, iv. p. 36.

perceived in other works by our master, as, for instance, in the organ doors. While Holbein, at an earlier period, had for the most part drawn short figures with large heads, he had now passed beyond this defect; his figures are slender and well-proportioned, and the freedom in appearance and action, which had ever marked his creations, does not here incline to coarseness, but is combined with genuine grace. Thus, starting from Mantegna's style, upheld by his own power and unaffected by those around him, he approaches the style to which Raffaelle had attained in Italy. When Zucchero, as he stood before the Steel-yard pictures, mentioned Raffaelle, he intended still more than that Holbein could rank with this greatest of masters. The true artistic affinity of the two masters is plainly to be perceived, when we look at that which is yet left to us as a faint idea of those vanished paintings.

Compared with all Holbein's earlier productions, he here appears to have attained to a wholly new stage in his art. We know enough of the master to be convinced that the paintings were not inferior to the design, and Mander's statements strengthen us in our belief. "Both pieces," says our oldest informant, "were excellently arranged, freely drawn, and well delineated." The few observations which he makes besides respecting their execution leads us to infer that the artist, in accordance with the technical character of the work, here rather indicated than entered into realistic details. He, the great colourist of the North,—who in one of his Basle wall-paintings, Samuel and Saul, must have introduced even flames and smoke, chiaro-oscuro and effects of light,—seems here to have aspired after a more ideal style of colouring. The horses that drew the chariot of Riches were white, the naked parts of the female figures at their side were of the natural colour, but their garments were only black and white, ornamented at the edge with shell-gold. Gold which, by its just application, imparts at all times an ideal character, and increases the effect of calm dignity, seemed also elsewhere not to have been used sparingly. And thus the effect of the paintings must have been cheerful and festive, when they occupied the place for which they were intended, and adorned the walls of the German Guildhall above the fire-place with its elegant mantelpiece, and the buffets with their dazzling array of pewter and silver.

Historical compositions during Holbein's English period are extremely rare, yet in the Queen's Library at Windsor Castle, in one of the cases in the upper hall, there is a drawing of a moderate size, which is so splendid that few of the large pictures executed by our master can compete with it in importance. It is the sheet representing the Queen of Sheba before Solomon, well known from Wenzel Hollar's engraving; and at the time that he copied it, it was in the Arundel Collection in London. The time of its origin is not stated, but the harmony of the style with the compositions of the Steel-yard is so evident, that we mention the epoch at this place.

In front of a building of grand Renaissance architecture, with fine columns and panelled ceiling, King Solomon is sitting enthroned. A curtain is falling in folds behind him. In front of the throne kneels the foreign queen, her face turned from the spectator and addressing him. Noble women are following in pairs, and before the sovereign kneel the servants with gold and costly gifts, which they are presenting to him. At the side of the throne stand the wise men and the elders of the kingdom.

The address of the Queen is introduced in Latin in various places in the background: "Thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard. Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel; therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice." [1]

Beautiful and elegant as is the effect of the engraving, it yet affords no idea of the spirit and nicety of the original. This is no sketch for a picture, but the drawing was in itself the object. With all its lightness the execution is incomparably excellent; it is done in metallic pencil, slightly shaded with Indian ink. Occasionally the drapery and the architecture of the background are touched with dead gold, which produces a charming effect, and here and there the artist had gone a step further in the indication of colour. The fruits in the basket which a girl is holding are green and red. The ground between the columns is blue with gold stars. The expression of the men's heads, and the grace of the female figures, which are, however, coarser in the engraving, cannot be sufficiently admired in the original. There is throughout a beautiful rhythm in the lines, grace, and action. It is perfectly Italian, we might even say Raffaelle-like, in style.

[1] 1 Kings x. 7—9.

CHAPTER XXI.

Work in Protestant circles.—Several portraits from the year 1532 to 1535.—The great picture in Longford Castle.—Sir Thomas Wyat.—His head in drawings and in woodcuts.—John Leland, the antiquary.—Thomas Cromwell and his portraits.—The Poyns family.—Simon George and Reskymer, of Cornwall.—Nicolaus Bourbon de Vandœuvre comes to England.—His portrait in drawing and woodcut.—Personal relation of the poet to Holbein.—Bourbon's poems on the artist.—Holbein as a miniature-painter.—The sons of the Duke of Suffolk.

HOLBEIN was also employed by Englishmen during these years, though, in thorough contrast to his former visit, he now seems especially to have found patrons in those circles which were favourable to the Reformation. Of personages of this kind we may mention two portraits, which hung side by side in the picture gallery of Count Schönborn in Vienna until the year 1866, the more beautiful, however, of which is now in the Collection of Herr B. Suermondt at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the picture at Vienna, a book is lying near the person represented, from which a piece of paper projects, bearing the significant words, "Veritas odium ponit" (Truth brings hatred). May we not suppose that this book indicates one of those writings which the German Reformation at that time was even more and more transmitting to England? In the latter part of Wolsey's time, William Tyndale's New Testament in English had appeared, which had been printed in the Netherlands. Though the high ecclesiastics in England might purchase and destroy almost the whole edition, still this only supplied the publishers with money, and paved the way for a new edition without in any way hindering the secret dissemination of the work. The persecutions which Wolsey, and still more zealously More, inflicted on the adherents of the German heresy, were of little permanent effect, and a total change was now at hand.

The cover of the book also contains the painter's monogram, and the painting on its azure ground is inscribed with the date 1532, and his age of twenty-nine. The youth is looking gravely and calmly before him; his beardless and somewhat reddish countenance, and the hands, which are resting on a green covered table, are masterly in their execution; he is holding a pair of gloves in his left hand.

The corresponding picture which Herr Suermondt possesses, represents,

like the former, a young man, dressed in black, a half-length figure half the size of life, on a blue ground: he must belong to the same family as the former, for his signet bears the same device as that of the other; his beard is fair, and he is taken full face; the beautiful left hand is again holding gloves, and the right hand partly appears under the splendidly-arranged mantle. The head is extraordinarily gentle and mild in expression. According to the inscription, he is thirty-four years old, and the portrait was painted in 1533.

To the same year, also, a large painting belongs, which occupies an important place among the principal works of Holbein, and, among those works of the masters which are yet to be found in England, is indeed perhaps only surpassed by one. It is a large panel at Longford Castle, belonging to Lord Folkestone, containing two male figures, life-size. Holbein himself placed such importance upon this work, that he marked it with his full name:[1]—

IOANNES HOLBEIN, PINGEBAT, 1533.

The picture bears the traditional name of "The Ambassadors;" but the name of "The Scholars" seems as if it would be far more suitable on account of the apparatus relating to art and science which is to be seen all around. Both men are standing at the side of a high table with a double shelf, on which each is leaning his arm. The one to the left of the spectator, evidently the principal figure, is an imposing knightly personage, in the prime of youthful vigour, with hair inclining to dark, and a short full beard, in the noble court attire of the period; he wears a black upper garment with puffed sleeves and a fur trimming, a jerkin of brilliant red satin appearing at his chest and sleeves, green scarf and broad Burgundian shoes, besides a gold necklace, from which hangs a medal of St. Michael. The head, which is taken from a front view, is covered with a little hat placed awry. The splendidly-painted left hand is hanging down, the right is resting on a richly ornamented gold dagger, which attracts attention from its noble Renaissance ornament, and the large blue tassel of gold cord.

The other figure, who is resting his right arm on a book on the table, is standing a little further back, and is not wearing the dress of a courtier, but that of a scholar by profession, a doctor's hat, and a long robe of brown silk, irregularly marked with green stripes, lined with fur and a fur collar. The left hand is grasping the over-garment, which reveals at the chest the glimpse of a black coat with a white shirt collar; the right hand, holding the glove, is resting on the table; he also wears a short beard, and his hair is dark brown.

[1] This mark was discovered by Mr. Wornum in the year 1865. The part of the ground on which it is inscribed is very dark. Before this in 1858, it had been copied by Mr. George Barker, and had been communicated to Mr. Scharf, but no statement had been made public.

The table is covered with a richly designed Oriental cloth, and upon it stands a celestial globe and various other astronomical instruments. On the lower shelf, there is a terrestrial globe, executed with the utmost nicety, so that even the Latin names written on it are legible, such as BRISILICI and ANTIGLIE INSVLE, or the only German city noted down, NVRENBERGA. By the side, and some of them on the marble floor, lie a pair of compasses, two lutes, a chest with flutes, and a chant book with the text and notes, a large fish, a book with astronomical calculations, with the text evidently in German, perhaps one of the books of Sebastian Münster, which Holbein had before illustrated. Two German church songs are plainly to be read in the chant-book. On one side stands written:—

"Kom heiliger geyst herregott,
Erfull mit Deiner gnaden gut,
Deiner gleubgen hertz mut vnd sin,
Dein brunstig lib entzund inn ihn.
O herr durch deines lichtes glast,
Zu dem glauben versamlet hast,
Das volck aller welt zungen,
Es s(ei) dir herzu lob gesungen—gesungen."

(Come, Holy Ghost, O God, fill with thy grace the heart of thy faithful people, and kindle in it thy fervent love. O Lord, by the splendours of thy light, thou hast gathered together the faithful of every nation. Praise to thee herewith be sung—sung.)

And on the second:—

"MEnsch wiltu leben seliglich
Vnnd bei Gott blibene (ewiglich)
Soltu halten die zehen gebot
Die vns gebeut vnser Gott."

(Mortal, if thou wouldst live happily, and dwell with God for ever, thou must keep the Ten Commandments which God has given us.)

A green curtain forms the calm and agreeable background.

This painting reveals the utmost power in the colouring; the flesh tints are of a warm yellowish hue. The most various materials, both in the costume of the men and in the accessories, are depicted in a most characteristic manner, the careful execution of subordinate matters is admirable, and yet these again, with great artistic wisdom, are subordinate to the whole, producing an effect of the utmost harmony. In all these respects the picture at Longford equals the portrait of Gysin painted a short time previously, and harmonizes with it in the execution generally, although a somewhat colder tone prevails in the portrait of the German merchant.

Tradition tells us that the man in the court attire represents Sir Thomas Wyat, the famous favourite of Henry VIII., and we find this doubly confirmed. In the first place, his face accords perfectly with Wyat's subsequent

portraits; in the second place, inscribed on his dagger, we find ÆT. SVÆ, 29. Sir Thomas Wyat was born in the year 1503, and therefore in the year 1533 was twenty-nine or thirty years of age. He was the son of that Sir Henry Wyat of Allington Castle, whose picture by Holbein hangs in the Louvre. He was educated at Cambridge and Oxford; he then travelled on the Continent, and returned as a model of a highly accomplished and chivalrous man. In the very year in which Holbein took his likeness he began his career at Court. At the coronation of Anna Boleyn, the honourable office of ewerer was awarded to him in the place of his father, probably on account of the death of the latter.[1] Wyat possessed all physical as well as intellectual endowments. He was a noble warrior, an expert statesman, and he was frequently employed by Henry on important diplomatic embassies, so that the name given to the picture of the "Ambassadors" was not wholly unsuited to him. He was versed in various languages, and in different arts and sciences, and he was distinguished as a poet in his own tongue. His poems appeared in the year 1565, combined with those of his friend, the Earl of Surrey, and they were regarded as the noblest poetic productions in the English language of that time. His poetic gifts, his knightly and scientific inclinations, his wit, and his power of conversation, soon won for him the favour, and indeed the love of the King, which he returned—a rare occurrence—to the end of his life. Wyat also stood in favour with Queen Anna Boleyn, and attached himself to the men of the Protestant party.

The clearest evidence of this may be found in the picture itself, in those German psalm tunes. He translated also the Bible Psalms into his mother tongue. "Transtulit in nostram Davidis carmina linguam," says John Leland of him subsequently.

It is to this friend that we owe the following description of him personally:—

> "Corpore procerum finxit natura Viatum,
> Ejus et invictis nervos dedit illa lacertis.
> Addidit hinc faciem qua non formosior altra,
> Læta serenatæ subfixit lumina fronti.
> Lumina fulgenteis radiis imitantia stellas."

(Nature has formed him slender of figure, and has endowed him with unconquerable power of arm. She has given him a countenance which no one can surpass in beauty, and glad eyes under a merry brow, eyes which beam like luminous stars.)

The poet Surrey also says of him that he had "a visage stern and mild." These descriptions correspond perfectly with his appearance in Holbein's grand portrait.

Two heads of Sir Thomas Wyat in the Windsor Collection[2] show the same regular and beautiful countenance with the same true manliness and

[1] Stow, p. 957.

[2] Only one is engraved in Chamberlaine's work.

calm superiority of expression, but they were evidently executed a few years later. The beard is still more grown, and flows down imposingly. One of the sheets is especially finished; the hair is excellent, and blue eyes beam beneath the overhanging brows.

In the year 1541, Sir Thomas Wyat died of fever at the age of thirty-eight, on a journey which he had undertaken by order of his sovereign. It was an event which caused Henry great sorrow. John Leland did honour to his memory by a little book which appeared in the following year: "Nænia on the Death of the incomparable Knight, Thomas Wyat."[1] On the back of the title-page, there is a woodcut of a small circular profile of Wyat.

In Effigiem Thomæ Viati.

"Holbenus nitida pingendi maximus arte
Effigiem expressit graphice, sed nullus Apelles
Exprimet ingenium felix animumque Viati."

(Holbein, the greatest in the magnificent art of painting, has sketched this portrait, yet no Apelles can express in painting Wyat's mind and happy genius.)

With the smallest appliance conceivable of outward means, the master sketched this slight and spirited head on the wood-block, and the character of his drawing beams forth in the picture, though the engraving betrays an unpractised hand, as is the case with all the woodcuts executed in England after Holbein's designs. Wyat's throat is bounded by a piece of drapery after the style of antique busts, which increases the plastic effect of the drawing.[2] His brow here extends almost to the crown of the head; and we may remember that, at the close of Leland's description of his appearance, he says:

"Nature had given the youth dark auburn hair, but this gradually

[1] "Nænia in mortem Thomæ Viati equitis incomparabilis;" Lelando Antiquario auctore, Londini, anno MDXLII. Cf. Passavant, 63. See respecting the woodcut, Detmold, in the "Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste," ii. p. 136, with a fac-simile of the woodcut, a copy of which we have here given. Fac-simile also in Chatto, "Treatise," &c.

[2] Numerous paintings, life-size, taken from this woodcut, appear in England as "Holbein's." One of these, in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, and another belonging to the Marquis of Hastings (this one was not designated as a Holbein), were in the Portrait Exhibition of 1866. Lodge, in the text to Chamberlaine, states that there was an original in the possession of Lord Romney. Cf. Walpole, i. p. 82. Obs. by Dallaway, who mentions a picture of Wyat in the possession of the Earl of Romney, the Moat, Kent.

disappeared, and left him bald, but the thick forest of his flowing beard increased more and more."

> "... Cæsariem juveni subflavam contulit: inde
> Defluxit sensim crinis, calvumque reliquit.
> Sylva sed excrevit promissæ densula barbæ."

Might it not also be possible to learn who is Sir Thomas Wyat's companion in Longford Castle? His scholar's attire, and the "ÆTATIS SVÆ, 25," which is inscribed on the edge of the book beneath his arm, are the only external indices. Is there any scholar who was a few years younger than Wyat and was on such terms of intimacy with him as to be depicted in the same panel, though modestly standing a step behind him?

We know of only one man whom we could imagine here, namely, this same John Leland (1552), who did honour to Wyat in his poetical eulogy. It is true that the year of Leland's birth, which could furnish the best evidence in favour of our supposition, is unknown, yet it is stated as probable that he was born[1] in the latter years of King Henry VII.'s reign (1509), and this would support the conjecture. Leland was Wyat's friend from his early youth, and had received his education with him at Cambridge.

> "Me tibi conjunxit comitem gratissima Granta,
> Granta Camœnarum gloria, fama, decus,"

he says in the Nænia, which affords us a beautiful memorial of how the relations of the two men continued until Wyat's death. John Leland, who subsequently visited Oxford, afterwards went with the King's assistance to Paris, and became a scholar of Budeus. On his return, still a young man, he was a scholar of such reputation, that Henry VIII. appointed him rector of Popeling in the marches of Calais, and made him his librarian, and in the year 1533, his royal antiquarian, when he began those works which have gained him lasting importance; namely, the collection of material for the history and antiquity of England and Wales.

To the year 1533 also belongs the portrait of Robert Cheseman, royal falconer, a half-length figure almost life-size; this work is now in the Hague, and is described as very beautiful.[2] The figure represented is holding a falcon on his wrist, and in the greenish-blue ground stand his name, the date, and his age, 48 years.

[1] "De tempore ejus ortus non possum recte computare, conjectura tantum est, illum circiter annos postremos Henrici, ejus appellationis septimi, lucem adspexisse." Leland's Life, in his "Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Oxonii, 1709;" Wood's "Life of John Leland, Athenæ Oxon." vol. i. col. 67; also "Joannis Balei Centuriæ," c. 8, fol. 671; "Corollarium Vitæ, J. L." by William Burton, in "J. Lelandi de rebus Britannicis Collectanea," London, 1774, 2nd edit.

[2] The author has not seen this picture himself, and here follows Mr. Wornum (p. 251) and Mr. Bürger.

In the following year, two splendid little circular pictures were executed; they are now in the Ambraser Gallery at Vienna. They are in the same style as those we mentioned in the last chapter, and may be compared for beauty with the head of Melanchthon. They depict a bearded man in a black cap and red garment, according to the inscription thirty years of age, and a lady in a splendid full-trimmed dress, twenty-eight years old. The physiognomics have a decidedly English character; and as on the right side of the man there is a H, and on his left side an R, in gold embroidery, English investigators, such as Mr. Nichols and Mr. Scharf, may perhaps succeed in ascertaining the personage depicted. It was the fashion at that time to wear the initials of the name thus embroidered, or fastened on jewels and ornaments.[1] Both pictures are extraordinarily distinct, full of life, and in good preservation; that of the lady is somewhat colder and more delicate in tone.

It is of especial interest to see the portrait by Holbein of the man who soon after rose to be the prime leader of all English political matters, and who was at that time mounting from step to step. This was Thomas Cromwell, who with keen eye surveyed the position of his country, and penetrated also the character of the sovereign. Even at the time when Henry VIII. was inflamed with anger against the Pope on account of his opposition in the affair of the divorce, he had never conceived the idea of making common cause with the German Protestants. He personally hated Luther, with whom he had had theological disputes, and he had no understanding for the spirit of the Reformation. It was Cromwell who showed him the way in which he could turn the Reformation to his worldly interests without abandoning his orthodoxy, while he allowed the doctrines and constitution of the old Church to continue in England, but made himself the supreme head in spiritual things instead of the Pope. Cromwell's talent, the experience of a striving life, and the school of diplomacy which he had passed through in Wolsey's service, all enabled him to attain his object. Judiciously using Henry's love for Anna Boleyn, and building upon his inclination for despotic power, he urged the King on to a complete breach with the Papacy, and obtained an influence equally great over the Parliament, who implicitly followed his guidance. Thus he carried out those political measures which procured for the English kingdom a power of unprecedented extent, which at the same time obtained for the nation her independence abroad, her liberation from the ecclesiastical yoke, and thus opened the path to her future greatness.

Cromwell's head, drawn by Holbein, with a slight touch of colour and very decided outline, upon paper tinted red, similar to those in the Windsor Collection, is now at Wilton House.[2] A circular painting with green background, and enclosed in a painted square stone frame, and containing likewise

[1] Cf. G. Scharf, "Archæologia," vol. xl. p. 87.

[2] Under glass in one of the private apartments of Lady Herbert.

only the head, taken almost in profile, is in the possession of Captain Ridgway in London. Cromwell here wears a black silk quilted coat, and a black cap which entirely conceals the hair. In both these excellent works, the historical character is retained with astonishing exactness. The pictures distinctly call to mind the hard and toilsome career of the man, who, the orphan of a farrier at Putney, battled his way through the world at home and abroad, until his talents raised him, the son of the people, above the highest nobles. His head rests on a strong bull-like throat. His fat face, with its small crisp whiskers, large nose and thin compressed lips, small piercing eyes and expression of cold determination and tenacious firmness, all mark the politician, who, unbiassed by personal and moral considerations, and availing himself of the evil passions of his master, solely pursued his statesmanlike aim. And yet, at the same time, a grand character stands before us; and especially in the Wilton drawing, a genuine dignity is expressed in the features which compels our esteem.

Mander saw in De Loo's possession the portrait "of the old Lord Crauwl, about a foot and a half large, taken unusually artistically by Holbein." Probably this is Captain Ridgway's picture, though this was only a foot square.

The Countess of Caledon possesses a larger painting of Cromwell, which was at the National Portrait Exhibition, and has been multiplied by Wenzel Hollar's beautiful and rare engraving;[1] he is sitting on a wooden seat with a high back, and is holding a paper in his hand; the background is green. When the engraving was made, the original was certainly not so injured, nor so disfigured as it now is by a flaw and by bad restoration. The head especially has suffered, while the subordinate things, the black dress with the fur collar, the pen, the papers, and the richly-bound book, still distinctly betray the hand of the master. One of the papers bears the address,

> "To our trusty and right well-beloued
> Counsailler Thomas Crom-
> well Maister of our Jewel-house."

This establishes the period at which the picture was painted, which cannot be later than the first months of the year 1534. In the year 1531, Cromwell was appointed Master of the Jewel-office, and in the beginning of 1534 he was advanced to be First Secretary of State and Master of the Rolls.[2] This

[1] Parthey, 1386. Without Hollar's name. In Lodge's "Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain," London 1835, an engraving by Freeman, from a similar picture in the possession of Sir Thomas Constable, Bart. Yet the engraving plainly shows that this could only have been a weak copy. The same may be said of Houbraken's engraving from a picture in the possession of Edward Southwell, Esq., in "The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain," 1747. Cromwell's head, though not very true, is also in the "Heroologia Anglica."

[2] "British Plutarch," i. Cf. Lord Herbert, p. 404.

is the same period at which the decisive change in Cromwell himself took place:[1] his inner bias to the Reformation, which until now had been scarcely clear to his own consciousness, appeared; the upright and sterling qualities of his nature drew him to the Protestant side, and thus he carried out the Reformation in England, in a totally different manner and extent to that which King Henry VIII. had intended.

Perhaps the artist owed his connection with Cromwell to Sir Thomas Wyat, who stood on terms of intimacy with him. Another friend of the poet, celebrated indeed in two of Wyat's poems, we find among the Windsor sketches, namely John Poyns of Essex (died 1558). The head turned upwards and seen almost in profile is covered with a black cap. The beardless countenance, with the delicately compressed lips and animated eyes, has something unusually noble and enthusiastic in its expression. Leland mentions him first among the three intimate friends whom Wyat found at the Court.

"Excoluit largi Poyningi nobile pectus."
(He loved the noble heart of the Poyns.)

Nicholas Poyns, whom we likewise see among these drawings, a grave elderly man, bareheaded and with a fair beard, belongs to the elder branch of the family, which had settled in Gloucestershire. Holbein also depicted his son, Nicholas Poyns, of whom we know little more than that he subsequently lived as a simple country gentleman at his seat Tron Acton, and was sheriff of his county in 1539.[2] The splendid study of the portrait is at Windsor, and the beautiful painting, life-size and a half-length figure, is in the possession[3] of M. de la Rosière in Paris; it bears the date 1535, and the age 25, and on the blue background the following French motto is still legible:

"JE OBAIS A QVI JE DOIS
JE SERS A QVI ME PLAIST
ET SVIS A QVI ME MERITE."

The whole appearance of the youth harmonizes with this knightly motto; he is a slender-looking cavalier, pleasing without being really pretty, and thoroughly an Englishman in character. The face as well as the figure is seen in profile. Poyns wears moustachios, and a beard is also beginning to grow; his nose is large, and his dark eyes are shaded by overhanging brows.

[1] Froude, vol. ii. chap. 6, end.

[2] Fuller, "The History of the Worthies of England."

[3] There are several copies in England. There is a very good one in the possession of the Marquis of Bristol, London, from which I have taken the inscription. Mr. Holford, Dorchester House, London, possesses a miniature perfectly in accordance with it, and which was exhibited in 1865 at the Exhibition of Miniatures in the South Kensington Museum. Unfortunately Mr. Holford could not find the picture when I had the pleasure of seeing his splendid gallery. The photograph in the South Kensington Museum makes it impossible to decide whether it is a Holbein original.

A golden chain falls over the black jerkin, and the plumed hat is placed awry on his chestnut-brown hair.

We will here mention the portraits of two other country gentlemen, which are not indeed dated, but which probably belong to this same epoch. Herr Brentano, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, possesses the half-length figure of a young man in profile, wearing a hat with feathers, and a pink in his hand. We recognize at once the same individual as appears in the Windsor drawings, Simon George of Cornwall, only that in the sketch he has merely a moustache, while in the picture the beard is somewhat fuller. The cap with its gold embroidery and adorned with a bunch of pansies, as well as the whole richly-ornamented attire, is splendidly executed; the beautifully-sketched face, on the other hand, has lost the harmony of colour through cleaning; and by the cutting of the panel, two inscriptions which stood in the background to the right have been mutilated; but it seems that the painter's name stood here.

There is a young man belonging to the same country, represented in a portrait at Hampton Court, which is accurately described in Charles the First's Catalogue, and the excellent study for which is in the Windsor Collection. According to its designation, it is "Reskemeer, a Cornish gentleman." The Reskymer family appears in Cornwall, and a John Reskymer was sheriff of his county in the years 1535 and 1536. A John Reskymer also, perhaps his son, held this office in the years 1556 and 1557, under the Catholic Mary.[1] The subject of the picture is a young man about thirty years of age, seen in profile and looking towards the left, with a splendid pointed beard of unusual length, brown, though slightly reddish. A small hat is drawn awry over his brow, and both hands are visible. According to a custom frequently occurring with Holbein, fig-leaves are introduced in the background, which was originally blue, but which has now assumed a greenish tint. The painting is not quite equal in delicacy to the sketch, but it is a life-like and powerfully painted portrait, and is one of the two genuine Holbein works among the twenty-seven bearing his name in Hampton Court.

At about the time of which we are speaking, a man came to England who entered into close personal relation with the artist, and whose name is no longer unknown to us; namely, the poet Nicolaus Bourbon de Vandœuvre. His history presents the picture of one of those scholarly and poetical existences, in which the sixteenth century, especially in Italy, was so rich. He too was one of those men without a distinct and regular vocation in life, who sought to make their fortune at courts, who experienced the utmost change of outward circumstances, found a home wherever a favourable position offered itself, and who, without having any important and positive achievements in literary matters to produce, found a place, from their mind and their acquaint-

[1] Fuller, "The Worthies of England."

ance with the culture of the age, in the immediate circle of monarchs and nobles. In the year 1503, Nicolaus Bourbon was born at Vandœuvre, not far from Bar-sur-Aube, and showed himself to be a poet at the early age of fifteen. He was subsequently admitted to the Court of Francis the First of France, and was especially a favourite with his sister, Queen Margaret of Navarre. But a change in his circumstances made him suddenly poor, and some offensive passages in his poems, in which he expressed himself too freely on religious subjects, exposed him to persecution. He was thrown into prison in the year 1534, and obtained his freedom only through the intercession of Henry VIII. The King was interested in him through Anna Boleyn, who had passed her early youth at the French Court, and through his physician, Dr. Butts. In 1535 he proceeded to England, and the connections which he already possessed there, procured him the most favourable reception; he was employed as a teacher, and this of youths of the highest circles, among others of Henry Carey, subsequently Lord Hunsdon, a nephew of the Queen. In the year 1536 he returned home, where the clouds meanwhile had dispersed, and he was subsequently summoned to educate Jeanne d'Albret, the daughter of the Queen of Navarre.

Among the Windsor drawings, his head appears in profile, turned towards the left; it is a very agreeable face, delicate, reflective, and intelligent, with long hair and small beard, and a pen in his hand. He is like the portrait of Erasmus writing; the whole bearing, and the manner in which he moves his pen, are highly characteristic. Everything reveals at once the intellectual and graceful court poet. It was on occasion of this portrait that Bourbon made the epigram upon "the incomparable painter Hans Holbein:"

"Dum diuina meos uultus mens exprimit Hansi,
Per tabulum docta praecipitante manu,
Jpsum et ego interea sic uno carmine pinxi;
Hansus me pingens maior Apelle fuit."[1]

(While the divine genius of Hans immortalizes my features, boldly tracing them on the panel with skilful hand, I have also painted him thus in verse. Hans, thus taking my portrait, was greater than Apelles.)

The picture was afterwards sketched by the artist on a smaller scale on the wooden block, just as before, engaged in writing, only that in the print the countenance is no longer looking towards the left, as in the other, but towards the right. This print adorns the later editions of Nugæ, a collection of Bourbon's poems, published after the year 1538. Besides the name of the poet, his age, thirty-two years, is inscribed, and the date of the sketch, 1535. The portrait is circular; graceful ornaments, quite in Holbein's Renaissance style, fill the corners, and below two naked boys are holding the poet's coat-of-arms, which bears a cross in the upper shield and a swan below.

[1] Nugæ, 1538.

Bourbon proved himself grateful. If the painter adorned his poems with this sketch, he wrote in return that laudatory introductory poem, of which we have already spoken, for the pictures of the Old Testament, in the publication of which Holbein was soon afterwards occupied. The enthusiastic admiration which Bourbon conceived for the master and repeatedly expressed, proclaimed Holbein's fame more loudly and publicly than had ever been the case before. The range of expressions and ideas at the disposal of those who extolled the works of plastic art, was extremely small; to compare the artist with the most famous masters of classic antiquity was the best that could be done. And Bourbon did not do otherwise. But he placed Holbein not merely side by side with the ancients, he even speaks of him repeatedly as greater than they. That he enjoyed personal intercourse with him, and was even intimate with him, may be seen from other expressions. In the year 1536, when Bourbon had quitted England, he wrote to Thomas Solimar, the King's secretary: "I have yet to beg you to greet in my name as heartily as you can all with whom you know me connected by intercourse and friendship: Mr. Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury; . . . Mr. Cornelius Heyss, my host, the King's goldsmith; Mr. Nicolaus Kratzer, the King's astronomer, a man who is brimful of wit, jest, and humorous fancies; and Mr. Hans, the royal painter, the Apelles of our time. I wish them from my heart all joy and happiness!" Holbein is here mentioned not only in a list with his countryman Kratzer, whom Holbein had painted some years before, but also with the English Reformer. That he otherwise stood in any relation with the latter is not known; there is no portrait by his hand of Archbishop Cranmer. The fourth in the list, the King's goldsmith, Cornelius Hayes, is constantly mentioned both in the receipt book of the royal household as well as in that of the King's privy purse.[1] Lastly, the poet expressly mentions Holbein as his friend in the following heading of an epigram: "In picturam Hansi regii apud Britannos pictoris et amici."

The poem thus entitled, written upon a painting by Holbein, is interesting in itself:—

"Sopitum in tabula puerum meus Hansus eburna
Pinxerat, et specie qua requiescit Amor:
Ut uidi, obstupui, Chærintumque esse putaui,
Quo mihi res non est pectore chara magis:
Accessi propius, mox sæuis ignibus arsi;
Osculaque ut cœpi figere, nemo fuit."

(My Hans has painted on an ivory panel a slumbering boy, looking like a reposing Cupid. I see him; I am astonished; I regard him as Charintus, whom my heart loves most warmly. I approach burning with passion; yet, as I kiss him, it is only a semblance.)

The picture on an ivory tablet can be nothing but a miniature painting, and this would prove a fact already stated by Van Mander, but which in spite of

[1] M. Franks, "Discovery of the Will of Hans Holbein;" Archæologia, vol. xxxix.

this has been recently doubted,[1] namely that Holbein was a miniature-painter. It was only at a late period, in England, says Mander,[2] that he, who knew how to adapt himself almost to everything, took up the art of miniature-painting, in which he had before done nothing. At this time he met at the Court a very famous master in this art, named Lucas,—probably therefore Lucas Hornebaud, with whom we have before become acquainted as the best-paid master of that period in England. "With Lucas," continues Mander, "he kept up mutual acquaintance and intercourse, and learned from him the art of miniature-painting, which, since then, he pursued to such an extent, that in a short time he as far excelled Lucas in drawing, arrangement, understanding, and execution, as the sun surpasses the moon in brightness."

For an artist who, like Holbein, finished with such delicacy and perfection every part of his work and all subordinate things, such as the finest parts in costume and in ornament even to "Spanish work" and jewels, and who moreover had executed with such nicety those small circular paintings in oil of a few inches in diameter, the transition to true miniature-painting was not very great. It is true, the criticism regarding these works is in an especially evil condition. Almost all the miniatures of that time which appear in England, are designated "Holbein;" but we hear of several other painters pursuing the same branch of art, besides Lucas, for instance Susanna Hornebaud and Lavinia Teerlinck. But all clue is lacking by which we might distinguish what belongs to Holbein and what was the work of other artists. Only a small number of miniature-paintings seem to us to possess such a common feeling of affinity with his works of another kind, that they may be without doubt assigned to him. It is true that in this respect my personal experience is not of a very great extent. This alone could be obtained by any one whom circumstances permitted to visit the Miniature Exhibition in the year 1865, in the South Kensington Museum.

It is a question whether that miniature so praised by Bourbon, of the slumbering boy, as beautiful as a Cupid, cannot be discovered and authenticated. An idea has occurred to the author in this respect, which however he can only express as a conjecture. There is indeed a charming miniature-picture of a boy by Holbein, bearing the date of the year in which the French poet was in London; namely, 1535. Unfortunately, however, two points mentioned in the verse do not tally; in the first place the picture is not painted on ivory, but on a piece of playing card like almost all Holbein's miniatures, and in the second place the boy has not fallen asleep, but is only in a reposing attitude. The first point would not perplex us; Bourbon might have seen the painting in an ivory box. Miniature-paintings were usually

[1] From Mr. Wornum, pp. 21 and 280 et seq.

[2] He states that this was after Holbein had entered the King's service, which, however, as we know, he places too early.

kept in these. As regards the second point, we are so accustomed to the inaccuracy of descriptions of earlier pictures, that we can the better conceive an inaccurate statement on the part of the poet.

The picture, however, to which we refer, whether that praised by Bourbon or no, is at any rate the most beautiful miniature-painting by Holbein that is known to us, and exhibits more strikingly than any other his artistic style and his spirited and perfect mode of execution, true in spite of all its delicacy. It is among the miniature-paintings in the Queen's Library at Windsor Castle, and it represents the little Henry Brandon, the eldest son of the Duke of Suffolk. Charmingly dressed, in a black coat with the sleeves of the green under-garment protruding, and a white feather in his hat, the little boy of five years old appears before us; he is leaning easily with his left arm on a table at his side, and is bending his little head with such indescribable child-like grace, that no little Cupid could be painted more charmingly. Beneath the top of the table stands the inscription, giving his age and the date, 6th September, 1535.

Some years afterwards, Holbein painted the younger brother, Charles Brandon, whose picture is also to be seen at Windsor. It forms a corresponding one to the former, and is painted, like it, on a card with a blue background; both were in the collection of King Charles I., in whose catalogue they were marked with Holbein's name.

This second little picture can give place to none but the former; it is, like the other, modelled with the utmost delicacy. The little boy wears a blue-grey tunic with red stripes, and a little black cap on his fair hair; his large eyes are looking at us. Both hands are excellent; on a small piece of paper, which he has before him, stands the inscription, giving his age, three years, and the date of the 10th of March, 1541. The dates on each occasion refer to the boys' birthdays.[1] Both were overtaken by an early death. On the 16th of July, 1551, they died on the same bed of the sweating sickness. It is surprising that we have no picture by Holbein of their father, the knightly Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the companion of Henry the Eighth's brilliant youthful days, the husband of his sister Mary, Queen dowager of France, and the first English general of his day.

On the other hand, we possess the portrait of his fourth wife, the mother of the two boys. Her name was Catherine; she was the only daughter of Lord Willoughby, and she married the Duke in the year 1528. Her portrait, which we find in the Windsor Collection, has in it something noble, and is effective from the outline being sharply traced with the brush.[2] She was a woman who distinguished herself by her zeal for the Protestant cause, and

[1] Cf. Lodge in the text to Chamberlaine's work.

[2] A repetition of the sketch, probably also an original, is in the possession of Mr. J. C. Robinson.

subsequently she even took the German Reformer, Martin Bucer, as tutor for her children.

To these two boys' portraits we must add one miniature of the Windsor Library, which approaches them in beauty and which we also consider indubitably as the work of Holbein. It represents Elizabeth, Lady Audley, the daughter of the Sir Bryan Tuke whose portrait Holbein had before taken, and wife of John Touchet, Lord Audley. We see her head on a large scale among the Windsor Sketches, and this study served as a model for the miniature; the jewels, which are only cursorily indicated there, are just the same, and the initial A appears in her ornaments. The colour of the dress is red, as is intimated in a remark in writing on the sketch, and is distinguished for its delicate finish.

CHAPTER XXII.

Woodcuts and Reformation pictures belonging to the English period.—The title-page to Coverdale's translation of the Bible.—A title-page with St. Peter and St. Paul.—Visitation of the monasteries by Cromwell.—The satirical Passion-scenes.—Ridicule of monachism.—Cranmer's Catechism and its woodcuts.—The unfaithful shepherd.—Reaction in ecclesiastical matters and delayed appearance of these pictures.—Holbein's merit with regard to stamp-cutting in England.—Small woodcuts in the works printed by R. Wolfe.—"Ingratitude of the World."—Erasmus "in Ghüs."—Woodcut in "Hall's Chronicle:" King Henry VIII. in the Council.—When was the painter admitted into the King's service?—Alleged and actual portraits of Anna Boleyn.—Whether Holbein ever painted her?—More's end.—Fall and execution of Queen Anna.—Marriage of Henry with Jane Seymour.

TRICTLY had the artist preserved his Protestant opinions, which until now he could not have ventured to express in England. Soon after he had painted Sir Thomas Wyat and Cromwell, he made his religious confession as frankly in his artistic creations as he had before done in Germany, and this principally by the same medium as there; namely, by designs for woodcuts.

Just as Holbein had before adorned the first publications of the German Bible in Switzerland with his designs, so he now adorned the first complete translation in the English language. It appeared in the year 1535, the printing, according to the concluding remark, having been finished on the 4th of December of the same year. "Faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe," is inscribed on the title-page. Dutch at that time signified German, and Luther's German translation formed in essentials the basis of Tyndale's English translation, from which this new translation of Miles Coverdale emanated. His work for the most part was only editing, and he had accomplished his task in Germany among the Reformers there and with Tyndale's assistance. The book, a splendidly finished and now extraordinarily rare folio volume, was printed abroad, as were most of the earlier English Reformation writings, by Christoffel Froschover in Zurich.

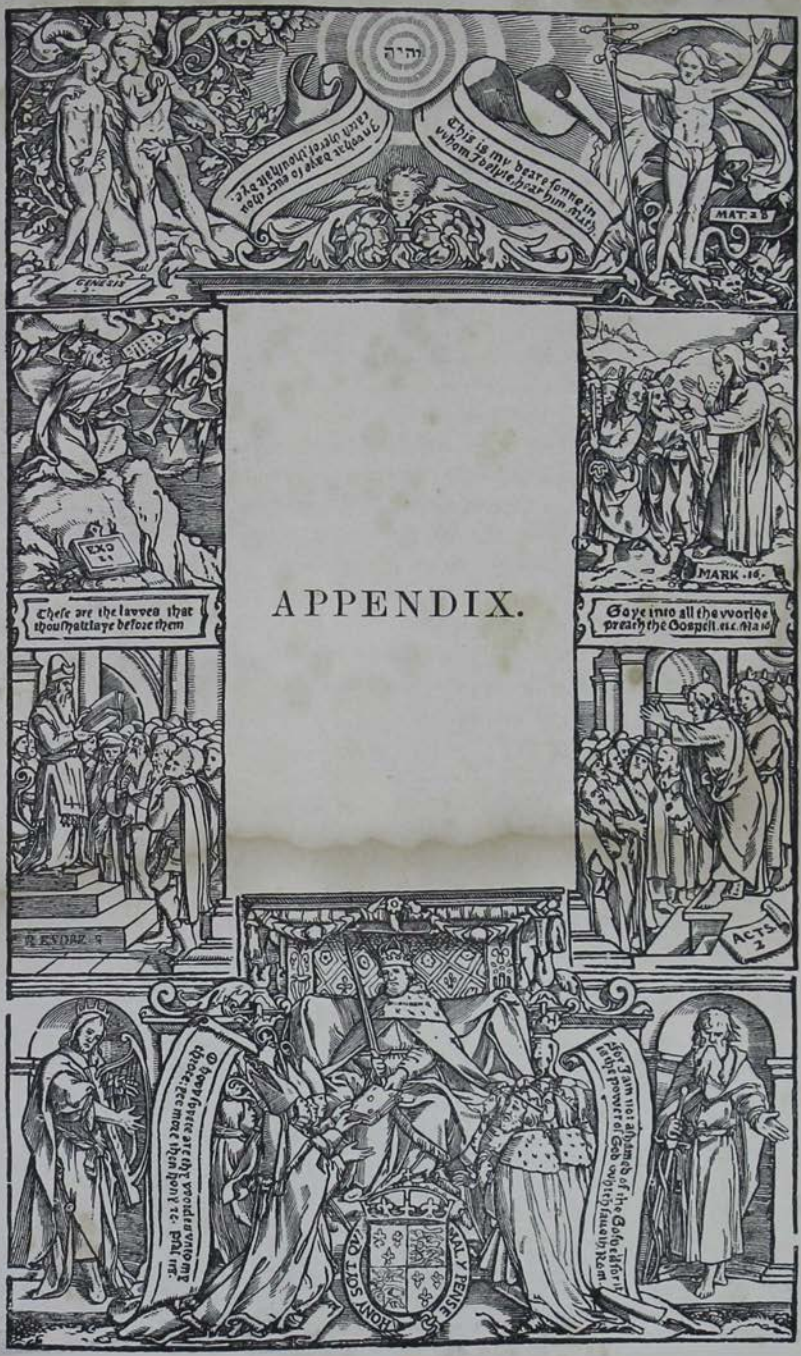
The sacred volume was now no longer interdicted and persecuted in the language of the country, and its dissemination was no longer threatened with the severest penalties of life and property. The appearance of the book was followed by the decree of Cromwell, at that time Vicar-General of the King in all spiritual affairs, that every clergyman should take care that his church was provided with a copy of the entire Bible. A dedication precedes the text, and the King also has a place among the pictures of the title-page, the design of which belongs to Hans Holbein. Art-history has scarcely taken notice of this;[1] nevertheless anyone well acquainted with Holbein's woodcut designs will recognize here the master's work.

The main ideas of the evangelical confession pervade this title-page. Simply and significantly the artist places sin and redemption in opposition to each other, and the other representations all point to the faith, in which salvation lies. Not only is the spiritual purport of this sheet important, not only is the style of treatment worthy of high admiration, but in every point of view we can perceive the wisdom of the artist in this apparently insignificant work. We notice with what superiority he here observes the laws of artistic composition. Without any scrupulous prominence given to symmetry, the masses are effectively balanced.

We find the richest group in the middle of the base, and the firm structure of the royal throne is at the same time the foundation on which the title-page itself rests. But above, the title-page is crowned effectively with the ornaments encircling the cherub's head. The figures of the two holy men at the sides are standing in front of niches, over which all the other scenes are raised. The two next scenes have a beautiful architectural background, with pillars and columns, and the other incidents are depicted in landscape scenery. The action itself also proceeds from below, passing from solemn repose more and more into agitated movement.

As the whole work was printed abroad, the woodcut of the title-page was also not prepared in England. Its whole character clearly shows that it is a Swiss work, and that the hand which executed it was accustomed to use the engraver's knife, and was habituated to work on this small scale. Although the nicety and masterly power of Hans Lützelburger are here far from being attained, and, compared with his productions, the technical execution appears coarse, still the work proclaims throughout, not only a certain hand, but also a true understanding of the master. It may nevertheless be imputed to the

[1] Dibdin, who gives an accurate description of the book ("Bibliotheca Spenceriana," London, 1814, p. 78), does not mention Holbein's name. Chatto mentions the title-page only briefly in a note, and adds that he has no doubt that it was Holbein's work. M. Ambroise Firmin Didot also mentions it as a work of Holbein, whilst it is perfectly unknown in German art-literature. The title-page which Froude (vol. iii. chap. 1) describes as the title-page of the first English Bible, belongs to a later edition, and has nothing to do with Holbein. We regret that our engraving (reduced from the copy in the British Museum) is somewhat coarse.



APPENDIX.

TITLE PAGE.

stamp-cutter that the likeness of the King is not greater. This is certainly one of the first pictures which exhibit the King with a beard; added to this, he here wears the hair according to an earlier fashion, considerably longer than we find it in the portraits of the following year.

There is another title-page executed during Holbein's sojourn in England, which was also certainly engraved in the artist's native country, and which in beauty of workmanship far surpasses the former, according to the utmost extent with Lützelburger's engraving. Below, we find again the arms of Henry VIII., as on the title-page of Coverdale's Bible, supported by two splendid heraldic animals. At the sides stand St. Peter and St. Paul, the latter pointing upwards; both are slender, tall figures, forming a remarkable contrast in their proportions with the two Apostles in both of A. Petri's editions of the New Testament of 1522 and 1523, but which have nevertheless lost nothing of the old vigorous power. They stand immediately in front of tasteful candelabra columns, so that they, the pillars of the church, seem to be supporting the superstructure. Above, in an arch, appears the risen Christ before His tomb, trampling under foot Death and the Devil; and by the side, in Latin, are the Redeemer's words: "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." The title itself, in the form of a paper which is held by the two Apostles, has no printing on it in the copy with which we are acquainted, namely the splendid proof-sheet in the royal cabinet of engravings at Munich.[1]

Just as before in Germany, Holbein now nowhere showed himself a more decided champion for the Reformation than in works imbued with a satirical spirit. A remarkable evidence of this is a series of Passion-scenes of a satirical character, in which the executioner and opponents of Christ are represented as monks and ecclesiastics. Ridicule in such subjects did not belong to Holbein alone. We find the same thing frequently occurring in the German pamphlets of the time with their coarse caricatures and their immoderate verses, and indeed both parties emulated each other in such works. The Roman Catholics also represented the Saviour scourged and killed by the whole band of Reformers. Holbein's designs have, however, nothing in common with these works.

His satirical Passion-scenes were not, like the sheets mentioned above, designed to be disseminated in woodcuts; for this the language which the artist here spoke was far too bold and free. The original drawings formed a small book, probably possessed by some prominent personage of the Protestant party, a man perhaps of the bias and sentiments of Sir Thomas Cromwell, for his own special gratification. The painter of course kept his authorship secret, and the possessor also would only with circumspection, and in the immediate circle of his intimate friends, take the precious book from its

[1] Passavant, 54. This is the only notice of this sheet with which we are acquainted.

carefully locked chest; for the period in which, under Henry's rule, such language was allowed, was of no long duration. The book has now disappeared; destroyed, perhaps, by pious zeal, or perhaps still existing somewhere, but unesteemed and unknown. Our knowledge of the work meanwhile is limited to Wenzel Hollar's engravings of sixteen sheets of the series. English verses, which evidence both by their language and orthography that they were contemporary with the pictures, stand in these engravings at the bottom of each of the small sheets, which are nearly similar in size to the pictures of Death. In Hollar's time the originals were probably in the Earl of Arundel's Collection, although there is no notice of this on the engravings, which appeared also, from caution, without Hollar's name. But Sandrart states that the Earl showed him a little book in 16mo in which the whole history of our Lord's Passion was sketched in twenty-two sheets by this master's hand; that these sheets were full of figures of every kind, the smallness of which may be inferred from the size of the book, and that the figure of the Redeemer ever appeared under the form of a monk attired in black. This kind of inaccurate, and indeed perverted description, is thoroughly characteristic of Sandrart, who never troubles himself about the object of the pictures and their spiritual purport, only taking interest in their actual appearance.

It was in the summer of 1535, when Thomas Cromwell, now vice-regent of the King for the spiritual jurisdiction of the entire kingdom, issued a commission for the general visitation of the monasteries and religious fraternities.[1] That depth of abuses, disorder, immorality, and depravity were then discovered, into which two-thirds of all the monasteries and religious houses had fallen. Then were those doings revealed which had been in part indeed before known to the spiritual lords, and had been bitterly blamed by them, but which they had always attacked with such little earnestness, that they had thus made themselves culpable also. The places were rare in which a vestige of religious fulfilment of duty, of care of the poor and the needy, or of a godly life, were to be found. The authority of the clergy among the people was carried to frivolous abuse, as was clearly manifested in one instance, in which it even tended to dangerous political intrigues. The hypocrisy and deceit of the clergy, speculating on the superstition of the multitude, made a poor nervous girl into a saint and a prophetess, and led her to engage in political agitation. It was only recently that the unmasked "Holy Maid of Kent" had ended her days at the stake after bitter complaints against her instigators.

In a manner as frivolous and unprincipled as that in which they dealt with spiritual things did the clergy deal with the temporal things of the Church. The abbots and fathers appropriated the rich possessions of their orders, not to the interest of the Church or of charity, but for their personal enjoyment. The

[1] Froude, vol. ii. chap. x.

lands were cleared of forests and laid waste. Instead of being satisfied with the rich revenues, they accumulated tax upon tax; the treasures of their own churches were stolen by monks and superiors, the vessels of gold were given to be melted down, the jewels were taken away and sold. The ecclesiastics left their monasteries in secular attire to hasten after the pleasures of life, but luxury, immorality, and debauchery found access even into sanctified places. There were hiding-places for corruptible maidens; the stool of confession furnished opportunities for baseness; criminal intercourse was carried on with nuns, and sinful incontinence was familiar in female convents. All this was now unsparingly exposed. The young people who, contrary to their will, had languished within the convent walls, were dismissed; those who remained behind were subjected to strict discipline, and the summary of the Commissioner's reports was entered in the Black Book, which was submitted to the Parliament,—a document, the destruction of which was subsequently ordered by the Roman Catholic Queen Mary.

The feeling of the period, in which Cromwell received the significant letter of his commission, in which the excited parliamentary debates on the matter first began, and public attention was attracted by them, is expressed in Holbein's satirical Passion-scenes. As we see them in Wenzel Hollar's engravings, the series begins with the Prayer on the Mount of Olives. The sleeping disciples are lying on the woody mountain height; Peter's sword is hanging over him on the tree. Christ is kneeling in prayer, His bearing is pathetic, and the angel is holding towards Him, as in the Basle Passion painting, not a cup but a cross. This is taking place in the background, while in the foreground appears the betrayer Judas with the purse, attired in the garb of a monk, leading through the gate into the garden a tidy pair in ecclesiastical attire and bearing the pastoral staff, the top of which is formed by a hand holding a dagger.

In the second picture Christ is approaching His persecutors, and is saying to them, "I am He whom ye seek," and the priestly rabble are falling down backwards before Him, struck by the power of His divine Majesty. Then follows the scene, in which St. Peter strikes off the ear of the servant of the High Priest: this too has an anti-papist signification, as the verse below shows, in which the violence of St. Peter and his successors form the subject:—

> "Peter cuts of the High Preistes seruantes eare,
> Peter who should the keies, no weapon beare,
> But warre and weapon with his followers since
> Above the keies have got Praeheminence."

In the fourth picture the Saviour is depicted as drawn by priests and monks before the High Priest Annas. One of them is striking him with a book, for their books, says the poet, strike and spit even in the face of divine truth.

One of the grandest scenes is the fifth, where the Redeemer is brought by His priestly adversaries before the tribunal of Caiaphas. Christ, fettered with rosaries, is dragged along by a cardinal and a monk, who is flourishing his inkhorn. Caiaphas is tearing his garments and sprinkling Him with holy water, and on the wall above stand the words written in German: "WER WIDER DIE RÖMISCHEN DER SOL STERBEN." (Whoever is against the Romans shall die.)

A similar satirical feeling, though not exhibiting the same ceremony and passion as in the series of Passion-scenes, appears in some small woodcuts from Holbein's designs. The Catechism of Archbishop Cranmer, which appeared in 1548, the English translation of a Latin text, based upon a German catechism of Justus Jonas, contains a great number of woodcuts, and among them some from Holbein's designs. The greater number are decidedly French engravings in the style of Bernard Salomon, surnamed Petit Bernard, among others the reverse side of the title-page which, appeared several years after the death of Holbein, and which contained King Edward VI., who accepted the dedication of the work. Only three pictures of this costly and rare book are designed by Holbein. These are, in the first place, Moses on Mount Sinai, a faithful and good copy of the scene which appeared on the title-page of Coverdale's Bible, and also two scenes which Holbein designed for the work, the first of which he has authenticated by his monogram, and the second by his name. The former of these gives the story of the Pharisee and the Publican, in the porch of a church of simple Renaissance architecture. Christ is entering with His disciples and is pointing to the self-righteous Pharisee, who is kneeling at the altar in a monk's cowl and a monk's tonsure, while the Publican scarcely ventures to approach, and is smiting his breast with deep contrition.

In the same manner, in the second sheet, where the Saviour is casting out the Devil from the possessed one, the lawyers and Pharisees who are offended at the act are characterized as priests and monks, wearing cowls or bishops' mitres, and for the most part corpulent in figure. This composition, which Holbein sketched with rare ease, is admirable from its dramatic life; and though an unpractised hand may have engraved it, we still perceive the significant characterization which the master threw into the heads and figures in spite of the small scale of the representation. The freedom of bearing and the boldness of the action,

both in the figure of the possessed one and in that of the man who is holding him, are of a kind such as we only find among the greatest masters of Rome and Florence.

Nearly allied in style, although somewhat less satisfactory in the execution,[1] is another woodcut, which belongs to the beginning of a small English pamphlet of a Reformatory purport, and which likewise bears the full name of the painter. It illustrates Christ's words from the Gospel of St. John: "I am the good Shepehearde, a good Shepehearde geueth his lyfe for the shype. The hyred servaunte flyeth, because he is an hired servaunte, and careth not for the shepe." The Lord, surrounded by His disciples, is pointing with grand gesture to the faithless shepherd, a monk, who has cast away his crozier and is running away as fast as he can, because the wolf is breaking into his flock. This contrast of the good and bad shepherd is also frequent among the literary productions of the Reformation. Thus Conz Leffel says in his song upon Hutten:[2]—

"Furwar ein gutter hürte
Setzt sein seel für sein schaff,
Bei dem man frummkeit spürte,
So er nit ligt jm schlaff,
Thut sich der schefflein fleyssen,
Das die wolff sie nit zerreissen,
Verderben vnd zerbeissen,
Der daglöner der flücht,
So er den wolff nur sücht."

The pamphlet itself, "A lytle treatise after the manner of an Epystle, wryten by the famous clerk Doctor Vrbanus Regius," appeared in the same year as the Catechism of Archbishop Cranmer, 1548. The period at which all these woodcuts, or at least the sketches for them, originated, is evidently, however, that of which we are now speaking; that is, at the time when the proceedings against monachism were in full force. At that period, their publication was intended, either in the books themselves, or in other pamphlets. But this must have been frustrated, for soon afterwards the Catholic party, especially after the deaths of the Queens Anna Boleyn and Jane Seymour, obtained greater influence, and Cromwell could no longer carry out his views as

[1] Shown especially in the animals. Cf. the woodcut from a tracing which I owe to the kindness of J. Fisher, Esq., Oxford.

[2] Ulrich v. Hutten, "Schriften," edited by Böcking, ii. 596.

decidedly as before. In the year 1539, before his overthrow, the King and the Parliament subscribed to the bloody bill of the Six Articles, drawn up by the Bishops of the old faith, with Gardiner of Winchester at their head. The doctrine of transubstantiation, private masses, and auricular confession were retained, the cup was taken from the laity, the priests were forbidden to marry, and again the binding power of religious vows was sanctioned. The introduction, also, of books printed abroad, was strictly interdicted, writings printed in England were subject to censure, and even the reading of the Bible by the laity was again limited. Woodcuts of such a spirit could not now be issued publicly, and their appearance was therefore deferred until a new sovereign succeeded to the throne, when Holbein had been dead for many years.

These three little pictures are altogether very different to the above-mentioned title-pages; they were not, like these, engraved in Germany or Switzerland, but evidently in England itself, just like the profile head of Sir Thomas Wyat before alluded to, and with which they show great similarity of style. Holbein, who understood so well how to estimate the genuine national art of wood-engraving, and who had made numerous designs for it, was now influential in raising this branch of art in England. Hitherto no truly artistic productions had been here achieved in it. The work was executed abroad, or the wood-blocks of printers abroad were purchased. Numerous woodcuts from designs by Holbein, after having done their service in Basle, had also already passed across the Channel. All that was executed in the country itself was tolerably rude. Holbein, who had acquired the utmost understanding of the art from his long-continued sketches for this object, and from his co-operation with such an engraver as Lützelburger, afforded in these small pictures the utmost that we can imagine by the application of the simplest means to his object, thus rendering it possible for an unpractised stamp-cutter to follow up his intentions in essentials. The subject is given in little more than outlines, which are decided and clear; the scanty indications of shade are attempted by simple parallel lines, and nowhere do we find cross-hatching; all more delicate detail is dispensed with, and how much in spite of this is obtained, even in the expression of the faces, deserves to be studied.

John Leland, whose Nænia, in the possession of Wyat, contained that Holbein head, immediately afterwards published a pamphlet, which likewise exhibits some woodcuts after designs by our master,—"Genethliacon illustrissimi Eäduerdi Principis Cambriæ," &c., a somewhat retarded poem on the birth of the Prince of Wales, which appeared in 1543, by the same publisher as the Nænia, Reinhold Wolfe. This publisher was a countryman of our painter, at any rate he was of German origin, and probably belonged to the famous publishing family of that name in Basle; it was therefore all the more natural for

Holbein to enter into relations with him.[1] On the back of the title-page, there is in the first place the device of the Prince of Wales, the words ICH DIEN under a crown of ostrich feathers, surrounded by a halo of glory.[2] As an initial, here as well as in other works published by Wolfe, we find an S, with Curius Dentatus rejecting the gifts of the Samnites.[3] The composition of the expressive and genuinely dramatic little picture is similar to the earlier Basle Town-hall paintings. In publications of the same time, another initial of Holbein's, H, with Isaac blessing Jacob, also appears. As regards these pictures, we might consider it probable that Wolfe had them engraved in his own home. This is undoubtedly the case with a very beautiful woodcut, the device of Reinhold Wolfe.[4] It illustrates his motto, "charitas," in the most graceful manner by a delineation of loving generosity, which does not suffer itself to be disturbed by the ingratitude for which the world rewards it. Holbein chose for the representation of charity, the picture of the "Gentle host," the "Wirth wundermild," as Uhland says,[5] "the fruit-laden apple-tree, which is plundered by boys who are not content with what has been voluntarily showered upon them. The same idea appears in a well-known poem by Friedrich Rückert. The technical execution of the engraving is delicate, and yet full of character, and the little picture may be ranked with that charming device of Froschover's which we have before mentioned. A repetition of this device, enclosed in a shield, appears also in Wolfe's publications.

Lastly, the most beautiful woodcut which was made at this period from Holbein's designs, is a large sheet in folio, "Erasmus Roterdamus in ein Ghus" (Erasmus of Rotterdam in a shrine), as Amerbach calls it. With this inscription,—

> "Pallas Apellæam nuper mirata tabellam,
> Hanc ait, æternùm Bibliotheca colat.
> Dædaleam monstrat Musis Holbeinnius artem,
> Et summi Ingenii Magnus Erasmus opes."

—which so elegantly extols Holbein's art, and so justly expresses that in the

[1] Cf. Detmold, "Ueber ein paar Holbein'sche Formschnitte;" Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste, ii. p. 136 et seq.

[2] Passavant, 51.

[3] Used as an initial to this chapter, after the original in R. Weigel's Collection, p. 52.

[4] Passavant, 53.

[5] P. 39. Detmold makes the same remark.

figure of Erasmus the power of mental greatness seems embodied, it formed the title-page to the edition of Erasmus' works which was published in 1540 by Hieronymus Froben, the son of Johannes Froben. There is an earlier edition, the impression of which is still more excellent. In this, the inscription below consists of only *one* Latin distich, and not of two, and Holbein's name is not mentioned in it.

When this first edition appeared is not to be ascertained. We may assume with certainty that the sheet was engraved by Lützelburger, but that Holbein's design belongs to his residence in England is proved by the advanced style of the Renaissance ornament in the framework. While Holbein and his German contemporaries, whenever they allowed themselves to be affected by Italian art, for the most part experienced the influence of the early Renaissance, and especially of Mantegna's style, we find here the influence of the High Renaissance. Instead of the vigorous and compact forms, such as his frameworks usually exhibit, we see here lightness and elegance. A baldachin is raised above the scholar. On each side are pillars, on which appear the bearded statues of Atlas, bearing baskets of fruit on their heads. These support the entablature, above which, symmetrically arranged, a male and a female figure with cornucopiæ rest on either side of the semicircular arch; on each side of the pillars, garlands of fruits and flowers are hanging down, and a cherub's head forms the graceful crowning of the whole. The reposing figures, which with the utmost freedom and lightness of action correspond perfectly with each other in form and bearing, and thus in a decorative point of view produce an extraordinary effect, remind us of Michael Angelo. At the same time, they are far more slender than is usually the case with Holbein, who generally delights in short bodies and compact figures. Erasmus himself, with his right hand resting on his symbol, the Terminus, and raising the left in gesture, stands before us in the attitude of speaking and teaching. The whole man is depicted with the utmost fidelity, he is at once the fine mind, the acute thinker, individualized even to his delicate and characteristic hands; and yet the painter has known how to separate the essential from the casual, and has given us a portrait of the highest style. The fall of the drapery is masterly, and even the material of his dress, especially the fur, is incomparably delineated.

A similar style of framework, a niche with Ionic pilasters and festoons, appears in the Basle woodcut containing the figure of the Apostle Paul, engraved quite cursorily, though with masterly power, and assuredly by Lützelburger. The artist, already high in fame, evidently received orders for these works from his native city.

Unknown as a work of Holbein, and yet certainly by no other, is a large folio woodcut, not very inferior to that of Erasmus, which appeared in the first edition of Hall's famous Chronicle published in 1548, an excellent copy

of which is in Dibdin's third volume of Typographical Antiquities. The socle with the framework, which encloses the inscription "King Henry the eyght," is even perfectly identical with the socle of Erasmus, has the same two syren figures as we see there, and without doubt was also engraved at Basle.

It represents King Henry VIII. in council. We look into a rich and princely apartment, the walls of which are hung with tapestry adorned with lilies and roses; the ceiling with its pendentives is a master-work of wood-engraving in the Renaissance style, although many Gothic forms, for instance the Tudor arch, appear in it. The King's throne, surmounted by the baldachin bearing his arms, is very splendid. In the circle round the monarch sit his councillors, twenty-seven in number, some eagerly listening, others absorbed in reflection, and others whispering to each other. Not only the heads, but the hands are highly expressive. King Henry VIII., who wears the ordinary full beard after the year 1535, is seated characteristically, with his legs wide asunder, and in a rich and elegant attire, with a cap and feathers on his head. If Holbein could conceive him with such truth and masterly power on this small scale, he must have had opportunity of observing the Sovereign most closely.

Without doubt Holbein entered the service of the King at a much later date than has been hitherto supposed from the statements of the earliest biographers, but the period at which this finally took place is not to be ascertained with certainty. The first positive information on the matter we gain from the letter, quoted in the last chapter, from the poet Bourbon to Solimar in the year 1536, in which Holbein is mentioned as the King's painter. It is questionable whether, with all absence of written evidence, it may be inferred from the works of the artist that he was earlier occupied by Henry VIII. There is a small half-length figure, known by numerous copies, the original of which is in the Museum at Berlin, and which, from the inscription ANNA REGINA, is regarded as a portrait of Anna Boleyn, painted by Holbein. It possesses, however, not the slightest similarity with the works of our master, and it represents a totally different personage, as is proved by the date, "1525, Anno Etatis 22," which does not accord with Anna Boleyn's age, but with that of Queen Anna of Hungary, born in 1503. Unfortunately this portrait has formed the foundation of almost all subsequent delineations of Anna Boleyn, even of that in the "Prince's Chamber" of the English Houses of Parliament.

Mr. George Scharf, keeper of the English National Portrait Gallery, who has demonstrated this,[1] has pointed out at the same time some hitherto unknown and real portraits of Anna Boleyn:—

1. A life-size portrait in Windsor Castle, on which a B is suspended from the necklace. It was customary at that time, as we have already seen, to introduce the initials of the name on ornaments.[2] The lady represented wears a

[1] Archæologia, vol. xi. London, 1866, p. 81 et seq.

[2] Cf. p. 364.

French head-dress, which allows the hair to be seen. Her fine countenance is distinguished by its marked lips, and by the sharply-drawn and beautiful brows arched over dark eyes.

2. A miniature-picture in the possession of Mr. Charles Sackville Bale, according entirely with the former. It bears the inscription ANo XXV., which would give the date 1532, if we refer it to the age of the person represented; but if, as Mr. Scharf supposes, it relates to the year of the King's reign, by which official reckonings were kept, it would indicate the period from April 1533 to 1534.[1]

3. A picture of tolerably modern origin, but which has great similarity with the two former, and may have been made from an original portrait of the Queen.[2] It is in the possession of the Earl of Warwick, as Anna Boleyn, and a portrait of her sister Mary, formerly the favourite of Henry VIII., and subsequently Lady Carey, appears as a corresponding piece. We do not, like Mr. Scharf, consider the original of this portrait to be a picture in Hampton Court designated as "unknown;"[3] but the far better copy in Longford Castle. Lady Mary wears a gold medallion with the device of Leda and the Swan. It is a pleasing and youthful countenance, and a graceful and pretty painting, yet Waagen[4] was right when he considered it too weak for Holbein's work.

Of these portraits of Anna Boleyn, the miniature-picture alone in Mr. Bale's possession can be called in question as a Holbein work. Unfortunately I cannot speak of the original from personal inspection.[5] It is not possible to obtain a satisfactory judgment from a photograph, yet it seemed to me from this, that the character of the picture was not such as would decidedly point to Holbein, though in any case it is an excellent little work.

The same may be said of the only known portrait of Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII., who died on the 22nd of July, 1536, at the age of seventeen. It is a miniature-painting, also in the possession of Mr. Bale, and it bears the inscription:—

HENRY DVCK OFF RICHEMOND ÆTATIS SVÆ XV.

It was executed therefore in 1534. The similarity of the youth to Henry VIII. is unmistakeable.[6]

[1] Elstrake's engraving possesses similarity with this picture.

[2] Engraved by Thomson in Lodge's "Portraits of Illustrious Personages." Hollar's engraving of Anna Boleyn, Parthey, 1542, seems also to accord with it.

[3] Earlier number, 338. Present number, 584.

[4] Treasures, iv. p. 361. On the reverse of the picture a slip of paper is pasted on, with the notice: "The Lady Carye that died with grief for King Edward's absence."

[5] Mr. Bale was not to be induced, either by written request or by the recommendation of an esteemed art-friend in London, to allow me access to his collection. This is the only case in which my studies in England were not forwarded in the kindest and readiest manner.

[6] Like the former, it was in the Miniature Exhibition in the South Kensington Museum. Photographs of the two portraits have been published by the South Kensington Museum.

On the other hand, among the Windsor drawings there appears "The Lady of Richmond," the wife of the duke, married by him shortly before his early death, and the daughter of Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk. That the designation is right is shown by the letter R, which is variously introduced as an ornament in her dress. It is a charming, almost childlike head, depicted full face, and wearing a small plumed hat; the original unfortunately has suffered much. This portrait also therefore indicates no period prior to 1536.

Although it is possible that Holbein may have entered the King's service during Anna Boleyn's life, perhaps towards the end of it, we cannot begin the history of his connection with Henry VIII. until the period of her successor, Queen Jane Seymour. And at any rate the painter did not owe his introduction to Court to his first patron, Sir Thomas More; but probably to the men of the opposite party, who now stood in More's place; perhaps to Cromwell or Sir Thomas Wyat, both of whom had had opportunity during the last few years to test his art. Wyat first occurs to us, because he was personally Henry's favourite, and his influence over the King was proverbial. If any one made his fortune at Court, he was wont to say, "He must have been in Sir Thomas Wyat's closet." [1]

At the same time that the artist was designing the title-page of Coverdale's Bible, in which the King is depicted in his new capacity as head of the English Church, the man to whom Holbein owed his first success in England was sealing his fidelity to the old Church and its constitution with his blood. Equally with Bishop Fisher of Rochester, More had refused to take the oath to the statute of succession passed by the Parliament. It is true, he was willing to acknowledge the succession established in favour of Anna's descendants: so far, he affirmed, did the power of the Parliament extend; but he would not consent to the plea of the invalidity of the marriage of Henry and Catherine. He rejected this indirect denial of the papal authority. With deep emotion Cromwell exclaimed that he would rather have lost his only son than have heard this declaration from More. But either the statute of succession was worthless, or the severest proceedings must be taken against its opponents, and "the harshness and violence of a political decree based on religious ideas" appeared in its utmost extent. Not his imprisonment in the Tower, nor the hesitation of the Government to proceed farther against him, nor the threatening of using extreme measures, nor the renewed attempts to settle matters, could make Thomas More waver. On the 6th of July, 1535, shortly before the aged Fisher, he mounted the scaffold. "He suffered death with such a lively realization of the life to come, in which the perplexities of this world would cease, that he regarded his departure with all the irony which

[1] Lodge, in the text to Chamberlaine.

belonged to him generally."[1] His execution at this period of the revolution in England was not more terrible and reprehensible than any other political sentence of death; but More's literary fame, his personal importance, and his spotless character called forth a cry of indignation throughout the whole of Europe.

But another bloody tragedy was witnessed by England soon after, surpassing the other in fearfulness. The victim was now not a man who had come to the end of life, and who became a martyr willingly and consciously in order to remain true to his conviction; but it was a woman, who, in the midst of youthful beauty and the enjoyment of life, met her fate at the very height of outward splendour and worldly magnificence. Had Holbein wished to design new pictures of Death, what various fantasies would now have arisen to his mind!

In the autumn of the same year in which Anna Boleyn's coronation and the birth of her daughter had taken place, the King had looked upon her with a certain dissatisfaction.[2] But now he believed himself certain that his suspicions, fostered in secret and long repressed, were well founded. A short time had elapsed since Henry's divorced wife, Catherine, had died at Kimbolton, on the 7th January, 1536. Her letter to Henry, dictated from her death-bed, had deeply moved him, but Anna Boleyn had put on a yellow dress instead of the mourning attire commanded. A few months later, on the 1st May, the annual festivity and grand tournament took place at Greenwich, and the Queen's brother, George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, was among the challengers, and Sir Henry Norris among the defendants. In the midst of the tournament, the King started up, to the astonishment of all present, and rode off to Westminster with a small suite. On the following morning, Rochford and Norris were taken to the Tower, and a few hours later the Queen herself was conveyed there by water, the very same route which she had taken three years before in the midst of splendour and rejoicing. She was cited before a tribunal, the members of which were chosen from the highest men in the kingdom as regards rank, position, and personal worth, and which was presided over by her own uncle, the Duke of Norfolk; she was accused of infidelity, and was sentenced to death. Anna's guilt and innocence have been a subject of dispute for generations. It is impossible to consider all the accusations brought against her as invented, but all the greater must be our sympathy for her fate. Never has a poet devised anything so touching as those scenes in the prison, in which her excitement led her to utter words bordering on delirium, and the despair of the unhappy woman sometimes broke forth in sorrow and horror of death, and sometimes in a cheerfulness which was still more terrible. On the 19th May, she was led out to the Tower green, in order

[1] Ranke, i. p. 199 et seq.

[2] Ibid. i. p. 216. See Froude, ii. chap. xi. Stow.

"to receive the good Lord," and the executioner from Calais severed her head from her body with one blow. On the following day, the King married Lady Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and at Whitsuntide she was publicly presented as Queen.

The copies of the Coverdale Bible, the printing of which had been finished a few months before, had only been partially issued. The editor had now to cancel his dedication to the King in which appeared the words: "our dearest and legitimate wife, the most virtuous Queen Anna." The new dedication, with which the work was subsequently issued, was similarly worded, only that the "dearest legitimate wife" was called Jane. We find this latter name in most of the copies extant of this rare book.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In the King's service.—Position and duties of the Court-painter.—Portrait-painting at Courts.—Predilection of the English for portraiture.—Holbein from henceforth is essentially limited to this branch of art.—Wall-painting at Whitehall.—The cartoon.—The sketch at Munich.—Portraits of Henry VIII. from this model, both before and after Holbein's time.—His head in the possession of the Earl of Spencer.—Portrait of Jane Seymour at Vienna.—Various female portraits.—Lord and Lady Vaux.—Sir Richard Southwell at Florence.—Lady Rich.—John Russell.—Various portraits in the Windsor Collection; statesmen, country gentlemen, courtiers.—Sir Nicholas Carew.—Morett's portrait at Dresden.

N the King's service Holbein now entered. He became Court-painter. During the whole of the Middle Ages, princes and great lords were accustomed to have their painter, who stood in permanent connection with their court, belonged to their household, and had his position among the lowest members of it, stable boys, scullions, and apothecaries, all being named in one and the same breath.[1] By degrees the position of the artist rose; with the rise of his art, his personal importance also increased in the eyes of his lord, the painter not unfrequently entered into more intimate relations with his prince, and in order to give a fitting expression to such a relation, he was constantly invested with the rank and title of a "varlet de chambre," an honour which he shared with poets, musicians, and often with the Court jesters. This was a great advance compared with former experiences, although the artist had still ever to demean himself right modestly towards the whole suite of spiritual, knightly, and political servants of the Court. Such was the position of a Jan van Eyck at the court of Burgundy; it was also the position of the painters at the Northern courts in the sixteenth century, of the three Clouets in the service of the French monarch,

[1] See for the position of the painter at court, Le Comte de Laborde, "La Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France," Paris, 1850, i. p. 38 et seq.

and equally so of Holbein at the English Court, who from henceforth bore the official title: "Servant to the King's Majesty."

And what had he to do in this position? In this respect the advance made above the Middle Ages was far less than that with regard to rank. The painter was and remained no more and no less than a factotum for everything that could be done with the brush. In splendid apartments, and in sleeping rooms, in house and hall, in stable and kitchen, he had to arrange, to decorate, and to paint, sometimes one thing and sometimes another, the furniture and the household matters, the coats of arms and the shields, the pennons and flags of the vessels, the saddles of the horses, and even the cakes that came to table. The talent and skill of painters, their imagination as well as their execution, were in demand for the scenery of festivities, for passing decorations, for exhibitions and pageants. The court-painters were expected to obey all the whims and fancies of their master, trifles occupied their time, and they were obliged to expend their genius and their powers on a thousand unimportant and perishable things.

One branch of artistic activity had, however, been developed since the beginning of the fifteenth century, which procured the Court-painter real satisfaction, and afforded him opportunity after all his trifling occupation to gather together his powers and to work as an artist, and not as an artisan; namely, portraiture. This branch of art grew more and more in favour at courts; it became a pastime, a fashion, and a matter of luxury. Portraits appeared in all conceivable forms, in various styles, and of various sizes, sometimes as a head or a half-length figure, sometimes the whole figure, painted in oil on wooden panels of different forms, or in miniature on cards, or in frescoes on the wall. They appeared in life-size, and even on a colossal scale, but still more frequently in a smaller form. In this case they formed portable objects,[1] which could be taken from place to place by their possessors; small oil-paintings were often kept in round wooden cases, but miniature-paintings in rich setting of gold and jewels were constantly worn as ornaments on necklaces and bracelets. Lastly, especially in France, books with sketched portraits were usual, which, like the album of the present day, lay open for inspection by all. Portraits were painted for external representation, for family pleasure and remembrance, and for gifts, either as tokens of favour from people of rank, or as gifts of friendship, as acts of homage, or as tender keepsakes.

Holbein had to play the part of an artistic factotum under somewhat alleviated circumstances. Henry VIII., as we have before seen, had a great number of other painters in his service, to whom the coarsest work was usually assigned. The business of house-painter and decorator belonged to the appointed sergeant-painter at that time, the Englishman Andrew Wright. Freed from care for the most ordinary art-requirements, Holbein

[1] Comte de Laborde, p. 67.

could especially apply himself to portrait-painting. If his attention was claimed in other matters, it was not the executing hand which was demanded from him, so much as the inventive mind, which was consulted in the most various works of art-industry. These two kinds of artistic production fully occupied Holbein at the Court, and excluded all other works.

Yet even before Holbein had entered the King's service, he had had little else but portraits to paint in England. This had been the case even at his first visit, from 1526 till 1529; and when, during his second sojourn there, he once happened to produce a composition of a grander style, the opportunity for this was not afforded him by Englishmen, but by his own countrymen, the members of the Hanseatic League. England had early cultivated portrait-painting, whether the art were exercised by native or foreign talent. Westminster Abbey still preserves the portrait of Richard II., a work only recently recovered from its subsequent coating of painting. When English painting began to revive in modern times, the first artists, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney, produced their best works in portraiture. Before this, at all times, artists of other lands had found in England an extensive sphere of activity as portrait-painters. That which Holbein was at the court of Henry VIII., Van Dyck was a century later at the court of Charles I. He too had painted in his native country religious and mythological compositions full of delicacy of taste and tenderness of feeling, but in England he was limited entirely to portrait-painting. We even know regarding Van Dyck that this brilliant but narrow sphere of activity did not long satisfy him. When his wish to paint the banquet room at Whitehall was not fulfilled, when the attempt to obtain at Paris the decoration of the Louvre Gallery remained unsuccessful, these disappointed hopes contributed to bring him to an early grave.

We must indeed beware of assuming that all taste for art-creations of another kind were lacking in England in Holbein's time. When he set foot on English soil, the Church had in nowise ceased, as it had in Germany, to employ the art in her service; and that painting had a wide range of subjects in the domestic and private demands of the great, we see from a glance at the Inventory of the works of art which Henry VIII. possessed in the palace at Westminster.[1] How numerous are here the paintings of a religious purport, from the Old Testament beginning with Adam and Eve, and from the New, from the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Kings to the Entombment of our Lord; we find here Madonna pictures, Holy Families, St. Anna with all her kindred, the Prodigal Son, Mary Magdalene, the Death of St. John the Baptist, St. Hieronymus with the Death's Head, and repeatedly the patron saint of the country, St. George. Scarcely less commonly however appear allegorical, historical, and antique mythological repre-

[1] Wornum, Appendix, p. 379 et seq.

sentations: the nude figure of Truth, various kinds of pictures of Death, the Siege of Pavia, a panel with the history of Orpheus, with sundry strange beasts and monsters, and an especial favourite seems to have been Lucrezia Romana. Sixty-three portraits appear among 178 numbers. The same is also evidenced by the account books, in which the presents in return for the new year's gifts to the King are recorded. The Italian painter Antonio Toto had presented to the sovereign, at the new year of 1539, "a depicted table of Calomie,"—that is, a representation of the Calumny of Apelles,—and in 1541 a panel with the history of King Alexander.

The only new year's gift of Holbein, on the other hand, which we find mentioned, is again a portrait, the picture of the little Prince of Wales.

How was it, that while other artists found opportunity, encouragement, and reward, when they painted Biblical, mythological, and historical pictures, that Holbein adhered to portrait-painting not only by order, but even when he was at liberty to choose the subject for himself? Portraiture was not the only style of art for which there was a taste in England, but it was probably that which ranked the highest, and thus this branch of art was assigned to the best master.

This predilection for portraiture is perhaps a narrowness in the English taste for art, but it has also its foundation in the character of the nation. It corresponds with that estimation of the personal worth of a man, with that full appreciation of individual independence, which forms such an important element in the English national character. Though primarily no artistic grounds may have produced this estimation of portrait-painting, still we may assert that in Holbein's time, artistic grounds were also existing. What must have produced the greatest impression upon a nation like the English, which was at that time entirely habituated to the artistic style of the Middle Ages, at the sight of works of art imbued by the modern spirit? Naturally that which the art of the Middle Ages most lacked: not the expression of beautiful feelings and profound thoughts, not the display of a rich imagination, but the capability of the artist to see a definite natural object exactly and distinctly as it is, and to hold such a sway over the artistic power that he can depict everything as he sees it. History teaches us that portraiture is ever that branch of art which proves most clearly and surely how an artist or a whole epoch is master of the means of representation.

From this point of view, therefore, we are well justified in lamenting that Holbein with all the wealth and versatility of his mind should have been limited to this one branch; if, however, we were to proceed a step further and pity him on this account, we should be taking a wrong view of the matter. In a material point of view, he undoubtedly found most advantage in portrait-painting. In Germany also, it gained the highest price, and Holbein would

assuredly have pursued it by preference, had there only been more people, who in these years of scarcity had sufficient surplus-money to admit of their being painted by him. We mentioned before the original memorial of Hans Bock in the year 1579, in which he states that "a portrait of any one cost twice as much as another painting of the same size could be sold for." A similar proportion existed probably in England.

We have also no reason to suppose that this sphere of work was unsatisfactory to Holbein's taste. The most credible authorities, his works themselves, prove the contrary. Even in his youth, Holbein had painted portraits which can rank with the best which German portrait-painting has produced. We have only to recall to mind the picture of Amerbach. Since however he had come to England, he made continued progress, and the works which he executed in the King's service far surpass all his former productions. Goethe's maxim: "Erst in's Weite, dann zu Schranken," ("First extension, afterwards limits,") we see here fulfilled. Holbein had reached the boldest heights of religious, ideal, and historical painting. Now, at the period of his utmost maturity, he contented himself with the narrow sphere of portraiture, but in this limitation he exhibited all that he possessed, not merely a masterly power in technical matters and the perfect cultivation of taste in the spirit of the Renaissance, but also the height of his intellectual conception and his grand historical style. Portraiture is the path to true historical painting in the modern sense, resting as it does essentially on psychological conception and only able to depict a dramatic incident, when it represents a definite historical personage in his character, passions, and will, and makes him the vehicle of the action. In Holbein's portraits we learn to feel this, for these have grown, so to speak, as regards ourselves into historical pictures. Holbein conceived the persons whom he painted, not in any special situation or feeling, but in the calm continuance and even balance of their nature, but he reveals this nature to us so significantly that we feel as if we could see the men whose names are recorded in history, in the moments in which they most fully established their personality; in which they conceived their decided resolutions and accomplished their great deeds. He imbues the portrait "so thoroughly with that marrow of the historical spirit which at once recalls the individual to life, that in these works history itself breathes and lives, and the portrait before us opens the speaking mouth with its eloquent lips, and gathers round us its departed contemporaries, and, as in the drama, renews the play whose curtain long ago has fallen."

No creation by Holbein is more fitted to serve as a verification of these words, than that first great masterpiece, which he executed in the service of the King, namely, a wall-painting in the so-called Privy Chamber at Whitehall Palace. The fate which has met those productions of Holbein which stand forth as the utmost evidence of his power, has spared the Whitehall painting as

little as it has done the Lucerne façade-painting, the Haus zum Tanz, the wall-paintings of the Town-hall at Basle, the picture of the More family, and the Triumphs of Riches and Poverty. It perished in the great fire at Whitehall Palace in the beginning of the year 1698, and we must consider ourselves happy that Charles I., thirty years before, had had a small copy taken of the work by the Flemish painter Remigius von Leemput, probably because the condition of the original was at that time such as to excite apprehension.[1] This copy, preserved in Hampton Court, is also engraved by Vertue.

Still more precious, however, is a piece of the original cartoon, which is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire at his seat, Hardwick Hall. It exhibits to us the half of the picture to the left of the spectator, and is boldly traced with the brush in black and white distemper, very different from the manner in which many famous masters of the present day draw their cartoons: to Holbein this cartoon was not an object executed for its own sake alone; and he did not aim at producing an elegant effect in it, but he did it solely for practical use in his fresco-painting. The whole outline is pierced with the needle-holes by which it was transmitted to the wall. The drawing in the figures as well as in the architecture is strong, firm, and bold; the effect is not attractive, but it is imposing. In the Portrait Exhibition of 1866, few works could compete with it.[2]

A remark of Charles Patin[3] tells us that the picture was on the wall containing the window, "sur le pignon de la croisée." Perhaps it is only a typographical error for "sur le pignon de la cheminée," as Herr Gottfried Kinkel[4] has attempted to prove. Left and right of the window or of the chimney-piece, which is introduced in the composition in a similar manner as the window in several of the pictures in Raffaelle's *stanze*, and which in Leemput's copy is replaced by a kind of pedestal with a Latin inscription, stand the two principal figures, Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour; some steps higher are the parents of the King, Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. The floor is covered with a carpet of a beautiful device; the scenery is formed

[1] As appears from Patin's statement. Leemput received 150*l.* for his copy, Walpole informs us. It was in the Portrait Exhibition of 1866.

[2] Cf. the copy drawn from the large photograph by Herr Max Lohde. If the heads appear least satisfactory, this arises from the fact that they have suffered most of all, and were therefore least distinct in the photograph.

[3] "Relations historiques," Basle, 1673, p. 211 et seq. (Whitehall): "Dans l'antichambre du Roy il y a sur le pignon de la croisée, de la main d'Holbein, le portrait d'Henry huit et des Princes ses enfants, dont le Roy a fait tirer une excellente copie, pour en estendre la postérité, s'il faut ainsi dire, et n'abandonner pas une si belle chose à la fortune des temps." That Patin should describe the subject wrongly surprises us just as little in him as Sandrart, where the same thing strikes us.

[4] Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, 1869.

by a stately hall with variegated marble, richly adorned pillars, niches, and heavy cornices, open above, so that the blue sky is visible. The rich architectural detail in capitals, friezes, and pilasters is designed with much spirit and character; there is the just proportion, with all the abundance of plastic ornament, of that noblest Italian style, which Holbein here introduced more certainly and unwaveringly than it ever elsewhere appears in the architecture of the sixteenth century, either in England or Germany. The cartoon exhibits in the frieze a male and female figure, issuing from garlands of leaves and bearing a little panel with the initials of the King and Queen, H and J, joined together by a love-knot. In Leemput's copy, on the contrary, the panel is filled with the initials AN. DŌ., to which the date 1537 corresponds on the other side.

The bearing of the two Queens is quiet and noble. Older portraits have furnished the features and costume of Elizabeth of York and her consort. Henry VII., beardless, with long hair, and a wide ermine-trimmed upper garment, falling down to the feet, appears here just as Ranke depicts him in few words:[1] "A thin man, rather tall of stature, whose countenance bore the traces of the storms he had endured; his appearance produced the impression rather of a high ecclesiastic than of a knightly king; . . . he appeared at all times composed and sober, laconic, and yet affable."

A more striking contrast can scarcely be imagined than that between father and son; it is expressed even in the attire. Henry VII. appears dignified but simple. Henry VIII. is in a magnificent costume, abounding with embroidery, gold, and jewels; all of which are executed by the artist hand as carefully as are the architectural ornaments. In the father all is caution and reserve; in the son there is pride and self-consciousness. It is as if he aimed at presenting the whole importance and grandeur of his figure, his strong calves, and the almost unnatural breadth of his shoulders, which is even increased by the full sleeve. In Henry VIII., the weight of the body is not resting especially on one leg, but he is standing with his legs apart, resting on both equally. This manner of standing, and the position of his right hand placed firmly against his side, and the grasping of the dagger by his left, designate the whole man. It shows how firmly though audaciously, even to effrontery, he maintains the ground on which he has gained a footing, without being conscious of any excitement of feeling or harbouring any considerations. We see the mighty despotic nature which determined its will and understood how to carry it out, and which by its personal effect could attract to itself the finest minds and characters, in spite of severity and even shedding of blood. But just as clearly do we see the cold selfishness, which never regarded any living man otherwise than as a tool, the immoderate feeling of his own perfect power, and the brutal self-gratification, as well as the capriciousness, of Henry. We contemplate his

[1] Englische Geschichte, i. p. 136.

HENRY VIII. AND HIS FATHER.

Cartoon of the perished wall-painting for Whitehall. (Hardwick.)

appearance in this picture as in history, "with a mixture of horror and admiration."[1]

Holbein here proved that he was able also to execute tasks of portrait-painting in a truly monumental style. This is the "overheerlijk Portret" of Henry, of which Van Mander says that it was "zo wel getroffen, dat het den beschouwer met verbaastheid aandoet" (so well hit that it filled the spectator with dismay), for that he seemed in it to live and to move his head and limbs naturally. But not only does he call it a work which glorifies his master, not merely did artists value it, but we find it for instance mentioned in the records of a journey of Duke Johann Ernst, of Saxony, Jülich, Cleves, and Berg, who was in England in 1613: "Upon this his Royal Highness was conducted into the King's apartment; it was small but hung with beautiful tapestries on all sides. In this room were the full-length portraits of Henrici VIII., and his father, Henrici VII. They were regarded as special works of art, and similar works are said not to be seen throughout England."

In the execution of the work, as we find from Leemput's copy, the master deviated from the cartoon in many details of costume and also in the countenance of King Henry VIII., which in the painting is not seen at three quarters, but is taken full face. The study for Henry's head in this view is in the cabinet of engravings at Munich.[2] It is executed quite in the style of the Windsor sketches, in black chalk with a mixture of red, on yellowish red paper. The sheet, which has somewhat suffered, also shows traces of white lights laid on. The effect of the countenance is still more imposing than in the cartoon. There is no grander portrait of Henry VIII. in existence.

The type of the Whitehall picture formed almost entirely the basis for the next few years of the oft-repeated portraits of Henry VIII. There is a portrait of the King in Hampton Court, executed before this time, which is erroneously imputed to Holbein,[3] and which seems rather to evidence French influence in the painter. Henry is here depicted holding a scroll inscribed with the concluding words of St. Mark's Gospel: "Ite in mundum universum et predicate Evangelium omni creaturæ." This evidently refers to the time when Henry first permitted English translations of the Holy Scripture, therefore in 1535 or 1536, and this date accords with the more youthful appearance of the King, who nevertheless already wears a beard. From this time there appear a great number of portraits of the Sovereign, which are dispersed throughout England and other countries, almost all of them of course honoured with the great name of Holbein; but none of them more than

[1] Ranke, i. p. 224.

[2] This one, like most of the principal sheets among the Munich sketches, was first discovered among the rubbish by Herr J. H. von Hefner Alteneck, when he was keeper of the cabinet engravings. The photograph gives us no true idea of it.

[3] Half-length figure, National Portrait Exhibition, 1866. No. 124.

contemporary or later copies of the wall-painting at Whitehall; some more, some less true, some of them good and others merely mechanical works. The wall-painting itself and not the cartoon forms the basis of the view of the head, which is throughout taken at full face. Among the copies of which we know, there is one in the possession of Mr. Henry Danby Seymour, Knoyle House, Salisbury; life-size and full-length figures, most faithful to the original, even in the colour of the costume. In the background a curtain is added to the architecture. It is an ably painted copy executed at the same period as the painting itself, and it is said to have been in the family ever since the time of Queen Jane Seymour, as a gift from Henry VIII. The Earl of Yarborough possesses a copy in half-length figure, on a green ground, which ranks artistically still higher. The execution of the gold brocade and jewelled ornaments is not careful, but the hands and head are excellent. Of this picture also, it is asserted that it was presented to an ancestor of the Earl by Henry VIII.[1] Two portraits in half-length figure at Windsor, another in the possession of Viscount Galway, and a rather inferior full-length portrait in St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, are other specimens of the numerous repetitions of this type. A very beautiful and freer copy by a true artist hand, the style of which, however, is perfectly different from Holbein's and exhibits rather Flemish influence, is to be seen at Petworth. In this painting the King is also depicted life-size and in full-length figure, but the adherence to the original is not exact, especially in the dress; Henry wears an attire of silver brocade and a blue velvet mantle trimmed with ermine. Here also the background is architectural.

Some years later, another type for Henry's portraits appeared, the original of which is probably the painting in the possession of the Earl of Warwick at Warwick Castle. It was formerly considered to be by Holbein, a designation which even the proprietor has dropped since it was recently disputed.[2] The artistic style has indeed no similarity with Holbein's. The dress exhibits none of his delicacy and care in the execution. The head and hands are very good. The picture evidently belongs to the King's later years, the hair and beard are beginning to be grey, and the face is fatter and more bloated than formerly, and the costume is of a later style. There are numerous copies of it; one, belonging to the Duke of Manchester, was in the Portrait Exhibition.[3] Another is in St. Bartholomew's Hospital; it is a half-length portrait on canvas, bearing the inscription: ANNO DNI. 1544. ÆTATIS SVÆ, 55.

Henry was born on the 28th June, 1491; therefore the two dates do not accord with each other. In case, however, only one statement, the age or the date, is correct, either indicates a period at which Holbein no longer lived. It deserves to be noticed that a picture in the possession of the Marquis of

[1] Waagen, Treasures, iv. p. 67.
[2] Mr. Nichol's Archæologia, vol. xxxix.
[3] No. 75.

Bute, according to Waagen,[1] exactly similar to the portrait at Warwick, only less perfect in the execution, was formerly ascribed to "Hornebaud." If a name subsequently almost forgotten has clung to a work of art, this can scarcely be without cause. Lucas Hornebaud died in 1544.

We have never seen, either in England or abroad, any oil-painting of the King by Holbein's hand. On the other hand, there is a miniature-picture of unusual size (more than ten inches high) of which we have no doubt that it is the master's own work. It is in the possession of the Earl of Spencer, and is probably now at Althorp; we saw it at the South Kensington Museum.[2] The King wears a grey jerkin and a brown over-garment richly adorned with gold. The costume, like the whole picture, is most delicately finished. The hands, the right one holding a glove, are only slightly to be seen. Henry is looking somewhat to the side, as in the cartoon of the Duke of Devonshire, a position in which his features are far more favourably represented, and the form of the face is better exhibited. Holbein felt this, while the King himself seems to have been of another opinion. For it can evidently only be imputed to his order, that almost all his portraits, those prior to Holbein's time, and the later ones after the type of the Warwick portrait, are all taken full face. Henry wished to have his face seen like his figure, as fully as possible; it was characteristic of him; and to this whim Holbein was obliged to conform subsequently in the Whitehall picture. Lastly, Holbein probably executed two extraordinarily fine and clever miniatures of the royal pair, which are in the possession of Mr. H. D. Seymour, and which have been in his family ever since their origin. Henry VIII. appears on a gold ground covered with roses, and is seen full face. On the blue background of the Queen's picture stands the age of 23 years, and the date 1536.

After all, Holbein did not paint the King very often; Henry VIII. seems to have sat only twice to him. To the first sitting we owe the cartoon portrait, which we find also in the small painting in the possession of the Earl of Spencer; the result of the second sitting is the drawing at Munich, which formed the basis of the wall-painting. Yet the King seems to have sat scarcely to any other painter at the time Holbein was at the Court. The demand for portraits during these years was entirely met by copies of the Whitehall painting. Artists of a very different kind were required for these, probably the ordinary mechanical court-painters. Holbein himself was never required to execute portraits produced in masses, which were used as condescending

[1] Treasures, iii. p. 482. He saw it at Luton House. The gallery is now in London, but this picture is not there. It is probably at his seat, Cardiff Castle, Wales.

[2] It was also in the Exhibition of Miniatures in 1865, No. 2082. Photographed copies of it were in the National Portrait Gallery. Cf. Dibdin, "Ædes Althorpianæ," i. p. 257; Waagen, "Kunst und Kuntswerke in England," ii. p. 539. Similar head of Henry, from the Arundel Collection, engraved by Hollar; Parthey, 1414.

gifts, and he presents a contrast in this to Lucas Cranach, in whose atelier the portraits of the Saxon Princes or of the Reformers were not merely produced in dozens but by scores. We find no instance of this manufactory-like pursuit of art with Holbein. In his former Basle period, it occurred indeed, that he worked with assistants, but in England this was almost never the case. It scarcely ever happens that we have to inquire at this time respecting a painting, whether it was a picture from Holbein's atelier or Holbein's school; he does not seem to have had any pupils at all at this time; he was in general answerable himself for all that was executed.

There is a painting of Queen Jane Seymour, a half-length figure and nearly life-size, in the Belvedere at Vienna.[1] It accords in the conception and bearing with the Whitehall painting, and also with a splendid sketch in the Windsor Collection, and it belongs to the most masterly works which we possess of Holbein's English period. It is evidently the same picture as that which Carel van Mander describes in the following manner:—"There was, at Amsterdam, in the Warmoesstraat (Vegetable Street), a portrait of a Queen of England, admirably executed, and very pretty and nice; she was attired in silver brocade, which appears to be genuine silver with some admixture, and it was depicted so transparently, curiously, and exquisitely, that a white foil seemed to lie beneath." The effect produced by the Viennese picture accords perfectly with this description. It shows, at the same time, that in the technical execution, and in the background tint which he chose, Holbein ever accommodated himself to the subject he was depicting, and that a colder or warmer proportion of light and shade did not merely belong to certain periods of his artistic progress, but that he, at the same time, allowed sometimes the one, and sometimes the other to prevail, according to the personage whom he was delineating. Jane Seymour was famed for her pure fairness, and therefore this cold and delicate tint with its faint grey shadows was suited for her portrait, and Holbein has produced nothing more beautiful. She appears in the most splendid costume, an under-garment of silver brocade, over which she wears a dress of purple velvet. Wherever it was possible, rich gold ornament was introduced; her dress and her cap of the well-known angular form were studded with pearls, and a chain of pearls was hung round her neck, from which was suspended a rich jewelled ornament, forming the initials VBS. The whole was executed in miniature-like perfection; and in spite of this splendour, this glittering profusion, the countenance of the Queen outshone all the rest with its wonderfully delicate and clear tint. How soft and fine are the hands quietly resting in each other, and emerging from cuffs of exquisitely finished Spanish work! How beautiful is the form of the face, how delicate is the effect of the grey shadows, especially on the chin! The small shade

[1] A second copy, much praised by Mr. Scharf, is in Woburn Abbey. Waagen regrets that it hangs too high to form a judgment upon it.

thrown by one of the points of her cap is very charming. The countenance is one of regular beauty with delicate fair eyebrows; the expression of the closely compressed lips is extraordinarily sweet. Her eyes do not seek the spectator, but look calmly forth, and the serene transparency of her brow has quite a peculiar effect. It reminds us of Ronsard's pretty poem to François Clouet,[1] which begins:—

"Pein moy, Janet, pein moy, je te supplie,
Sur ce tableau les beautez de m'amie." . . .

There we read respecting the main requisites of female beauty:—

"Que son beau front ne soit entre fendu,
De nul sillon en profond estendu:
Mais qu'il soit tel qu'est l'eau de la marine
Quand tant soit peu le vent ne la mutine."

Jane Seymour is delicacy itself; her appearance is royal and noble, and is yet full of genuine womanly gentleness and modesty. This portrait proves the truth of the description given of her by Sir John Russell, when he had observed her in church.[2] The richer Queen Jane was in her attire the more beautiful did she appear, while the contrary was the case with Anna Boleyn. She merits certainly all the favour she has experienced; she is the most modest, fair, and gentle of all the ladies whom the King has had. And thus the people also extolled her beauty, when in December 1536 she passed through London on horseback by the side of her noble consort, the ice on the Thames having made the passage by water impossible.[3] All parties paid her equal honour, but she never became distinguished in history, and this is the best evidence in her favour. In a tragic moment the King had demanded her hand, and unexpectedly she had become his wife, but from the excellence of her character she won his esteem, and beyond this, an affection as profound as Henry was capable of feeling. At his death he wished to be placed by her side.

Among the Windsor sketches there are a great number of female portraits, partly with names and partly not. We find, for instance, Lady Lister, the wife of the famous lawyer, Sir Richard Lister, a pleasing personage; Lady Hobby, Lady Parker, Lady Meutas (rightly Meautis), and Lady Ratcliffe. Few more important personages appear among them, with the exception of the Marchioness of Dorset, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk and of the Queen dowager Mary of France. She is holding flowers and the head of a cane in her hand. It is interesting to study the noble features of this lady, who experienced the reverses of fortune to the utmost extent. Sprung from noble blood, niece of King Henry VIII., she saw her daughter, Jane Grey, ascend

[1] Related by Comte de Laborde, "La Ren. des Arts," &c. p. 132.
[2] Lord Herbert, p. 451. [3] Grafton's "Chronicle."

the throne, and after a short dream of power and splendour, terminate her life under the axe of the executioner, while she herself could only escape the suspicion of the Catholic Queen Mary, by excluding herself from the higher circles in a marriage with Stoke, her master of the horse. In her funeral alone (she died in 1559) did the old splendour that had surrounded her happy youth, once more return.

The wealth of attire and of jewellery, which seemed indispensable to English ladies, is indicated for the most part in these sketches. Lady Henegham wears a string of coins round her neck; Lady Monteagle is laden with gold and jewels, and she wears on her breast a clasp with the picture of the Madonna. It is not all the personages who can bear this superabundance of costly ornament to such an extent as Jane Seymour, and on the whole we yield the point to the German travellers, who blamed the immoderate display of English women, especially Samuel Kiechel, of Ulm,[1] who says in 1585, that the type of women in England was charming and beautiful by nature, that he had scarcely seen such elsewhere, and who extols the women for not painting and enamelling themselves as in Italy and other places, and only censures the one thing in them: "das süe in der kleudung was plomps gehn" (that they are somewhat exaggerated in their attire).

We know only one other female picture which produces a pleasing effect in spite of this extraordinary richness of toilette,—namely, a small portrait in the possession of Count Casimir Lanckoronski in Vienna; it depicts a very young lady seventeen years old, as it stands inscribed on the green ground, not really beautiful but agreeable-looking, with reddish-brown hair, dressed in black, with slashings of red, and a delicate gold-chain round her neck, and a locket on her breast. The hands are placed one in the other with the utmost elegance. And although the countenance has somewhat suffered, all the rest is so well preserved in its delicate perfection, that no other picture rivals, as this does, the portrait of Queen Jane, in refinement of taste and execution.

Somewhat similar in treatment is the portrait of Lady Vaux in Hampton Court, but a more simple toilette would have become this personage with her somewhat broad countenance; the head also has been completely painted over, while the accessories, the cuffs, ring, the gold and enamel clasp, with the picture of the enthroned Madonna, and the fine black chain thrown over her neck, exhibit the old delicacy of execution. She is holding a pink in her hand. Lady Elizabeth Vaux, the daughter and heiress of the rich Sir Thomas Cheney of Cambridgeshire, was five years older than her husband, Thomas Lord Vaux (born 1510), which is easily perceived, if we look at them together in the beautiful collection of portraits at Windsor. The head of Lord Vaux belongs in delicacy of characterization and execution to the most excellent

[1] "Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel; Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," lxxxvi. 1866, p. 31, edited by Dr. Hassler; quoted by Rye.

works of the whole collection. The young man with his pointed beard and rather long hair, cut straight over his forehead, has something thoroughly English in his appearance. With the help of the brush, the sketch is more finished than usual; the colours and material of the dress are noted down in German, and the Spanish work on the collar and the soft-flowing beard are especially delicate in execution. There is a small female portrait most delicately executed, and true to life, in the Belvedere Gallery in Vienna. The figure represented is a citizen's wife, depicted in half-length figure, and apparently at the most about thirty years of age; her whole appearance is unusually fascinating, from her air of refined dignity, noble repose, confidence, gentleness, and intelligence; her beautiful blue eyes express a kindliness of nature; in her fine lips, in the delicate contour of the throat, and in the almost entire absence of eyebrows, she exhibits a certain resemblance to the Dresden Madonna; she wears over her brown hair a little white cap, ornamented with gold, and falling from it is a black veil. The neck is seen, the shoulders are covered; she wears a violet-brown dress trimmed with black, red velvet sleeves, and white cuffs, from which emerge the life-like and somewhat masculine hands. A large gold medal, apparently containing two figures sacrificing at an altar, is suspended on her breast. There is an excellent picture of a lady of middle age, holding a rosary with both hands, in the Cassel Gallery. The corresponding piece is the half-length figure of a man dressed in black, and gloomy in expression. The other works in the Cassel Gallery, bearing Holbein's name, have nothing to do with him. On the other hand, we possess undoubtedly his work in a portrait which hangs there under the name of "Dürer," the likeness of a beardless man, in knightly attire richly ornamented with gold, holding a rosary with both his hands, which are somewhat misformed by nature. A copy, also we believe by the hand of the master, is in the possession of Herr Culeman in Hanover.

One of the first male portraits which Holbein painted in the time of Queen Jane, and at the same time one of those which rank highest, as regards taste and life-like treatment, is that of Sir Richard Southwell, in the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence. It is accurately dated the 28th year of the reign of Henry VIII., therefore 1536. The date, the 10th July, and the age, 33 years, are also given in the inscription.

The great study for this picture, a sketch in the Windsor Collection, is also a sheet of the first rank. It bears in Holbein's hand the notice: "Die augen ein wenig gilbett" (the eyes a little brownish), and it is distinguished by the striking distinctness with which the individual appears before us. It is a courtier's smooth countenance without beard, with an expression of great phlegm and also of great cunning. In the painting he wears a black cap, adorned with a jewel set in gold, a coat of violet velvet, from which come

sleeves of black satin and a gold necklace. The hands are resting on each other. Southwell was beginning at that time to make his fortune at the Court; a year before, he had played a very equivocal part in the proceedings against More. When the counsel for the Crown, Sir Richard Rich, endeavoured to misrepresent the conversation which he had had with More in the prison, in order to obtain matter of accusation against him, More appealed in vain to Southwell's evidence, who had been present at the time removing his books. Southwell behaved equally shamefully, afterwards, in the case of the Earl of Surrey. Henry valued him because he was useful, and he appointed him one of his executors; he also occupied a position at the Court under Queen Elizabeth.

We also find the beardless head of Richard Rich (died 1566) among the Windsor sketches; he was a citizen's son, who rose to high office under Cromwell, and was made Lord Chancellor in the reign of Edward VI. His wife Elizabeth, the daughter of a London merchant, appears in another sheet far more beautiful and highly characteristic. It is the study for an excellent half-length portrait in the possession of Mr. Walter Moseley of Buildwas Park in Shropshire, which was in the Portrait Exhibition under the erroneous designation of "Catherine of Aragon," and has unfortunately suffered much damage. Lady Rich wears a dark dress and a beautiful gold medallion with figures on it; she is a matron with stern features and an energetic expression.

A small and delicately executed oil-painting of about 8 inches in height, in Sion House, the residence of the Duke of Northumberland, represents the brother of the Queen, Sir Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, and after the year 1538, Earl of Hertford, who was subsequently made Duke of Somerset, guardian of his nephew, King Edward VI., and protector of England; he played a brilliant part and met with a tragic end. He is a young man with a pointed, long, and fair beard, dressed in dark attire, and wearing a cap and feathers; his right hand appears under his mantle, and is playing with a medal suspended from a blue riband, bearing the picture of St. George.

Among the Windsor sketches we find the half-length figure of Sir John Russel, who had come to Court in the reign of Henry VII., and had distinguished himself in war and peace; in 1536 he was appointed member of the Privy Council, and subsequently he became keeper of the Great Seal and first Earl of Bedford. He is taken almost in profile, looking towards the left; the right eye is blind;[1] his strong beard is red, and his head is covered with a little black cap; the whole countenance is dignified and important. The finished picture is still in the possession of the family at Woburn Abbey, the seat of the Duke of Bedford.[2] The picture of his son Francis (born 1528,

[1] This is intimated by the inscription.

[2] The author has not seen it. Waagen says (Treasures, iv. p. 331): "This looks promising, but hangs too high for closer opinion."

died 1585), at that time a boy, is also among the sketches. A highly finished sheet depicts one of the most important statesmen and warriors of that day, William FitzWilliam (died 1543), the "Nelson of his time," who became Lord High Admiral of England in 1537, and Earl of Southampton in 1538; a beardless head, full of life and truth, and the mouth is very full of character. Men also who play no part in history appear in the collection, such as Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby (died 1574), who lived quietly on his estates far away from the Court; Sir Thomas Strange (died 1545), who resided in Norfolk, a pleasant-looking young man with a gentle expression of countenance; Sir Thomas Wentworth (died 1551), who wears a long and handsome beard, and produces the impression of a man enjoying life; and Charles Wingfield, of Kimbolton Castle in Huntingdonshire, a powerful man, whom the artist depicts with his hairy chest denuded. A highly attractive portrait is that of the fair young Edward Clinton (born 1512, died 1584), subsequently Earl of Lincoln, who was brought up at Court after the early death of his father, but who did not appear in public life until after Holbein's time. Also Thomas Parrie (died 1559), subsequently one of the few disposed to Protestantism who remained with Elizabeth during her seclusion, is depicted as a youth with a round and very benevolent countenance. There are also Philip Hobbie (died 1558) and William Sherington, two young men, who occupied inferior positions at Court. Those household accounts, which give no information respecting Holbein, mention the first of these as "Grome of the King's Privy Chambre," and the second as "Grome of the Robes." Hobbie had formerly been Cromwell's servant, and as such we shall find him travelling in company with Holbein.

A very beautiful painting, in possession of the Duke of Buccleugh at his residence, Dalkeith Palace, Edinburgh, represents a personage of the Court, rendered interesting by his fate,—namely, Sir Nicholas Carew, the King's master of the horse; he was Henry's constant companion in his brilliant court-life, he provided with skill for his amusement, and also acquired personal influence over him. In the year 1538, however, he fell under suspicion of being implicated in the conspiracy of the Marquis of Exeter and Cardinal Pole: he was thrown into prison, and was beheaded on the 3rd March, 1539. Waagen[1] extols the life-like conception, the energetic colouring, and the masterly execution of every part. The arrangement of the whole, and the attitude of the man, exhibit great delicacy of taste. In Mr. Scharf's sketch, the flesh tint is decidedly red, and Carew's armour is executed with the utmost care. The great sword-hilt on which his left hand is resting, is reflected in it, and in his right hand he holds the Chamberlain's staff; the background is formed by a green curtain. Holbein's highly spirited,

[1] Treasures, iv. p. 435. I am indebted to Mr. Scharf for his communications respecting this picture, which I have not seen myself. From a sketch of Mr. Scharf's the original is, however, broader than it appears in the engraving in Lodge's work.

original sketch for this picture is in the Basle Museum. It depicts a head of a thoroughly English type; a fine well-formed countenance, remarkably cold and restful in expression, with firmly compressed lips and a small fair beard.

There is no painting in any public collection more fitted to exhibit Holbein at his utmost height as a portrait-painter, combining the utmost truth with the finest taste, than the splendid portrait of Morett in the Dresden Gallery. This work, that of Gysin at Berlin, and Jane Seymour at Vienna, are the most beautiful portraits by Holbein, in German collections; three productions which, differing from each other completely in bearing and style, stand forth as the solution of three wholly different artistic tasks. On each occasion, the conception and treatment perfectly suit the personage designed. Of all three, the Dresden picture is, I will not say the most beautiful, but certainly that one which corresponds most perfectly with the taste of the present day.

Mr. Hubert Morett—we gather the Christian name from the Royal account books[1]—was, from his badge, a jeweller. We have before mentioned the portrait of a German goldsmith whose likeness Holbein took in London, and whom he depicted sitting in his leather apron, with gold pieces, the token of his calling, lying before him on the table. How differently on the other hand does the English goldsmith appear, testifying in his appearance to the delight of show and splendour of attire which was peculiar to his nation! Taken full-face, life-size, and half-length figure, he stands before us full of self-confidence; he is dressed in a jerkin of black satin, with sleeves slashed with white, his over-garment is of the same material, with a broad collar of sable fur, a jewel adorns his hat, his dress is studded with gold buttons, a beautiful chain is thrown over his neck; the left hand, covered with a glove, is grasping a gilded dagger of splendid workmanship, which Mr. Morett himself has probably executed. Yet, in everything, it is not so much his art as his wealth which is exhibited. If it were not legally forbidden him, he would also have liked to have worn purple and gold brocade, like the King and his Peers. To our modern eyes, the simplicity of the colour with the noble material appears all the more elegant and distinguished. The black combined with the green of the heavy curtain which forms the background, sets off the tint of the flesh in the exquisite right hand, which holds the glove, as well as in the splendidly-formed countenance, with its long reddish fair beard, here and there verging into a venerable silver grey. Mr. Hubert Morett is undoubtedly a business-like, wisely calculating man, yet he stands there in stately repose, cool and reserved, and looks at us without moving

[1] Nicholas Harris Nicholas, "The Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth," from November, MDXXIX. to December, MDXXXII. London, 1827, p. 185: "Payments in January Ao. xxiij (1532) 4 Jan. . . . Item the same daye paied to Hubert Moret Jeweller for such Jewelles as the Kinges grace bought of him ccxlij corons, lvj. li. ix. siiijd."

a feature. Not only the single individual, but the character of the whole nation is conceived in him with the utmost acuteness.

In the year 1647, Wenzel Hollar issued Morett's head in a somewhat poor engraving, with Morett's name attached to it, though it was not taken from the painting, but from the original drawing, in the possession of the famous Holbein collector, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Nineteen years before, the Earl seems to have endeavoured to get the painting also, which was at that time in Italy, and the name of which had been changed into that of "Count Moretta."[1] This attempt failed, the picture remained in Italy, it was added to the collection of the Duke of Modena, and was soon after (1657) extolled by Scanelli[2] as a work wonderfully true to nature, executed by a Northern painter, a certain Olbeno. But when the Modenese collection was sold to Saxony in the year 1745, the name of the German master perished, and the name of the individual depicted was still more altered; Moretta was turned into Moro, and the personage was regarded as the famous Lodovico Sforza il Moro, whom Leonardo da Vinci had of course painted. In Dresden, this designation continued until a few years ago, although Rumohr had long ago mentioned the true author of the work, and the name of the person represented had been proved by Hollar's engraving.[3] Since the year 1860, however, the original drawing engraved by Hollar has hung by the side of the painting; its various names are now to us only an historical curiosity. They remind us how long a period Germany had no idea of her own greatest artists, and they show us, at the same time, how, even in Italy, at a time when all taste for earlier Northern art was wanting, this work was considered so admirable that it was attributed to one of the greatest Italians.

[1] Sir Isaac Wake to William Boswell, Turin, November 26 (December 6?), 1628: "The picture after which you do seem to inquire was made by Hans Holbein in the time of Henry VIII., and is of a Count of Moretta. My Lord of Arundel doth desire it, and if I can get it at any reasonable rate, he must and shall have it." Published in Sainsbury, "Original Unpublished Papers, illustrative of the Life of Sir P. P. Rubens," London, 1859. Quoted by Mr. Wornum, p. 299.

[2] "Il Microcosma della Pittura;" Cesena, 1857, p. 265.

[3] Kunstblatt, 1847.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Holbein's activity as regards art-industry.—Beginning of Renaissance taste in Germany.—Holbein's earliest productions in this sphere of art.—Title-pages and glass-paintings; architecture in paintings.—Designs for armourers and goldsmiths.—Dagger-sheaths.—Works of this kind at the English court.—Sketch-books in London and Basle.—Medals and implements.—Tankards, bowls, and splendid vessels.—Jane Seymour's drinking-cup.—Sketch for a clock.—Architectural works.—The chimney-piece.—Artistic feeling in German Renaissance.

THE life of that court at which Hans Holbein found a place, is depicted to us in a small etching shaded with Indian ink, not much more than four inches broad and three and a half high, placed under glass in the King's library at the British Museum, and showing Henry VIII. at table. He is sitting alone under a canopy; the apartment, through the windows of which the light is falling picturesquely, is enlivened with numerous figures; two servants are approaching the Sovereign, and the buffet is richly covered with vessels. Holbein depicted this scene as characteristically as he depicted the King in council in the woodcut for Hall's Chronicle, and in spite of a still smaller space the heads are here delineated in a most spirited manner.

Close by the side hang two other sketches of the first rank, belonging, like the former, to subsequent acquisitions of the Museum, both broadly treated, with pen and Indian ink, and certainly belonging to Holbein's English period. The one represents a group of five musicians in the midst of their work; the other is evidently the sketch for a family painting. The woman, who has a cap on her head and a small child on a pillow on her arm, is seated on a bench with a high back. By her side sits a little boy, and a second boy with a girl is standing in front. This sketch, slight as it is, exhibits the utmost nobleness in the separate forms as well as in the grouping.

There is a beautiful drawing representing figures, executed in Holbein's English period, and in Mr. J. C. Robinson's possession in London. It is a study of costume, such as Holbein had before made in Basle: a lady walking along, wearing an English head-dress, a dark veil, and a rosary. In spite of the slightness of the execution, done throughout with the brush and with slight indications of colour in the face, all the details of the dress, and especially the delicate necklace, are given with great distinctness and perfection. By the

side is a lady similarly dressed, seen from behind, making a significant movement with the hand.

Whatever drawings executed by Holbein in England, besides portraits, are still in existence, consist almost entirely of designs of an ornamental kind, and of sketches for the most various branches of art-industry. There are similar works belonging to the painter's Basle epoch; and that he devoted himself to them with especial predilection evidences that he was in the highest degree filled with the spirit of Renaissance. In Albert Dürer, who thought and felt all his life long as a genuine Nuremberger, the spirit of his industrial native city was so aroused, that it was a necessity with him to attempt all possible styles, to emboss in wax, to carve, and to model; whatever he had learned in his early youth from his father, who had desired at first to train him to his own art, the goldsmith's trade, he practised constantly, not only in his engravings in copper, but in the compositions in relief which he cut in Kehlheim stone and in medallions which he embossed, which belong to the most splendid works in bas-relief. Mander, indeed, likewise informs us of Holbein, that he embossed wonderfully and prettily in wax,[1]—we have, it is true, no proof of this—yet in general he occupied another position with regard to art-handicraft, and was for the most part not active in it himself, but sketched models for it of various kinds. In so doing, he acted after the fashion of the great Italian masters. These were not merely architects, or sculptors, or painters, but they were all together, they were artists generally. All that human hands created they wished to see beautiful, whatever purpose it served, and to whatever art it belonged, and they found for everything the appropriate form. If they built stately palaces, in whose cheerful and festive splendour all the luxuriance of the Renaissance style appeared, they were not merely careful about the architectural part alone, but they sent for other artists and artisans to provide for the rest—nay, all that tended to ornament and decoration was devised in their own spirit: the iron-grating of the portals, the paintings on the walls, the stucco-work of the ceilings, and even the furniture, the tapestries, and the utensils. To Michael Angelo, the designs for works of cabinet-making are inscribed, as well as the ceiling in the Laurentian library at Florence. Raffaelle, while he adorned the Loggie at the Vatican, not merely made the compositions of figures, but invented a new system of decoration in the enchanting and fantastic ornaments of the pilasters and interstices, and also took under his direction the execution of Barile's wood-carved gates.

It was about the year 1515, when the Renaissance taste, in Italy already approaching its height, took root in Germany.[2] We mention this year, because at this time Albert Dürer, in his designs for woodcuts for the

[1] Small plastic works under Holbein's name are mentioned by Walpole.

[2] See J. Falcke's "Geschichte des modernen Geschmacks," Leipzig, 1866, chap. iii., for an excellent and concise representation of German Renaissance.

Emperor Maximilian, stood for the first time entirely on the soil of the Renaissance, and henceforth endeavoured to establish it theoretically. It was at about the same time that the young Holbein appeared with productions of a similar spirit. The folding panels of the Sebastian altar are an evidence of this, and the title-pages issued from the Basle printing-houses from the year 1516 harmonize most thoroughly with the architecture of Albert Dürer's works. Is there in the whole or in the detail, in the form or in the ornament, in the structure or in its interstices, one trace of the Gothic to be seen? In this respect Holbein is from the first far more free than Dürer. When the latter left the Gothic forms, which afforded no satisfaction to his distinct individual feeling, an adherence to nature burst forth in him, which is ever the reaction of the Gothic.

In its contempt of the world, the Gothic had disdained the artistic perfection of the natural form, but the healthful love of nature among the Northern races was not wholly to be repressed. Forms of nature without artistic style, the mere imitation of reality, covered the strict construction of Gothic architecture with foliage and leaf ornaments, without having inwardly the least connection with it; it was these elements subsequently which burst asunder all fetters, revolted against all the restraint exercised by the Gothic system over each separate part, and at length brought it completely into decline through wild luxuriance. No artist had perhaps surrendered himself for a time so completely to this naturalism as Dürer, who seems personally to have gone through the various destinies of the national art. In the British Museum, for instance, there is a design for a large table service, devised as a natural tree-like growth with branches and foliage, while various people, warriors, Turks, gamblers, shepherds, and huntsmen, rest beneath it. These outbursts tended to check subsequently his study of Renaissance, a style which aims at applying natural figures as ornament by giving them an artistic form. Even in Maximilian's triumphal gate by Dürer, which is constructed with Italian columns and circular arches, and where natural vine-branches are introduced as ornament, there is still ever the tendency to naturalism, though in softened and even pleasing form.

There is no trace of this in Holbein's ornamental and architectural compositions. Many strange and even capricious forms appear; human figures which turn into plants and animals are grouped with vessels, flowers and garlands encircle them and grow out of them or entwine themselves among the shells of animals, baskets of fruit are subverted in order to support an architectural entablature, winged children's heads rest on shields as a crown to some lofty superstructure. No regard is paid to the inner adaptability of the ornament. On a title-page by Holbein, representing Christ bidding the poor and sick come to Him,[1] the ornaments on the side

[1] Passavant, 116.

are formed by various musical instruments; above St. Barbara and St. Elizabeth in the Munich altar, sphinx figures are introduced, which certainly have nothing to do with the religious character of the picture. The ornament was simply to adorn; it was not designed to signify anything.

These objections, which were raised against Holbein's ornamental designs during his earlier career, refer however to all designs of this kind executed by the German artists of the time, especially to the charming ornamental sheets among the engravings of such German masters as Aldegrever, Pencz, and the two Behams, who ingeniously developed Dürer's taste. The same objections may even be raised against the designs of Italian Renaissance; the same caprice appears here to a similar extent. Yet, in the one case as well as in the other, we are charmed with the beauty and pure harmony with which even that which seems really discordant combines agreeably and completely with the whole. Nothing causes this but the personal feeling proclaimed throughout,—the genius of the master himself, which is expressed in the richest as well as in the simplest forms, while in the Gothic, on the other hand, everything was subject to the one fixed principle, without affording the slightest scope to personal feeling.

Without models immediately at hand, without teachers, in contest even with the Gothic taste yet prevailing among the people, and from which the German architecture could not free itself for years, Holbein developed his Renaissance taste, and his designs for title-pages or for glass-paintings specially afforded him opportunity of exercising it. He knew how to apply it in the simplest and severest forms, where such were suitable, as in the niche behind the Meier Madonna, and he knew equally well how to revel in luxuriant richness. In the Basle Passion sketches we admired the fantastic overloading and grotesque clumsiness of the architectural frameworks, and the great artistic wisdom they evidenced. Holbein's sense of style taught him that the effect of painted windows must be essentially ornamental, and that each separate picture must be adapted to the general architectural effect. He therefore found the means to render these compositions, dramatic and full of figures as they were, subordinate to the framework. At the same time, however, he produced the triumphal gate in the background of the Lisbon picture, and that festive domed hall which forms the background of the two monochromatic pictures of Christ the Man of Sorrows and the Mother of Sorrows, which recently being placed in a suitable new frame in the Basle Museum, have been united as a diptich, according to their original intention.

Not only for woodcuts and glass-paintings did Holbein make designs during his sojourn in Basle, but he also occasionally assisted the goldsmiths and armourers, whose art stood high in Switzerland and in the south of Germany. He here introduced figures in combination with ornament. We

possess many designs for dagger-sheaths executed by Holbein at this period, one of the most beautiful of which, the dagger-sheath with the Dance of Death, we have already described; even the choice of the subject is here ingenious, and contrasts with the caprice which we meet with generally in Germany and Italy in all ornamental devices; equally happy also, as regards the idea, is the ornament on another scabbard shown in the accompanying woodcut. The scabbard with the Dance of Death we imagine as worn at the girdle of the warrior who knows how to use his weapon fatally when occasion needs; but this is made for the elegant cavalier, whose elaborately worked dagger is only worn for show. On this are depicted only love stories from the antique in a hearty humorous tone. A splendid-looking architectural design in the Renaissance style forms the scenery in which the events are depicted. Below, in front of a niche, is Venus, endowed with ass's ears like the fools, because she befools men; she is holding up a burning torch with a theatrical gesture, half-beckoning and half-warning, while the little Cupid with blinded eyes is seated at her feet. Above are two well-known stories of the delight and sorrow of love: Thisbe is stabbing herself by the corpse of her Pyramus, who is seen in bold foreshortening lying near the fountain, and indeed in such a position that we ourselves should not be convinced of his death as quickly as Thisbe, but would rather imagine that he was merely sleeping from intoxication. Lastly, above, we find the trim youth Paris, who is leaning against the pillar of a domed hall, and Mercury is holding an apple to him, while Cupid aims at him. The three goddesses however, between whom the young prince is to decide, do not certainly belong to Olympus; they are coarse Swiss peasant girls, scarcely accustomed to appear in the idyllic costume which they here wear. Holbein amuses himself with introducing the antique gods and heroes, as he has done also in many of the pictures in the Praise of Folly and in the Bacchus on the Pig, represented in our woodcut (page 219). The original of this design is an etching in the Library at Bernburg. The first idea of it, cursorily sketched, appears also in a slight etching in the Basle Museum,[1] but much is here altered, as for instance the Venus group; the compartment below this contains a ram's head in a wreath, and the scabbard is also terminated by a ram's head.

The same frame at Basle contains four other dagger-sheaths, in the first place a second copy[2] of the Berlin design with the Dance of Death, and a scabbard with leaf-ornaments, and the date 1529. Especially beautiful and exhibiting such free elegance of form that it could not have been designed until Holbein's residence in England, is the print of a sketch containing Joshua's passage through the Jordan.[3] The priests bearing the ark are stand-

[1] Hall of Sketches, under glass, No. 32.

[2] One of these copies may be an impression of the other, subsequently finished with Indian ink.

[3] Joshua iii. and iv. The sketch of this in the Basle Sketch-book is different. No. 30.

SCABBARD.
(Sketch)

ing upon dry ground at the spot where the water generally flowed, and the men of the twelve tribes are picking up great stones as an everlasting remembrance of the divine miracle. Such weapons might perhaps at that time, when the Reformation was making its way in England, have been executed for the King, affording a picture of the visible protection and direct help which the Lord vouchsafes to His warriors.

The fifth sketch of the frame, and a very slight one, represents a triumphal procession. A scabbard with a similar representation in Rudolf Weigel's Collection, is well known from Loedel's beautiful engraving. The idea of the elephants, captives, and warriors, dragging laboriously on in their armour, is borrowed from Mantegna's march of Cæsar. Two dagger-sheaths, the hilts also of which are preserved, are in the King's Library in the British Museum.[1] One of them has rich ornaments, and small groups of figures in brown on a black ground; the other the triumphal chariot of Bellona, drawn by four horses; the tapering space above is filled in a masterly manner with storming, rushing, and recumbent warriors. Such designs of delight in war, or joy in victory, were likewise admirably suited to this object.

Lastly, Holbein designed two very beautiful scabbards on the wood-block.[2] The one represents, again, a Venus with the torch, and a small Cupid by her side, just on the point of shooting an arrow; it is grandly composed, and the groups of children in the other compartments are very pleasing; the lower termination is formed by a winged child's head. The ornament of the other scabbard is also ingeniously chosen, being Fortune with a waving veil passing over the sea in a shell, a fitting symbol certainly for military adventurers. In the cabinet of engravings of Queen Maria at Dresden, there are also two rich hilts belonging to these scabbards.[3]

Holbein's increased activity in this branch of art, after his entrance into the service of the English court, is evidenced not only by many larger designs, but by two sketch-books belonging to the master which have been preserved in public collections. One of these, originally in the Sloane Collection, is now in the British Museum, and, according to Sandrart's short statements respecting it, is probably the one which Inigo Jones showed him in the Museum of the King of England. The second book, no less rich and valuable, although the drawings in it are for the most part more cursory, and the indications of colour not so frequent, is in the Basle Museum, but no longer in its original form. The small pictures are now pasted separately in a new book, and also much that does not belong to them, for instance some sheets which evidently come from a former note-book of Holbein's father; still the sheets belonging to the younger Holbein are easily discovered, from the strong yellowish paper on which they are drawn. That it belongs to Holbein's English period is not only shown by the artistic style and by the choice of many of the subjects,

[1] Nos. 20 and 22. [2] Passavant, 42, 43. [3] 42a, 43a.

but also by the mark I. H., 1537, which stands by the side of a small group of figures (No. 80). Holbein may have brought it back with him on his last visit to Basle. A third book, of the existence of which nothing is known, or rather numerous sketches, was in the possession of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and a number of splendid designs from it have been engraved by Wenzel Hollar.

Besides designs for the minor arts, these sketch-books contain also a few other drawings; the Basle one, for instance, has some studies from lay figures (No. 16), hands from life (21), studies on the proportion of nude figures (19), and some sketches of animals. In the London book, there appears a dog and a goat reposing[1] (117, 175). On all occasions Holbein exhibits pleasure in the observation of animal life. In his earlier life, we noticed some studies by him of this kind in the Basle Museum,[2] among which especially a Lamb and a Lamb's Head can only be compared with the sketches of Paul Potter for truth, life, and delicate masterly treatment.

The Basle Sketch-book contains also numerous compositions of figures in the smallest size, the style of which, however, is rather plastic than picturesque. For the most part they are made for embossed work or for engravings, and seem designed as ornaments for brooches and clasps, or for medallions. Ornaments with pictures of the same kind we have already found on numerous portraits of English personages. The Bible and mythology, allegory and ancient history, furnish the subjects of them. We find, for instance, three times in the same sheet, and always with some variation, Hagar and Ishmael, with the angel appearing to them, a very noble composition (37). The same sheet contains a fourth medallion: Abraham and Melchizedek extending their hands over the altar, and by the side the two principal figures again. Of other medallions and ornaments with Old Testament scenes we may mention the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel (71); Sarah giving Hagar to her husband (67); Jacob embracing Rachel with her flock, and this in a thoroughly country-like manner (68); Jacob turning the stone from the well for Rachel, especially pleasing (76); a small circular representation full of figures, the impression of a slightly-coloured etching, depicting David and the woman of Tekoah, very lifelike,—the woman is kneeling before the king, who is surrounded by his military suite, and on the right we see the king's sons escaping from Absalom.[3] The Sacrifice of Elijah, also, especially deserves notice; it is represented on the setting of a gem, and in such a manner that the stone is made use of to depict the fire on the altar.[4] Lastly, a very beautiful device for an ornament is formed in the perishing of Korah and his company (77).

[1] Woodcut in Mr. Wornum's book.
[2] No. 86. Hall of Sketches.
[3] No. 70. Marked with the name DAVID (inverted) and 2 Samuel xiv.
[4] Nos. 63 and 65.

Among Wenzel Hollar's engravings, we find also some Old Testament scenes on a small scale, which seem at least partly to have been borrowed from similar models for goldsmiths and medal coiners: thus, David killing Goliath; Uriah receiving the letter from the King's hand, who is standing before the door of a fortress, attired in the dress of the sixteenth century, and surrounded by his councillors and halberdiers. There are also two beautiful circular pictures: Judah and Tamar, and David playing the harp before Saul; the grief of the king and the deep feeling of the boy are grandly expressed in their figures.[1]

Pictures from the New Testament or figures of saints also appear in the Basle book: thus there is the baptism of Christ;[2] also the Saviour looking forth from the clouds,[3] with an angel below distributing crowns to the elect, while another angel is expelling the wicked. Repeatedly a figure of the penitent Magdalene appears in a small oval (Nos. 55, 56, 58), similar to that engraved by Wenzel Hollar.[4] One little shield contains S. Rochus with angels (79). On another sheet we find, twice, with some alterations, the sketch of the Archangel Michael casting down the Dragon, designed as a medallion for the chain of an Order (64). We also find a gentleman and lady, both young and in noble English costume, kneeling opposite to each other and holding a cup over which is a heart (88). Among various allegories —among which, for instance, the Gallic Hercules[5] appears—one is especially remarkable; a naked male figure is standing upon a knight who has been dashed to the ground, and is shattering with his right hand Cupid's bow, and with his left hand the sword of the warrior. Above are scrolls, destined to receive the inscription (62). Some of the cleverest compositions are borrowed from history or from the legends of antiquity. We find in the smallest space the blinding of Zaleucus and his son, which we have already noticed among Holbein's Town-hall pictures.[6] The principal figures of the two blinding executioners, and of those to be blinded, are naked; the bystanders wear an antique costume. The action of Zaleucus is very fine; he is propping himself up with both arms, and bending forward his head to the executioner. We find pictures of Pomona (81), of Cupid (85), of Leukothea on a dolphin (83), of two Centaurs (53), of Juno and Parasis (74); among the most masterly sketches, is a frieze-like strip with some furious Tritons (22). His humour sometimes finds vent in Bacchanalian scenes, similar in idea to the great woodcut initial given on page 219.

Similar small sketches with groups of figures for goldsmiths and metal

[1] Parthey, Nos. 71, 73, 67, 72.

[2] No. 73, Impression.

[3] Over it the words DOMINVS PROSPEXIT DE CÆLO; No. 75. A repetition of it, still better adapted to the space, No. 78.

[4] Parthey, 180.

[5] No. 69.

[6] No. 61. About one inch high and two inches broad.

coiners are to be seen in the small book in the British Museum. Thus we find the Annunciation of the Virgin (19), with the inscription ORIGO MVNDI MELIORIS (beginning of a better world) enclosed in a frame of yellow asters and green leaves. Similarly arranged and delicately drawn, as if with the lightest touch of colour, is a picture of the Trinity, within a wreath of red roses, and bearing the inscription TRINITATIS GLORIA SATIAMVR (The glory of the Trinity satiates us) (13). As a device for a brooch, Dido appears on the funeral pile, contemplated with horror by a male and female figure (15). A medallion, explained by the Italian device "SERVAR VOGLIO QVEL CHE HO GIVRATO" (I will keep what I have sworn), exhibits a hand touching, as if protestingly, a book that is resting on a rock (No. 22). Another allegory appears in No. 28, a youth lying sleeping under a fountain, struck by lightning on his head, body, and feet. Especial interest belongs to a small circular picture, containing the crowned leopard's head of the English unicorn, with the inscription "HONY. SOYT. QVI. MAL. Y. PENSE," and on the outward edge, "CAROLVS. DVX. SVFFYCIE. PRO. HONORE. SVO. RICHEMOND" (Charles, duke of Suffolk, to his honour, Richmond); probably, therefore, the buckle which Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the King's brother-in-law, a famous General, wore on his Order of the Garter. Three beautiful little circular pictures from this book, are hung under glass in the King's Library (Nos. 9, 1—3): the allegory of Time bringing Truth to light,[1] St. John the Baptist, and Lot's Flight.

Similar in character and intention must be six small circular sketches of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. They are framed and hung up at Chatsworth, and, according to Waagen's[2] opinion, they are among Holbein's most delicate works: they are Phaeton's overthrow; the Last Judgment: and a coat-of-arms, to which Cupid is chained near three bee-hives, with bound eyes, and by the side the device "Nocet empta dolore voluptas" (Pleasure that is purchased by pain is pernicious). Almost better still might Albert Dürer's verse be attached to it, which he wrote under a similar representation,[3] of Venus and Cupid stung by bees:

"Der Binen stich bringt grossen schmertz.
So auch die lieb verwund manchs Hertz.
Mit Freud und Lust, mitt angst vnd qual.
Lieb ist voll Honig vnd bitter gall."

(As the bee's sting produces aching smart,
So does Love torture many a tender heart:
With joy and woe alternate, fear and ill,
Love doth her cup with sweet and bitter fill.)

[1] With the name TEMPVS and VERITAS. Similar composition in the Basle Sketch-book, No. 54.

[2] Treasures, ii. p. 359.

[3] In the British Museum Collection of Engravings.

The other three are Hagar and Ishmael—a subject which we have also found in the Basle book; Diana and Actæon; and a knight looking at a clock, in which a boy with a hammer is going to strike the hour, and beneath are the words "Aspetto la hora" (I await the hour).

The abundance of ideas and the variety of subjects lead us to infer the utmost variety in the designs and applications of these little works of art. The serious and the cheerful element, the Christian and the heathen, the pathetic and the tender, are all here represented. Sometimes they were evidently gallant gifts, with allusions to tender relations; sometimes a jest lay at their root, at another time they were significant remembrances of distinct and important events or of dear friends. One suited as an ornament for some fair lady, another for the elegant and merry cavalier, and a third for the serious and active man, as the reward of merit. But certainly the greater part were destined for the King's own person, for small objects of art in which tasteful work was combined with costly material were his greatest delight.

In the London Sketch-book, we find also patterns for the most various useful objects or for parts of costume; such as tassels, knots, borders, buttons, book-covers, embroideries (in which Holbein introduced Oriental designs), broad bands and finer strips, twisted lines, leaf-like arabesque branches, without relief and without any specification of light and shade.[1] Sometimes this system seems to have been adopted in the ornamenting of weapons, either in simple damaskeening or in coating nobler metal and steel. On the whole, however, it is rather a plastic feeling which prevails in the art industry of the German Renaissance, and this also pervades Holbein's works of this kind. This is expressed in the sketches for various vessels and implements, in the numerous designs for jewellers, goldsmiths, and armourers. There are some charming designs for toilet implements in London, for mirrors, brushes and combs, the handles of which are formed by small fantastically formed genii with bats' wings or terminating in festoons (21, 23, 24). Some rich mirror frames appear in the Basle book (92, 95) and there is a large Indian ink etching for a still more beautiful toilet-mirror in the Library at Erlangen. Dolphins support the stand and surround the elegant frame, which is upheld by a syren; above, sit two weeping little Cupids, and the whole is surmounted by a death's head. How full of thought is it, and how characteristic of the age, thus to combine this idea of death with the implement of earthly vanity. In the London book, numerous patterns appear for the setting of jewels, for twisted initials, such as were wont to be worn on ornaments, and for brooches and clasps. "To give is more blessed than to take" (DARE MVLTO BEATIVS QVAM ACCIPERE) stands on one as a device; another shows the half-length figure of a lady with the inscription WELL LADY WELL; two other clasps bear the words MI LADY PRINSES, evidently referring to Henry's daughter by his

[1] Some specimens of these in the woodcuts in Mr. Wornum's book.

first marriage, the Princess Mary, who had been again received into favour since Anna Boleyn's death.[1] We find also earrings, one with two turtle doves and the motto TVRTVRVM CONCORDIA[2] (the harmony of doves); also girdles, bracelets, and necklaces: in one of these sketches the pearls and jewels were held by Satyrs and nymphs depicted in bold attitudes.[3] Similar ideas appear in designs for sword-hilts in the Basle book (96—98). In one of these, the hilt is formed by garlands which a dragon is emitting like fire. In the centre of them is a jewel, like a beautiful fruit, and at the end of the hilt is a female figure, which is growing out of the arabesques. There is a similar sword-hilt of great elegance, with armed children, depicted as resting, fighting and supporting; it was engraved by Wenzel Hollar,[4] and was stated to have been designed for the Prince of Wales.

Holbein's ornamental taste, however, celebrates its highest triumph in the designs for vessels, for plates with engraved ornaments,[5] glasses, goblets, salt-cellars, tankards, and table services. How distinctly and clearly, and with what jubilant mirth, is not the merry festive spirit of the Renaissance expressed in them! Throughout the material is considered, and the form corresponds with the character of a noble metal; but with equally great understanding, expression is also given to the object of the vessel. Among Hollar's engravings,[6] we find specimens of tankards, with or without mouths, therefore for pouring out or for drinking, probably of silver, and for the most part intended for beer, which was brought in England also to the table of the nobles. One of the two tankards (2636), the body of which, convex in form, enlarges towards the top, with its broad mouth and graceful handle, shooting upwards like a tender flower-stalk, thoroughly expresses the delight of lavish distribution. Utterly different is the other, which, vase-like, rests on a slender foot: probably it was intended to contain a warm drink, for the lid has the character of closing firmly and effectively; the mouth is formed by a serpent proceeding from the lower part of the body of the tankard and corresponding with the handle, which is fashioned like the tail of a rattlesnake. Those parts in which the function of the vessel is most plainly expressed, are well entitled to assume such animal forms, thus obtaining increased life and giving the whole work a more decided tendency. Antiquity had already afforded the most beautiful examples of this.

And then those graceful drinking vessels on slender base,[7] rising so highly

[1] King's Library, i. No. 14. [2] Sketch-book, No. 30. [3] Copy in Wornum, p. 85.
[4] Parthey, 2599. Other sketches for parts of swords and daggers, 2596—2598.
[5] Erlangen Library. British Museum Sketch-book, No. 122.
[6] Parthey, 2634—2637.
[7] Hollar, pp. 26—33. Basle Sketch-book, 89, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104. Several among the goldsmith sketches of the Basle Museum, U. 12, especially No. 71. Woodcuts, No. 44, a—c.

and with such elasticity, that a vigorous life seems pulsating even in the most delicate ornament. The antique type is preserved, but it is freely handled and ingeniously modified, and all those richer technical appliances which stood at the disposal of modern art are turned to account. The most varied accessories, half-plastic, half-picturesque in idea, are lavished on them; with this richness an adherence to the laws of style was all the more difficult, and yet these are preserved with as much delicacy as decision. Almost exclusively they were show vessels; nevertheless the first rule of style, that the object if not actual, yet supposed, must be expressed, was throughout observed. Holbein's vessels do not incur the danger of betraying at once, "that they were made only for the sake of the picturesque or plastic art introduced in them," as is the case with so many of our present splendid works, and with almost all that is produced in our modern world-famed porcelain manufactories and goldsmiths' ateliers, by that desire for ingenious, though indeed spiritless love of design, combined with moderate self-estimation, which will not consent to take a subordinate position. We may refer especially to these inventions of the master of German Renaissance, the words which the greatest living judge of technical art says of the productions of the Renaissance: "Playfully, and without study, the sense of that which is represented is linked with the object which it is intended to adorn. It moves freely within the formal limits prescribed, accommodating itself to the whole, rendering it complete without dispensing with the right of independent existence. Its relation to the whole is far more close than to the purely intellectual character of the subject."[1]

The latter is often only very slightly connected with the intention of the object adorned. Medallions with heads often adorn the body of the vessel, and figures stand on the knobs of the lid. It would be idle to inquire as to their special signification, they are only intended to be cheerful festive figures; hence the immortal gods of antiquity, Jupiter, Neptune, a small Cupid, and even the severer figure of Themis with her balance, are chosen. The relation is closer and the design more humorous, when a goblet, such as that engraved by Hollar,[2] is crowned by the figure of Moderation, mingling water and wine. Only exceptionally does a more serious thought seem to be emphasized; as, for instance, in one of the most elegant goblet designs which Holbein executed for the German goldsmith, Hans von Antwerp.[3] Winged figures, bearing torches, are resting at the foot, and on the lid above stands the figure of Truth with a torch and an open book. This may, perhaps, have been conceived as an acknowledgment of Protestant opinion.

All Holbein's designs for vessels are, however, surpassed by the cup of Queen Jane Seymour, the great etching of which is preserved in the Bodleian

[1] G. Semper, "Der Stil," &c., ii. p. 87.

[2] Parthey, 2626.

[3] Basle Sketch-book, No. 104.

Library, at Oxford.[1] The initials of the King and Queen, H. and J., entwined with a love-knot, appear frequently in it, and also Jane Seymour's motto, BOUND TO OBEY AND TO SERVE—a fitting device, certainly, for a consort of Henry VIII. The general effect of colour, the splendid combination of gold, pearls, and jewels, is indicated in the sketch. Adorned with foliage and dolphins, masks and angels' heads, the stem grows upwards with a living impulse, which gracefully terminates in overhanging branchwork and falling pearls, embodying the idea of pressure from above and elastic activity. In contrast to the playful lightness below, the body of the vessel is studded with embossments; horizontal divisions and alternating ornament, sometimes projecting plastically, sometimes remaining picturesquely on the surface, give a slender and graceful appearance to the form; while the busts of Roman warriors, beauties, and emperors, stand out strongly from the centre medallions. Lastly, how exultingly and joyously does everything tend upwards towards the lid with its mermaids, who, with all their power, are blowing in trumpets of flower-stalks, while two happy Cupids above are holding the shield with the royal crown!

In this splendid piece of work, Holbein set himself no easy task. The whole is composed of a number of horizontal parts and members. The richness and variety of the different decorative elements seem to be endless, and all this breaks and changes the profile of the whole. And in spite of this, the ornament is throughout subordinate to the fundamental form; and from whatever side we regard the vessel, its distinct contour and its clear characteristic outline ever meet the eye.

Far more simple, but no less beautiful and significant, is the design for a clock, a woodcut of which we have here inserted, first a sketch of the whole, and then the crowning of it, in the same size as the original. This may have been among the last works which Holbein executed, for the sketch in the British Museum contains the observation: "New Year's gift, executed for the King's chamberlain, by Anthony Denny, and presented by him to the King at the beginning of the year 1544."[2] When this took place, the designer had been dead for many months.

In Henry the Eighth's time, clocks were among the most favourite articles of luxury at the court; great sums were expended on them, and in Westminster Palace and Hampton Court a person was appointed for the winding

[1] Issued as a photograph by the South Kensington Museum. An old copy is in the British Museum, King's Library, Closet i. No. 13. Engraved in "Specimens of Ornamental Art," and in Mr. Wornum's book.

[2] King's Library, No. 15. "(S)trena facta pro anthony deny, Camerario regis, quod in initio noui anni, 1544, regi dedit." A document of that period certainly written by the person who had ordered it, and who adds some observations for the clockmaker. In the original, there are opened double doors at the sides of the hour-glass; they are here omitted, as disturbing the contour, which makes this part appear somewhat too narrow.

CLOCK FOR HENRY VIII.
(Sketch. British Museum.)

ORNAMENT FOR THE CLOCK OF HENRY VIII.
(Sketch. British Museum.)

up and regulation of the clocks.[1] In this gift, the plastic art was scarcely less placed in requisition than the skill of the clockmaker. Here, also, metal was certainly intended as the material, and it was indeed generally selected in the Renaissance period in the formation of vessels. The Gothic, in similar tasks, allowed the constructive character to predominate; Holbein's design, in the true spirit of the Renaissance, is of a purely plastic nature. How excellently, however, are the thoroughly plastic forms adapted to their technical position, as, for instance, those Satyr Hermes at the base, which assume the figure of an ear or handle! No less characteristic is the third supporting Satyr Hermes, in front of the hour-glass, and the whole is charmingly crowned by a group of children supporting the dial-plate and the crown. Not only do they delight the eye by their beautiful outline and true Raffaelle-like grace; but they embody in the most speaking manner, that striving after roundness which is proclaimed in the whole structure, and aid in the distinct expression of the three processes of receiving, bearing, and transferring.

Thorough architectural knowledge alone could have enabled the master to labour for art-industry with such just principles of style. The backgrounds of many of his pictures furnish us with evidence of his architectural talent. That he had, however, also practically cultivated this talent, we learn from an authentic source, namely, a letter from the Basle Council, which we shall mention in the following chapter, in which especial weight is laid on the fact that Holbein can be helpful to the city with his advice in building matters. In England various architectural works have indeed been ascribed to him, but in this instance the tradition can never be traced to any reliable source. If his name was attached to the ruined gate of Henry VIII., near Whitehall, it was a great misunderstanding; for, from the pictures of it, it was a predominantly Gothic work, in which the Tudor arch still prevailed. With equal error, a small and graceful portal was ascribed to Holbein, the remains of a vanished castle at Wilton, near Salisbury, the seat of the Pembroke family. Here indeed there is decided Renaissance, even nobly developed in the forms of the columns, and once, as the indications of colour allow us to infer, exhibiting excellent polychromatic skill, but the character of the whole, as is shown especially in the crowning, is far too feeble for us to think of Holbein as its architect; and besides this, the costume of the half-length figures, introduced in several of the medallions, show that the work was executed near the close of the sixteenth century. The architecture of England seems to have been less under the influence of Holbein than of other artists in the service of the King, especially of the Italians, and Antonio Toto, for instance, built the since ruined residence of Nonesuch in the county of Surrey.

The ceiling of the chapel of St. James' Palace is also attributed to Holbein, but likewise without any external evidence. Nevertheless, the style of the

[1] N. H. Nicholas, "The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth," p. 310.

scroll and leaf-ornaments on a blue ground, with rich gilding,[1] does not at any rate contradict the assertion, and the origin of the work occurs in his time; the date 1540, and the initials of Henry and his fourth consort, Anne of Cleves, are repeatedly introduced between the ornaments.

Only one architectural decorative work can be certainly traced to our master, and this is authenticated by the original sketch in the British Museum.[2] It is a fireplace, we infer from the arms, and was certainly intended for a palace. This splendid work is conceived thoroughly in monumental style. It is a kind of portal structure in two stories, which might have reached to the ceiling; each story is terminated by two pairs of columns, Doric below and Ionic above. Between the lower columns there is the broad, low fireplace; its pediment, which is somewhat compressed, is filled with the representation of a battle, but in the centre of the compartment there is a circular shield, surrounded by rich ornament, and containing the picture of Esther and Ahasuerus. In the same manner, every part of the work is animated with groups of figures, for the most part not picturesquely composed, but in relief. In the embrasures near the lower arch, there are two medallions with a male and female half-length figure in the antique style. The rich frieze above the lower columns is formed of leaf-work with dogs' heads, a strange combination, and yet beautifully and successfully executed; in the centre is the King's signature, supported by griffins. The upper story, divided into three compartments by Hermes, bearing fruit-baskets, contains on the right and left medallions with the sitting figures of Justice and Charity, each time with Henry's signature above them, and in the centre is the beautiful and life-like representation of a combat of horsemen, while below are the English arms. A strong cornice terminates the whole. Whoever designed this structure, full of grace and splendour as regards separate forms, with a fine style of ornament, and especially distinguished for beauty of proportion and admirable division of space, was able to direct the English architecture of his time to better things, had time and opportunity been afforded him for activity on a large scale in this branch of art.

But his activity in small matters, whenever it was called forth, is worthy of high esteem, and at the present time especially, in which all those who are artistically disposed to take interest in art-industry will know how to estimate Holbein's productions in this department of art. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the art-handicraft of Germany had reached a height in all its branches, which we can only contemplate at the present day with

[1] See a short description in Richardson, "Architectural Remains of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.," London, 1838.

[2] King's Library, No. 23.

[3] Walpole, who possessed this sketch, mentions a notice of Peacham's respecting a drawing by Holbein for a fireplace for Henry's New Palace at Bridewell.

admiration. It was in no degree inferior to the productions of Italy, and it had equalled France in nobleness of taste and power of invention. As the most beautiful, however, that the German mind could devise in this branch of art, the creations of Hans Holbein stand foremost. In the development of his ornamental style, he took precedence of all those masters who by their skill in ornament so effectively contributed to spread the Renaissance taste, and he rivalled them as much in mind as in purity of artistic feeling. No work of Benvenuto Cellini's, or of those numerous other masters whose works now usually pass under Cellini's name, can compete with many of his daggers, or with Jane Seymour's tankard.

If Holbein did not build the apartments of the English monarch, yet a great part of their adornment was due to his invention, not only the paintings which decorated them, but the fireplaces and other splendid works, the artistically-devised weapons which ornamented the walls, the utensils and costly vessels which stood in the halls and apartments, and the smallest objects of decoration and use, even to the costume and ornaments of the people who inhabited these apartments.

The appearance of the King, as Holbein painted him from head to foot in the wall-painting at Whitehall, was also in the original in great measure his work. He had designed the setting of the jewels on his dress and hat, he had traced the embroideries which covered his jerkin and adorned the edge of his mantle, he had devised the splendid necklace and the splendid medal on his breast, the dagger with its rich hilt and its beautiful scabbard, and even perhaps the band of the hat and the Spanish work on the collar. Thus the master, full of the spirit of Renaissance, conceived the Beautiful as an element of happiness and wealth, which should pervade the entire life, and considered the smallest thing worthy of being so treated and fashioned, that it should harmonize with highly-cultivated artistic feeling.

CHAPTER XXV.

Holbein's journeys by royal order.—The birth of the Prince of Wales and the death of Queen Jane Seymour.—New wooing.—Holbein sent to Brussels to paint the bride.—The portrait of Christina, duchess of Milan.—Holbein appears in the "Expenses of the Household."—His visit to Basle.—Appointment from the Council.—Portraits of the Prince of Wales.—Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves.—Holbein's portrait of the Princess.

So joyful a day perhaps had never been known by King Henry VIII. as the 12th of October, 1537, on which Jane Seymour gave birth to a boy. Everyone had looked forward with expectation to this event; hope had made the King more cheerful and kindly than those around him had ever remembered him before.[1] Now at length there was an undoubted male heir to the throne; at the decease of the King, who began to be more and more corpulent and weaker in body, no revolution was to be expected. The whole kingdom saw its welfare and repose secured. Throughout the land bonfires were kindled and public thanksgivings offered. But sorrow and lamentation followed on the steps of joy; the condition of the Queen, which had at first been satisfactory, took a turn for the worse after ten days, owing to want of care, and on the 24th of October the noble and beautiful mother of the little prince was dead.

The King immediately afterwards left Hampton Court and went to Westminster, where he remained for some time in complete seclusion. The Christmas festival was passed at Greenwich in mourning attire, which was not laid aside by the Court until the day after Candlemas. But the Privy Council did not long allow that the King should live as a sorrowing widower. The future was not yet secure from uncertainty, as it hung on the life of a single child, and hence the Council urged the King, who appeared personally disinclined to the step, to enter into a new alliance. Immediately after Jane's death, Cromwell had occupied himself in the matter, and had gained information with regard to available princesses from the ambassadors and agents at foreign courts. The French Princess Margaret, Marie de Guise, at that time Dowager Duchess of Longueville, and subsequently Queen of Scotland, were thought of. Cromwell seems also to have entered into correspondence with the envoy in Flanders, John Hutton, as well as with the ambassador in Paris.

[1] Froude, iii. c. iv.; Hall's "Chronicle."

The former was to look about the Court at Brussels, or elsewhere in the neighbourhood, for ladies who could be proposed to the King,—such seems to have been the purport of his order. After receiving Cromwell's letter, Hutton writes on the 4th of December,[1] that he had made "as myche secret sherche as the tyme wold permyt. The which albeit had byn of leugar countenewance," he adds, "I cold not perceive that anny sherche cold have found wone soo notable a personage, as wen meit lyknyd to that noble Raynge." There is, he says, "a lady of thage of 14 yerres, daughtar unto the Lord of Breidrood, of a goodly stature," who it was thought would have a good dowry, also the "wyffe of the late Yerle of Egmond," who was indeed over forty, "the wiche dothe not apeire in my judgment by hir face." Lastly, there was also "the Duchess of Myllayne," whom he had not seen, but who was reported to be "a goodly personage and of excellent beautie." Here Hutton had hit upon the right one. Christina, the young niece of the Emperor, daughter of King Christian of Denmark, had been thought of by the English court. Since the 24th of October, 1535, she had lost her husband, Duke Francesco Maria Sforza of Milan, to whom she had been married the previous year. The union of Henry with her would have been the best token of a new and friendly relation between England and the Emperor, which would have proved to all Europe that the divorce of his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, had been completely forgotten and forgiven. Charles V. had already received with eagerness a hint respecting Henry's inclination. When the matter had gone so far, the usual etiquette in princely wooings was observed on the part of the English court; the wooer despatched a painter to take the portrait of the lady of his choice. This seems to have been the custom since the time of Charles VI. of France. His guardians had despatched the most experienced painter to depict the princesses in question, and after seeing the portraits the young King had decided in favour of Isabella of Bavaria.[2] Thus also Jan van Eyck was sent to Portugal in the year 1428, to paint the illustrious bride of Duke Philip the Good. Holbein was now despatched to Brussels on the same mission.

"Pleasithe your good Lordshipe, to be advertissid," wrote Hutton to Cromwell on the 14th of March, 1538, "that the 10th of this present monethe in the evening arivid here your Lordshipis sarvand Phillip Hobbie, accompenied with a sarvand of the Kynges Majisties namyd Mr. Haunce, by wiche Phillip I recevyd your Lordshippis letter, beryng date at Saynet Jamys, the second day of this present. Theffect whereof apercevyd, havyng the day beffore sent wone of my sarvandes towardes youre Lordshipe withe a picture of the Duches of Myllain, I thought it very nessisarie to stey the same, for that in my openion it was not soo perffight as the cawsse requyrid, neyther as

[1] "State Papers," vol. viii.

[2] "Chronicle of the Monks of St. Denis," chap. v. Quoted by Count de Laborde, "La Renaissance des Arts," &c. p. 56.

the said Mr. Haunce coold make it. Uppon wiche determination I dispachid another of my sarvandes in post to return the same, wiche your Lordshipe shall receve by this berrar." Hutton informs him further that on the following morning he had sought an interview with the Regent of the Netherlands, Queen Marie, and also with her niece, the Duchess of Milan, and had communicated to them that Cromwell "hed hard great commendation of the furme, beautie, wisdom, and other verteos qualiteis, the wiche God had indewid the said Duches with," and that he "cold perceve no mean more meit for the advauncement of the same (*i.e.*, marriage) then to procure her perffight picture." Therefore his "Lordshipe had sent, in compeny of your said sarvand, a man very excellent in makyng phisanymies;" and he desired that his servant might be allowed to greet her ducal grace and to request that she would please to fix time and place, when the said painter could fulfil his task. On the same day Hobbie had audience, and the day after, the 12th of March, at "wone of the cloke in the aftrenoon," a gentleman from the Court fetched Mr. Haunce; "whoo," says Hutton, "havyng but three owers space hathe shoid hymself to be master of that siens, for it is very perffight; the other is but sloberid in comparison to it, as by the sight of bothe your Lordshipe shall well aperceve."

The painting which Holbein executed after this three hours' sketch justifies the high expectations which the first drawing excited. It is in Arundel Castle, and is known only to a few friends of art, as it hangs in the private apartment of the Duchess of Norfolk, and is, in our opinion, the finest work by the master which is now in England, and may be ranked with the three most excellent portraits in German galleries of which we have before spoken.

When the other painter, whose work Hutton calls "but sloberid," painted the Duchess of Milan, she had laid aside her mourning attire, and had sat to him in full regal attire. "You should have only seen her so," a lady of the Court had observed to the English envoy. Holbein, on the other hand, saw the princess as she was wont to be daily, in mourning attire, according to the Italian style. But this black widow's dress produces here such an artistic effect, that we would not exchange it on any account for the gold brocade and jewels which the noble ladies of that day usually wore. Christina of Milan wears a little black cap, entirely concealing the hair; her dress is of black satin, as well as the over-garment, which is lined and trimmed with sable. A narrow white collar is seen at the throat, and the hands, which are holding a pair of yellow gloves, come forth from white cuffs. A gold bracelet studded with red jewels, on the left arm, forms the sole ornament. The painter depicts her in full-length figure, in order to show her slender form. "She is of taller stature than either of us," said the ambassadors Wriothesley and Vaughan some months later. The head is in full light, which

falls from the right; the flesh tint is unusually transparent, though of a faint red glow. "She is not so delicately fair as the deceased Queen," writes Hutton, "but she hathe a good countenance; and when she smiles, two little dimples appear in her cheeks, and one in her chin, which becomes her well." How thoroughly all this corresponds with the pleasing face in the picture, which cannot be called truly beautiful, at least not regularly beautiful, just as Wriothesley calls her only "competently faire," though charming in her youthfulness. She was then just sixteen years old.

And it is just this which imparts such a charm to this painting. Holbein has truly conceived it as an artistic task to paint a widow of sixteen, and he executed this task in the most skilful manner. Christina stands before us as half a child, and to this the honourable and princely mourning attire forms a strange contrast. With her large dark eyes, beneath the slight and fair eyebrows, she looks as sweet and innocent as a roe. The simplicity of her whole appearance, which is increased by the plain blue background, suits her character. "She is very friendly," says Hutton, "very graceful in her bearing, and soft in speech, she seems to be of few words; and she lisps somewhat in talking, which does not become her badly." He had inquired at first whether her great modesty arose from mere ignorance or from natural inclination and intelligence; now, however, he observed her almost daily both in serious conversation, in card-playing, and other pastime, and he perceived that she did not lack wit at all, but that among many wise at the Court she was rather the wisest.

All these traits we find in the picture, both in the expression of the countenance as well as in the figure, and even in the manner in which she is lightly stepping forward, but above all in the wonderfully painted hands, which, in form and in the appearance of the fingers, are highly characteristic of the delicate, gentle, and reserved nature of the young Duchess. The noble flow of the drapery, for which nature alone formed the model, the beautiful painting of the fur and satin, the fine effect of colour combined with great simplicity of tint—all this completes this work of art, in which Holbein has proved that he could not only be true and skilful in psychological conception, but also elegant. Yet what noble, manly elegance!

The painting has been for some time in the possession of the Howard family. Walpole says that Vertue saw it in Mr. Howard's possession in Soho Square. It is one of the few works of art which remained to this house from the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Sandrart saw it in his possession in the year 1627, noting it down with his usual inaccuracy as the portrait of the King's "incomparable beloved one, a princess of Lorraine" (unvergleichlicher Liebstin, einer Pinzessin von Lothringen): Christina married subsequently the Duke of Lorraine. Holbein had depicted her so vividly at the desire of the King that he fell in love with her immediately; but she

declined, and sent word to the King that she would have gladly accepted the honour, "had she had two heads." This reply of Christina's is only a fable. She seems, on the contrary, personally to have had a desire to be Queen of England. When Wriothesley, at the time that political difficulties threatened to prevent the marriage, urged her to disclose to him her personal inclination, she blushed deeply, and said, "My inclination? What am I to say?" and she added smilingly, "You know I am the Emperor's poor servant, and must obey his will." Charles V., however, was soon of another opinion; the alliance with England was broken off, and even gave place to warlike threatenings.

The Earl of Arundel must have obtained the picture from the Earl of Pembroke, with whom he had also exchanged the Windsor sketches. When Carel van Mander mentions the opinion of the Italian painter upon Holbein's Steel-yard pictures, he continues, "The said Zucchero was also delighted with the portrait of a certain Countess, dressed in black satin, life-size, a full-length figure, unusually pretty and well painted by Holbein, and kept in Lord Pembroke's house, where he saw it in company with some painters and lovers of art, and took such great delight in it, that he declared he had not seen the like in art and delicacy even in Rome; therefore went away filled with admiration."

In the List of Henry the Eighth's works of art, at Whitehall, which however never gives the artists' names, we find mention made of a large panel with the picture of the Duchess of Milan in a full-length figure.[1] But we find also a second notice: "Item a table with the picture of the Duchesse of Myllayne." This second portrait is a half-length figure at Windsor, to which Mr. Scharf has recently drawn attention, after the personage it represented had been wholly forgotten.[2] Mr. Scharf's idea that this was the picture made by Holbein at Brussels in three hours, we cannot, however, implicitly accede to. The sketches from life which exist of many of Holbein's portraits, especially the sheets in the Windsor Collection, in which the whole effect of the painting is given, the accessories are indicated, and the materials and colours are noted down in writing, lead us to infer that Holbein on this occasion also only made a sketch at Brussels. Nothing else indeed could have been done in the short space of three hours. But even if in this case we might suppose an exception to the artist's mode of proceeding possible, we cannot find in the picture at Windsor that freedom and bold masterly style which absolutely belong to a sketch from life, and which alone could

[1] Inventory of Henry VIII., Gardrobe; Bibl. Harl. 1419a. From the original in the British Museum. "Item a greate Table with the picture of the Duchyes of Myllayne beinge her whole stature."

[2] "On a Portrait of the Duchess of Milan recently discovered at Windsor Castle;" Archæologia, vol. xiv. With a lithograph of the painting by T. H. Maguire, as well as a sketch of the picture at Arundel; London, 1866.

have excited such lively admiration in John Hutton. The picture Windsor is very pretty and graceful, but has something almost sober in its treatment.

It can indeed be just as little a copy from the large painting. It exhibits some differences in the costume, for instance a somewhat larger fur collar, and another position of the fingers, although the characteristic attitude of the hands is essentially the same. Christina also wears three rings instead of a single one; namely, a black widow's ring on the little finger of the right hand, and on the next finger a gold hoop with a square black stone. We might, therefore, believe that this is a copy by another hand of the sketch Holbein painted from life. In favour of this opinion, we find the head, which the sketch naturally gave most distinctly, by far the best part of the painting, while the rest, which was only indicated in the sketch, appears far weaker.

The expenses of this journey of Hobbie's and of our artist are noted in the book of his Majesty's Household Expenses, beginning with the 1st January, 1538:[1] "Paymente in Marche: Item paid to Philip Hoby by the kinge commandment certifyed by my lord privy seale lettre for his coste annd expences sent in all possible diligence for the kinge affaires in the parties of beyonde the See. xxiij£. vj*s.* viij*d.*"

Immediately afterwards, Lady-day 1538, Holbein is also for the first time mentioned in the Household Accounts, as receiving his quarter's salary of 7*l.* 10*s.*, a payment always paid at the expiration of the quarter. In order to give us an idea of the worth of the sum at that time, we must compare it with other salaries. A yeoman of the King received on an average quarterly 45*s.* 6*d.*; a page 50*s.*; Piro, the French cook, 66*s.* 8*d.*; Nicolaus Kratzer, the King's astronomer, 5*l.*; the surgeon, John Aylif, the same sum, but the King's first physician in ordinary, 25*l.* The two Italian painters, Antonio Toto and Bartolommeo Penni, received together 12*l.* 10*s.* for the quarter, therefore less than Holbein; on the other hand, Lucas Hornebaud, as we have before remarked, received somewhat more, namely, 55*s.* 6*d.* monthly. The entire yearly expenses of the Court under Henry VII. amounted to somewhat more than 14,000*l.*; under Henry VIII. they were hardly 20,000*l.* The income possessed by a country gentleman, to qualify him to be Justice of the Peace, amounted to 20*l.* yearly;[2] therefore, two-thirds of Holbein's salary, which was thus rather considerable.

At the next term, Midsummer 1538, we find it registered: "Item for Hans Holbyn paynter for one hole yeres annutie aduanced to him before hand

[1] See Walpole; also, Mr. A. W. Frank's "Archæologia," vol. xxxix.

[2] See Froude, vol. i. chap. 1. The present English money compared with the money at that day, stands in the proportion of 1 : 12, both as regards the real and the relative change in the value of the coin. Thus, Holbein's yearly income amounted to about 360*l.*, according to the present standard.

the same yere to be accompted de from our lady dey last past the somme of 30*l.*" And again at Michaelmas: "Item for Hans Holbyn paynter wage—— nihil quia solutum per warrant." Such payments in advance were a rare occurrence, and it follows, therefore, that the artist must have stood in especial favour with the King.

At Christmas in the same year, he of course received "nihil," but it is entered in December: "Item payde to Hans Holbyn one of the kinge's paynters by my lorde pryvi seals lettre 10*l.* for his coste and charge at this tyme sent abowte certeyn his grace affares into the parties of High Burgony by way of his grace rewarde."[1]

How can this have been for a journey? Walpole regards this amount as payment for Holbein's journey to Brussels, when he painted the Duchess Christina. But this had happened three-fourths of a year before, and the expenses had been already settled with Hobbie. Moreover, High Burgundy is in nowise identical with the Netherlands, but it was the name given to the county of Burgundy (Franche Comté), which belonged to the Emperor, in distinction to the duchy of Burgundy, which was French. And that Holbein was really sent to Franche Comté, appears probable, as in September and October we find him in the immediate neighbourhood, namely in Switzerland, as we shall presently mention.

What could Holbein have, however, to do in the county of Burgundy? Whom could Henry VIII. wish to have painted there? It is a difficult point to answer. It could not be to take the portrait of another princess, for Henry was still wooing the Duchess of Milan, and he could have no occasion for any other wooing in the county of Burgundy in Imperial territory. It is not likely that the King should have given him money for his journey to Switzerland, although, according to mediæval geography, the denomination "High Burgundy" would not have been impossible for that country, for the form used in the payment to Hobbie is similar, "abowte certeyn his grace affares."

We may perhaps assume that Holbein had again been sent to the court of the Duchess Christina of Milan. Certainly one fact, which has hitherto remained quite unnoticed, seems to speak in favour of this idea. In the August 1538, there is a payment noted down to Philip Hobbie, just of the same amount as the payment in March, likewise for a journey over the sea, and mentioned in exactly the same manner. Hobbie's second journey is evidently connected with this journey of Holbein, who remained absent longer, and on his return received 10*l.* more in addition to the common travelling money, which had been paid to his companion Hobbie on his departure. It is possible that

[1] The sum of 10*l.*, mentioned in the middle of the text, is again repeated at the margin. Mr. Wornum, probably only knowing the matter from Mr. Franks, supposes that Holbein had received 20*l.* The sight of the original shows at once that this is erroneous.

Henry, who had received Christina's portrait in mourning attire, wished now to see her painted otherwise. It is possible, also, that he may have sent her his own portrait as a tender gift, and may have chosen the painter himself to convey it to her. Perhaps, indeed, Christina may have spent some part of the summer in High Burgundy, previous to the well-known meeting of the Imperial and French courts at Cambray and Compiègne, which took place in the end of September.

A month after his second departure for the Continent, we find Holbein in his own home, and thus we perceive a very important reason for the advanced payment of his salary; care for his family had induced him to ask for it previous to his journey. The legal decision that no one might take a higher sum with him from England than 5*l.* without royal licence—a prohibition under which Erasmus had once bitterly suffered—did not affect the painter, as he travelled on his Majesty's order.

On the 12th September of the same year, Rudolf Gwalther, who was at that time studying in Basle, wrote to the antistes Bullinger in Zurich: "Hans Holbein came recently hither from England on his way to Basle; you can scarcely imagine how he extols the happy state of things in that kingdom. After some weeks he will return there again. If you, therefore, have anything which you may have forgotten eight days ago in the whirlpool of business, send it to me, and I will see that it is taken care of."[1]

To this visit Dr. Ludwig Iselin's interesting words refer in the sheet discovered by Herr His-Heusler: "Do er aus engelland wider gen Basel uff ein zit kam, war er in Siden vnd Samett bekleidt: do er vormols must Wein am Zapfen kauffen" (When he returned to Basle for a time from England, he was attired in silk and velvet; before this he was obliged to buy wine at the tap).[2] This short notice from a man who may have heard direct traditions of Holbein from his immediate relatives, is almost the only one which allows the master to stand personally before us as a living man. At the time of his visit to his home, Holbein was at the height of his fame; he was in the service of the mighty King, and had recently executed for him the important commission of taking the portrait of the Princess he was wooing. In the same year, the beautiful creations of his former years, the Old Testa-

[1] "Venit nuper Basileam ex Anglia Johannes Holbein, adeo felicem ejus regni statum prædicans, qui aliquot septimanis exactis rursum eo migraturus est. Quare si quid habes quod nundinis istis ob negotiorum turbam a Te omnissum est, ad me transmittas. Ego ut omnia curentur videbo." Dated "Basileæ ex ædibus Miconii, xx. Cal. Octobris, 1538." Zurich State Papers. Letters belonging to the Antistitial Archives, viii. I am indebted for this abstract to the kindness of Prof. G. von Wyss and Herr His-Heusler. Hegner first mentioned this passage, which he probably knew from the transcript in the Simmler Manuscript Collection in the Zurich Library.

[2] To fetch wine at an inn from the cask was regarded in Basle, with its abundance of wine, as a sign of poverty. Whoever was in better circumstances had his wine in the cellar.

ment pictures, and the pictures of Death, were issued in woodcuts, soon to be disseminated and to become famous in all lands, and at the same time appeared those poems of Nicolaus Bourbon which extolled him as greater than Apelles. Now, at length, the acknowledgment and reward he deserved became his portion; and, joyful and self-conscious in the possession of that which he had striven to obtain, he again set foot in his own city, in which he had previously had to struggle with so much distress and hardship.

After Iselin has added that Holbein died soon after his return to England, he continues: "His intention was, had God lengthened his life, to paint many of his pictures again, at his own expense, as well as the apartment in the Town-hall. The house 'zum Tanz,' he said, was rather good." We see frequently in Holbein's works, that he even understood how to be critical as regards his own creations: this passage affords a remarkable confirmation of this; his former works satisfied him no longer, and as the Town-hall pictures were at that time evidently damaged, he promised to execute them anew, and better than before, as soon as he definitively returned from England. It is characteristic, that the only production which finds favour in his own eyes, is the house "zum Tanz," that genuine Renaissance work, in which his imagination rose into the free world of ideal conception. In this we recognize the master again, who created the pictures in the Guildhall of the Steel-yard.

Holbein had not obeyed the circular letter of the burgomaster who had summoned him home in September 1532; the pension promised him was not sufficient to induce him to do so. Twice during his absence in 1533 and 1537, he had been "laid out for the banneret," by his guild "Zum Himmel;" that is, appointed as one of those who had to perform the military service of the guild, and still he had not felt himself obliged to return. Now, however, he found himself at the court of a foreign sovereign, and to receive money for service from a foreign master was allowed to no citizen of Basle without the consent of the Council; hence it was now necessary personally to arrange these matters, and to gain longer leave of absence. Yet it seemed to the Council an affair of honour to retain the man in his home, whom it had formerly suffered to starve and to go away when he had not enjoyed such fame. It is true the city of Basle could not offer him enough to enable him at once to give up his advantageous position in England, yet between the two parties the following compromise was effected, the whole tone of which furnishes clear evidence of the esteem in which the master was now held.

Letter of appointment of Hans Holbein the painter:—

"We, Jacob Meyger,[1] Burgomaster, and the Council of the city of Basle, do make known and acknowledge with this letter that:

"From the special and favourable will which we bear to the honourable Hans Holbein, the painter, our dear citizen, since he is famous beyond other painters on account of the

[1] Meier zum Hirschen.

wealth of his art; weighing further that in matters belonging to our city respecting building affairs and other things which he understands, he can aid us with his counsel, and that in case we had to execute painting work on any occasion, he should undertake the same, for suitable reward, we have therefore consented, arranged, and pledged to give and to present to the above-named Hans Holbein a free and right pension from our treasury of fifty gulden, though with the following conditions, and only during his lifetime, whether he be well or ill, yearly, in equal parts at the four quarters.

"As however the said Hans Holbein has now sojourned for some time with the King's Majesty in England, and according to his declaration it is to be feared that he can scarcely quit the Court for the next two years, we have allowed him under these circumstances to remain in England the two years following this date, in order to merit a gracious discharge, and to receive salary, and have consented during these two years to pay his wife residing among us forty gulden yearly, *i.e.* ten gulden quarterly, which are to begin from next Christmas, as the end of the first quarter. With the addition that in case Hans Holbein should receive his discharge from England within these two years and should return to us at Basle and remain here, that we should from that moment give him his pension of fifty gulden, and let it be paid to him in equal parts at the end of the quarter. And, as we can well imagine that the said Holbein, with his art and work being of so far more value than that they should be expended on old walls and houses, cannot with us alone reap much advantage, we have therefore allowed the said Holbein, that, unimpeded by our agreement, for the sake of his art and trade, and for no other unlawful and crafty matters, as we have also impressed upon him, he may gain, accept, and receive service money from foreign kings, princes, nobles, and cities; that moreover he may convey and sell the works of art which he may execute here once, twice, or thrice a year, each time with our special permission, and not without our knowledge, to foreign gentlemen in France, England, Milan, and the Netherlands. Yet on such journeys, he may not remain craftily abroad, but on each occasion he shall do his business in the speediest manner, and repair home without delay and be serviceable to us, as we have before said, and as he has promised.

"In conclusion, when the oft-mentioned Holbein has paid the debt of nature according to the will of God, and has departed from this valley of tears, then shall this warrant, pension, and present letter be at an end, and we and our descendants therefore are not pledged to give aught to any one. All upright, honourable, and with integrity. This letter, signed with our official seal, we have given into the hand of the oft-mentioned Holbein as a true document. Wednesday the sixteenth day of October, anno xxxviii."

With regard to the payment of the pension to his wife, there is nothing recorded in the accounts of the Council; it may therefore, as was often the case with pensions of this kind, have been given out of the monastery revenues, which stood under special guardians. After the termination, however, of the agreed term of two years, Holbein did not return, and the agreement must therefore have expired. For himself, England was far more advantageous, and his family was at this time assisted in another manner. In November 1540, Sigmund Holbein had died at Rome, after having appointed his dear nephew Hans his heir, and in the January of the following year the wife of "Meister Hansen" succeeded to the property after she had sent thither Franz Schmidt, her son by a former marriage, as her authorized agent. That she herself subsequently settled in Berne would appear probable, yet no authentic confirmation of this has been discovered.

Soon after this journey, we hear of the master again in England. In the

list of the new year's gifts of the thirtieth year of Henry VIII.'s reign, thus at the beginning of 1539, it stands recorded: "By Hans Holbein a table of pictur of the prince grace." And the corresponding gift of the King is also stated: "To Hans Holbyne, paynter, a gilte cruse with a cover (Cornelis),[1] weing x oz. 1 quarter." He was therefore not portioned off like the rest with a few shillings of money; the manner in which Henry responded to Holbein's gift shows how highly he esteemed it. And nothing, indeed, would have afforded him greater delight than the subject chosen by our master. The little Prince of Wales was his father's pleasure and hope: in relation to this child, King Henry shows the human side of his character. Richard Cromwell once wrote from the Court, "When the business was settled, his Grace went to the Prince and amused himself there the whole day, playing with him, holding the boy a long time in his arms, and walking thus with him to the window that all the people saw him and rejoiced." [2]

And the Prince Edward was indeed a splendid lovely little boy. His fat round little face seems exactly like his father's, as we see it in that beautiful picture in the Welfen Museum at Hanover. The boy, life-size, and in half-length figure, is taken full-face. He wears a red velvet coat trimmed with gold cord, and the sleeves are entirely of gold brocade. A red hat with a beautiful ostrich feather, and fast tied under the chin, surmounts the closely fitting little cap which covers the head. The delicately painted, thin, fair hair appears beneath, and is combed over his forehead. Especially perfect is the painting of the fat little hands, in which the slightest wrinkles of the skin are faithfully portrayed, and the right one is holding an infant's rattle. The beautiful colour of the dress, with the delicate red tint of the face, harmonizes well with the light sky-blue ground. Child-life is here conceived with graceful simplicity and the most exact adherence to truth. Beneath stand some Latin verses, written by the poet and diplomatist Sir Richard Morysin (died 1556), which exhort the child to follow his father. He cannot surpass him, he is only to be like him, and then the highest aim of human wishes is attained. Morysin considered it advantageous to write his name beneath the verses; Holbein, however, did not find it necessary to record his own. Since the year 1533, with the exception of his own portraits, we know of scarcely any painting marked either with his name or with his monogram. There is something grand in this assurance of the artist that his creations are recognizable in themselves, without external authentication.

An excellent old copy of the picture in Hanover is in the possession of the Earl of Yarborough, in London.[3] The original study for the boy's head is

[1] That is, by the goldsmith, Cornelis Hayes. Cf. Mr. Frank's "Archæologia," xxxix.

[2] Froude, vol. iii. chap. 16.

[3] See respecting portraits of the Prince, the excellent papers by Mr. J. G. Nichols, "A Catalogue of Portraits of King Edward the Sixth," 1858.

in the Windsor Collection. At about the same time, at the most a few months later, a somewhat larger picture of the boy was executed, in which the same study of the face was made use of.[1] It is now in Sion House. It has suffered much from cleaning, so that the execution does not delight us in the same degree as the picture at Hanover; but it also is excellent, and the hands, which are somewhat altered in position and are without the rattle, are exquisitely painted. The boy is standing in full-length figure, dressed as in the other painting, with a green velvet cloth under his feet, while a green curtain forms the background. Below Morysin's verses again appear.

There is lastly a very pretty sketch, of which we give a woodcut,[2] in that Basle Sketch-book of which we spoke in the last chapter. The style of drawing leads us to infer that the sketch was made for a small plastic work, probably some goldsmith's work. The little Prince, dressed as in the paintings, is sitting on a pillow on the grass, playing with his little dog. The characteristic movements of the child are delicately observed; in spite of the mere sketch and its small size, the likeness is excellent.

In the Windsor Collection there is another sketch of the Prince, which is distinctly to be recognized by his round face and pointed chin, and which is taken full-face. He appears about five years old, and it was therefore executed at the latter period of Holbein's life. The profile of another boy of about ten or twelve years of age, with a plumed hat, and bearing not the least similarity with Edward's portraits, erroneously bears his name in the Windsor Collection. So long as Holbein lived no other artist, it seems, painted the Prince. To be allowed to approach him at all, was a token of great confidence, for attacks on the life of the one legitimate scion were feared, and he was guarded with anxious care. Besides his regular suite, no one, of whatever rank, had access to him, without the express order of the King.[3]

In the spring of 1539, the negotiations respecting Henry's marriage with the Duchess of Milan were broken off, and the Emperor assumed a hostile attitude towards England. A year was lost in useless wooings, and it seemed more than necessary to hasten a new marriage. Charles V., and Francis I. of

[1] Formerly imputed to Mabuse, until Waagen first named the true painter of it.

[2] From the excellent drawing which Herr von Hefner Alteneck had the goodness to make for me.

[3] Froude, iii. chap. xiv.

France, had paid visits to each other and appeared to have forgotten their old enmity; but their alliance threatened England with danger, and thus the necessity became apparent of obtaining a secure ally. Cromwell's eyes turned to the Protestant princes of Germany, and he obtained Henry's consent to a union with Anne, the sister of the Duke of Cleves,—who, by his seizure of Guelders, occupied a threatening position towards the Emperor,—and sister-in-law of the Elector of Saxony. By this step Cromwell hoped to crown the proud structure of his policy, to effect a lasting union of the Germanic nations of Europe against Romanism and the Papacy, and at the same time in England itself to see the religious party of the bishops, who had already carried out their Six Bloody Articles, completely overthrown.

When this matter was begun to be set on foot, Holbein was again commissioned to paint the bride's portrait. In July 1539, he was sent "vpon certain his gracis affaires, together with Mr. Richard Bearde one of the gromes of the kinge's privit chambre, with the parties of the High Almayne," and the important sum of 40*l.* was paid them for their "costes and chardgis." Holbein received besides 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for "the prepairacion of such thinge as he is appoynted to carie with him."[1] This was without doubt a portrait of the King, perhaps a miniature in a costly frame, which he had to paint and to present to the Princess as a gift from his monarch. Soon after, the 11th August, Nicholas Wotton, who was sent to Cleves, as a negotiator in the marriage affair, wrote from Castle Düren to the King: "Your grace's servante Hanze Albein has taken th' effigies of my Ladye Anne and the Ladye Amelye, and hathe expressyd their imaiges verye lyvelye."[2] On the 1st September, Holbein again returned to London, as the notice of the French ambassador Marillac informs us: "King Henry has sent a painter to Germany who is highly distinguished in his art, to take the portrait of the sister of the Duke of Cleves; he has this day returned."[3]

Later historians have imputed to Holbein an unmerited error, and have declared that his picture of the Princess was so flattering that it induced the King to marry her, and thus prepared for him a disappointment, disagreeably revealed by the sight of Anne herself. Nothing, however, less accords with Holbein's nature than this; he could not have done it had he even wished; the prime characteristic of his portraits is their complete truth, and Anne's picture, which is nowise charming, affords one of the most distinct testimonies to this fact.

There are, indeed, no authentic sources which impute this blame to

[1] See Household Expenses.

[2] Henry Ellis, "Original Letters illustrative of English History," vol. ii. 1825, p. 121. State Papers.

[3] Quoted by Mr. Nichols, "Archæologia," xl.: "Remarks upon Holbein's Portraits of the Royal Family of England."

Holbein, and Henry himself lays the fault of his disappointment upon words alone, and not upon a picture.[1] As Cromwell immediately after the King's first meeting with her asked how he liked the Lady Anne, he said, "Nothing so well as she was spoken of." In his solemn statement in the negotiations for the divorce, Henry VIII. further declares: "I say and affirm, that when the first communication was had with me for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured friend by it; I much doubting that time both the Emperor, France, and the Bishop of Rome, and also because I heard so much both of her excellent beauty and virtuous courtliness." When, however, he first saw her at Rochester, he found her just the contrary to what had been said of her. Yet those reports which Henry accuses were not so brilliant; at any rate the King might have easily seen through them had he cared to do so, and he might have perceived from the first, that this lady could not have satisfied his demands. The true state of affairs has been seen by Ranke with the eye of a great historian, although he says but a few words upon the whole matter, and had certainly not the same cause as we have to enter into the details of the question.[2] Political apprehensions made the marriage appear serviceable to the King; "but the apprehension had already vanished, and with it the motive for a Protestant union had subsided, when the King's new consort arrived." He now gave free vent to his caprice, and he found it no longer necessary to restrain his egotism; he sought to lay the responsibility upon others, and afforded a new matrimonial scandal to Europe.

The King could not possibly have been unprepared for what he found. In December 1537, previous to the wooing of the Duchess Christina, Hutton wrote to Cromwell in giving him information with regard to possible alliances: "The Dewke of Clevis hathe a daughter, but I here no great preas neyther of her personage nor beawtie." And when the ambassador Nicholas Wotton sketches her general appearance in his letter to Henry VIII. he writes thus:

[1] Burnet speaks of Holbein, and Stow indeed of "pictures," but that this was his own addition is proved by the expressions of the King himself. Mr. Wornum carries the point still further; but when he alleges as a proof of Holbein's innocence, his conviction that the marriage was a matter concluded when Holbein was sent, he is in error. The Earl of Hertford certainly wrote some weeks previously, on the 17th July, to Cromwell: "I rejoice exceedingly at the good resolution of the Duke of Cleves and his mother and counsellors beyond anything else, since the birth of the Prince." But the matter was far from being concluded by the inclination shown on the part of the Cleve family, as Mr. Wornum supposes. In the very letter which speaks of Holbein's coming, Wotton writes that Anne is not fettered by the fact that her deceased father had promised her to the Duke of Lorraine, for she may marry whom she will, and the Cleve counsellors are inclined to express this openly. It was thus quite at the beginning of the negotiations, and only at this stage, that the mission of a painter to execute the portrait of the Princess had any meaning and corresponded with the custom. It was not till the 16th September, that the envoys from the Cleve family came to England to conclude the matter, and the marriage took place late in the autumn.

[2] Froude, chap. xvii.

"As for the education of my sayde Ladye, she hathe from her childehode (like as the Ladye Sybille was, tyll she wer maryed, and the Ladye Amelye hathe ben and is) ben brought up withe the Ladye Duchesse her mother, and yn maner never from her ellebow, the Ladye Duchesse being a wyse Ladye, and one that very streytelye lookithe to her children. All the gentylmenne of the courte, and other that I have askyd of, rapporte her to be of very lowelye and gentyll condicions, by the whiche she hathe so muche wonne her mother's favor, that she is very lothe to suffer her to departe from her. She occupiethe her tyme moste with the nedyll; wherwithall she . . . she can reede and wryte her (name), but Frenche, Latyn, or other langaige she . . . one nor yet canne synge nor pleye upon onye instrument; for they take is heere yn Germanye for a rebuke and an occasion of lightenesse that great Ladyes shuld be lernyd or have enye knowledge of musike. Her witte is so goode that no doubt she wille yn a short space lerne th' Englisshe tongue, when so ever she puttithe her mynde to hit. I cowde never heere that she is ynyclned to the good cheere of this cowntrey, and merveyle it wer yf she shulde, seinge that her brother, yn whome yet hit were sumwhat more tolerable, doth so well absteyne from hit." This is Wotton's entire praise: he wisely says nothing of Anne's appearance, and only adds that Holbein "hathe expressyd her imaige verye lyvelye."

The only man, in short, who was personally accused of having depicted Anne too favourably (this blame cannot be attached to Cromwell, the contriver of the marriage, who only knew her from report) was the Earl of Southampton. He, however, had only written from Calais, whither he had gone to bring the Princess to England and he excused himself by saying that "the matter had now gone so far that he considered it to be his duty to make the best of it."[1] And even the praise of the brave warrior was not very dangerous. He writes[2] to the King indeed, the answer which he had given to two gentlemen of the Court of Cleves, who had brought him a present from the Duke; namely, that the alliance pleased the King much. "When I heard," he says, "much mention of the remarkable virtues of my present mistress, and of her distinguished beauty,—which, I perceive, is in no degree less than was depicted,—my heart prompted me to say that your Grace was inclined and favourable to the alliance." The same letter, however, contains the characteristic passage that the gentlemen had entreated him in the name of their prince to be a sincere friend and counsellor to his sister, and to give her Grace a hint from time to time, how she should behave and demean herself to his Majesty's pleasure and satisfaction. And when stormy weather for some time impeded the passage across, how did Anne of Cleves spend her time? It never occurred to her to learn English, or to try a little music, but she asked the Earl of

[1] Strype's "Memorials," vol. ii. quoted by Froude.
[2] Letter of Marillac, 8th of July, 1540, quoted by Ranke.

Southampton to sit with her at the card-table and teach her a game that the King was wont to play.—"And I assure your Majesty," he writes, "she played as nicely, with as much propriety and good humour as I ever saw a noble lady play."

When we hear these two statements of Anne's character and education, we gain a distinct picture of the barbarism and lamentable ignorance which at that time prevailed among the nobles of Germany, and in the small courts. All that was great and good in Germany at that time was only to be found among the people and in the citizen class; in France and in England the court and the aristocracy were higher circles, enjoying great culture. Such a princess could only play a sorry figure among them. The citizens and common people on the other hand were well satisfied with her. "The people loved and honoured her," writes the French ambassador, "as the gentlest and kindest queen they had ever had."[1] And while at her arrival the ladies of the Court criticized her coarse manners and habits,[2] the chronicler Hall, the eye-witness of her entrance and coronation, says: "Oh what a sight was this to see so goodly a Prince and so noble a King to ryde with so fayre a Lady, of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and in especial of so good qualities." Somewhat later he speaks of her "most demure countenance and sad behaviour."

With all this, Holbein's picture of the Princess in the Louvre accords perfectly. Her countenance is good and regular in form, in spite of a somewhat long nose, and she has even beautiful eyebrows, but her expression is full of empty insipidity, devoid of all higher life and of all attraction. Her stiffness is evidenced in the manner in which her hands are folded together. Faultless in stature, she stands as stiffly as if waiting a word of command; she is taken full-face, without a movement in the corners of her mouth or the winking of an eyelash. All is characteristic even to the smallest touch. Her dress accords with the costume which Hall describes at her entry: a dress of crimson velvet falling smooth and round, for after German fashion no train was worn, and delicate folds of linen appearing at the bosom. Petticoat, bodice, and the wide hanging sleeves are trimmed with a broad edge of gold embroidery and pearls, and on her head she wears a transparent headdress, and over it a cap studded with pearls and jewels, a necklace of rich and glittering stones, and rings on many of the fingers, even on the thumb. This parade of attire is indeed but little advantageous to the poor simplicity of the wearer, but in its execution Holbein indemnified himself for that which was denied him in the personage herself, and the painting is excellent in colouring, the delicate reddish flesh tint affording an agreeable harmony with the glittering gold and crimson of the attire and with the restful green background. Yet

[1] Letter of Marillac, 8th July, 1540, quoted by Ranke.

[2] Froude. Communicated by Lady Browne to her husband.

the nicety of the details is not so great as in other portraits by the artist. The picture is painted on fine parchment, fastened on a wooden panel, and is therefore probably a subsequent sketch from life, executed in colour, while a still more perfect original is perhaps still to be found in a private collection in England.[1]

Besides this painting, which is life-size and half-length figure, there is a miniature picture, now in the possession of Colonel Meyrick at Goderich Court, which the author has not seen. Houbraken's engraving[2] of it shows that this painting is taken from the same sketch. Here, too, the Princess does not appear more pleasing; but as regards its fine execution Walpole considered this picture perhaps the most perfect of Holbein's works. Waagen's opinion of it was equally favourable when he saw it in the Manchester Exhibition of 1857. A miniature of Henry VIII. corresponds with it, and both are preserved in extremely finely cut ivory cases in the form of a rose, which, according to Walpole, are worthy of the jewel they contain.

[1] A portrait from the Arundel Collection is engraved by Wenzel Hollar.

[2] The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain: London, 1747.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Last years.—Generosity of the King towards the painter.—Henry's divorce from Anne, and Cromwell's fall.—Marriage of the King with Catherine Howard.—Portraits of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey.—Portraits of the new Queen.—End of Catherine Howard.—Henry's last marriage.—Works for citizens.—The painting of the Barbers' and Surgeons' Guild.—Portraits of Dr. Butts and his wife.—Dr. Chamber.—Holbein as portrait painter.—His own portrait in his last years.

HENRY'S ill-humour towards his new consort was for some time known only to very intimate persons. Before the eyes of the world he was chivalrous and respectful to her, and personally he was kind to her, even if he held her at a certain distance. The following winter months witnessed a succession of splendid festivities, and the statesman who had brought about the marriage still stood at the height of his power; on the 8th of April, 1540, Thomas Cromwell was appointed Earl of Essex. Holbein certainly felt nothing of the ill-humour of his sovereign, for it fared with him better than ever. The German princess was perhaps also the patroness of the German artists in London; at any rate, we find the goldsmith Hans von Antwerp in her service. The marriage itself brought increased work; the festivities placed the talent of artists in requisition. Rich gifts were presented on all sides; new opportunities were afforded for painting pictures, goldsmiths and jewellers were kept in employ, and Holbein's skill in design was summoned to their assistance. In June 1539, he again received his salary for the first time after a long interval, for the year which he had received in advance terminated on the 1st of April. In the end of September he received his 7*l.* 10*s.* for the quarter that had elapsed, but before this it is noted down in September: "Item paide by the Kynge's highnes commaundement certified by my lorde Pryviseales lettres to Hans Holbeune paynter in the advauncement of his hole yere's wagis beforehande aftre the rate of xxxli by yere which yere's advauncement is to be accompted from this present mich. And shall ende vltimo Septembris next commynge the somme of 30*l.*" Nevertheless, at Christmas in the same year, therefore just at the time of the marriage, the usual quarterly rate is again paid to the master, and this also takes place at the two following quarters of the year 1540. From this it appears that the King must

have given him those three quarter payments of 22*l.* 10*s.* probably for his increased work, and from his satisfaction in Holbein's productions. No artist in Henry's service had ever met with similar treatment, and this liberality may have been the decisive cause for Holbein's allowing the autumn of 1540 to elapse without returning to Basle, according to his engagement. The same did not indeed happen at the fourth quarter, but at that time the matrimonial crisis had already occurred. On the morning after Midsummer Day, after the very day that the King had for the third time shown himself so generous to Holbein, King Henry VIII. ordered the Queen to leave him and to go to the palace at Richmond; on the 12th July the divorce was pronounced, and was received by Anne of Cleves patiently and phlegmatically. Shortly before, the Catholic party had overthrown the statesman who had thought to forward his political tendencies by this very marriage. None of Cromwell's predecessors, neither Wolsey nor More, had fallen so suddenly as Cromwell. On the 10th June, in the midst of the Privy Council, the Duke of Norfolk went up to the Earl of Essex and arrested him for high treason; the badges of his office were torn from him, and the gate of the Tower was closed behind him. The greater number of the nobles saw with delight the overthrow of the upstart; those belonging to the old faith exulted loudly, and spent the night in noisy festivity. Cromwell had gone further in his efforts in behalf of the Protestant cause than accorded with the King's intention; it cost him no struggle to sacrifice the statesman, to whom he owed almost everything that the English policy had obtained. Thus on the 28th July fell the head of the mightiest and most absolute minister that had ever held sway in England. Three days afterwards Henry exhibited a new scene of his unsparing severity; on the 31st July three Protestants were burned as heretics, and three Catholics were executed as traitors in Smithfield.

"The reign of Henry VIII.," says Ranke,[1] "presents a grotesque and repulsive aspect in the intermingling of his matrimonial affairs with political and religious matters." When on the 8th August Lady Catherine Howard, the daughter of a strictly Catholic house, was raised to be his consort, the ascendency of the Catholic party was again decided. The Queen's uncle, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, was Prime Minister, and in union with Gardiner he carried out the Six Articles with the utmost severity. Those men who had stood high in Cromwell's time were now on the brink of ruin; even Sir Thomas Wyat was accused, but he was able to prove his innocence. The Roman Catholic party even thought to have Cranmer in their power, when the King himself took him under his protection. Neither this reaction, nor any subsequent one, could, however, annihilate the Protestantism which Cromwell's hard, violent, yet grand and truly national policy had established in England.

[1] Vol. i. p. 219.

At this time Holbein painted the Duke of Norfolk, who was now standing at the height of his greatness. He must, indeed, have known him before. Norfolk had been, in Roper's words, the specially good friend of Sir Thomas More, but, making allowance for circumstances better than the latter, he had kept his Catholic opinions so far silent that he had made no hesitation in acknowledging the King as head of the Church. Subsequently the King's policy had suited him less, yet in spite of this he had been able to preserve his high office and his voice in the Council, and had now at last gained the victory over the opposing party. In the copy of his portrait in Arundel Castle, an inscription gives his age as sixty-six. There are, indeed, so far as we know, no certain authorities respecting the year of Norfolk's birth; yet as he appeared at Court as a youth about the year 1499, he was born probably about the year 1475.

Yet among the numerous copies of the Duke's portrait which appear in England,[1] the picture at Arundel does not make the best impression; it is only an old copy, and the true original in the former Arundel Collection[2] must have been carried elsewhere. According to an anonymous catalogue, on the 23rd April, 1732, at Amsterdam, a "Zeer uitmuntend Stuck door Hans Holbeen de Hartog van Norfolk nooit zoo goed gezien," was sold for the high price of 1120 florins.[3] The copy at Windsor, by Holbein's own hand, is very good; it is without inscription, and has a simple green background. The head here also has suffered, but Holbein's masterly power is revealed in the thin expressive hands. It is a full-face portrait, and from the beardlessness of his finely-formed, reserved, and true statesman-like countenance, Norfolk appears as a man of a former period. In the brownish tint of the flesh, the painter has faithfully given the natural hue of the man, and with this all the rest accords. He wears a dark over-garment trimmed with ermine, which displays the red sleeves of the jerkin, round which hangs the chain of the Order of the Garter; in his left hand he holds the white staff of the Lord High Chamberlain, in his right the gold staff of the Grand Marshal of England: thus he exhibits all his dignities.

Holbein also painted at about this time his son, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. The painting seems now to have disappeared: it is no longer in the possession of the Norfolk family, neither in the palace in London nor in Arundel Castle. We know it from Fruytier's copy of Van Dyck's painting of

[1] A portrait at Norfolk House, London, engraved in Lodge's work, which exhibits the Duke in an altered and more theatrical attitude, is a free imitation executed in the seventeenth century.

[2] Engraved by Vorstermann. Waagen praises the copy in Arundel Castle, and doubts, in his German book, the Windsor picture: he modifies this opinion in the English edition: "The head is very delicate in drawing, and the hands excellent, but the colouring is unusually dull and heavy for Holbein."—P. 430.

[3] Communicated by Herr Süermondt.

the family of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, which belongs to Lord Stafford. The famous Holbein admirer is depicted sitting with his wife and children, and the portraits of his predecessors taken by Holbein,—namely, the portrait of the Duke which we have described and that of Surrey,—each with legible inscriptions, are hanging on the wall. Surrey, a youth of five-and-twenty,[1] wears a black cap with a feather, and a black mantle, from which the right hand protrudes. Having moved in Italian society, he knows that simplicity is more in harmony with a truly aristocratic appearance than the overloaded splendour usual in England. His head, which is inclined to the right, presents a knightly and intelligent appearance, with its reddish fair hair and delicate beard, long chin, and lively brown eyes, though there is a touch of intrigue in the expression. Two sketches from life for this picture appear in the Windsor Collection, and we find him here moreover a third time as a boy.[2] His wife also, Countess Frances, the youngest daughter of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, appears among these drawings.

Surrey belongs, both from his person and his fate, to the most remarkable personages of this time. Highly gifted, and descended from one of the noblest families, he was the most intimate friend of Henry's natural son, the Duke of Richmond. Travels, especially in Italy, had completed his education. He had passed a youth full of love and knightly deeds, and his noble poetic gifts rendered him, with his older friend, Sir Thomas Wyat, one of the first English poets of his time. The brilliant period now dawning for his family did not last long. A second time a niece of his father's shared the royal throne, yet Catherine Howard, like Anna Boleyn, ended her life under the axe of the executioner. Nevertheless the youth ever aimed high, and took pleasure in fostering the boldest hopes. His indiscreet youth led him not only to nightly excesses in the streets of London, but it allured him also to utter hasty words such as had already endangered many a noble head. That he was treated as a prince by his companions, and assumed arms like those of the royal family; that he boasted of the position of his house, and in genuine aristocratic contempt of all "new men,"—as, for instance, the Seymour family,—declared that after the King's death the regency belonged to no other but himself: all this brought him to the scaffold, for in those days suspicion and condemnation were almost synonymous. In the beginning of 1547 he was executed, and it was only the death of the King which preserved his grey-headed father from a similar fate.

Holbein also probably painted the new Queen. In the library at Windsor

[1] Inscribed on a sky-blue ground: "HENRY. HOWARD. ERLE. OF SURRY. ANNO. ÆTATIS. SVÆ. 25." Engraved by Hollar. Parthey, No. 1509.

[2] These three portraits bear the erroneous designation of "Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey." This was his son, who was executed in 1572, on account of his adherence to Mary Stuart, bu who at Holbein's death was still a little boy, about seven years of age.

there is a miniature picture of her, which may with justice be ascribed to him. It represents a lady in rich attire and with a French head-dress, which was at that time the fashion in England. The sketch in the Windsor Collection, which is named "Catherine Howard," does not accord with this miniature, but with a small oil-painting in the possession of the Duke of Buccleugh, which, according to Mr. Scharf's opinion,[1] is decidedly of French work. Since Jane Seymour's time, there is no portrait of the King taken from life, or of any member of the royal family, which proceeds from any other artist but Holbein. It now almost seems as if the rise of a new party had brought forward other artists, even if only temporarily.

Holbein was not now treated as liberally as he had been at the time when Cromwell was Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He now also receives his salary in advance, but only for half a year, at Michaelmas 1540, and at Easter 1541; with the Michaelmas of this year, the account-books unfortunately come to an end. On the other hand, in the subsidy rolls of the city of London, of the twenty-fourth of October of the same year, "Hanns Holbein" is mentioned among the "strangers" living in Aldgate Warde, in "the Parishe of Saint Andrewe Undershafte," therefore at the east end of the city, with the addition that he had to pay 3*l.* from his income of 30*l.*[2]

In October 1541, Henry VIII. ordered a public thanksgiving that so virtuous a wife had been bestowed upon him. The next day, however, a letter from Cranmer discovered to him that he had been deceived. It now lay in the interest of the Protestant party to overthrow the Catholic Queen, and they succeeded only too well in unveiling Catherine's frivolous and criminal life before and after marriage. On the thirteenth of February, 1542, she was punished with death. A few months before Holbein's decease, the King married, for the sixth time, Lady Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer. Our artist seems not to have taken her portrait, but her brother, Sir William Parr, subsequently Marquis of Northampton, appears among the Windsor sketches, an elegant cavalier of pleasing exterior, yet without more important characteristics. He is depicted in half-length figure, looking somewhat towards the left; the hands are resting in each other, and he wears a fur-trimmed overcoat and a plumed cap. His fair beard is delicately executed. On the left we see the study of his dagger, on the scabbard of which stands the word MORS, and also the design for a medal containing a figure with two swords. In this collection we also find the father of Parr's second consort, William Brook, Lord Cobham, whom Holbein has depicted with bare chest; the shorn hair and the prominent cheekbones give the head a very strange appearance.

At this period the artist seems to have had occasional leisure to depict also

[1] Archæologia, vol. xl. p. 87.

[2] Communicated by Mr. Franks, Archæologia, vol. xxxix.

personages who did not belong to the highest circles. In the Vienna Belvedere, there is a portrait, dated 1541, of a young man of twenty-eight, evidently belonging to the citizen class. His face is beardless; his attire consists of a black cap, black fur overcoat, and violet jerkin. He is sitting behind a green covered table, holding his gloves in his left hand, and turning over the leaves of a book with his right. The painting is striking from its unusually brown flesh tint; but the conception is true and lifelike, and the hands especially are excellent. A masterly portrait, according to the inscription likewise executed in 1541, and representing a man of thirty-seven years of age, is in the possession of Herr Süermondt at Aix-la-Chapelle. The personage depicted, a half-length figure, is holding a pair of gloves in his hands. His head, with its full beard, is decidedly English in character; the fine modelling of the face is admirable, and the grand repose and simplicity of the conception is imposing. A large chalk drawing in the Städel Museum at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, is marked with the year 1542; it is the portrait of a young man of twenty years of age, with a genuine English physiognomy, whom the inscription names as Magnus Petronius. To the same year belongs the portrait of a youth of twenty-eight years of age in the Museum at the Hague, senselessly designated in the catalogue as "Thomas Morus." It is, as Mr. Bürger asserts,[1] a picture of the first rank. The individual, seen almost full-face, with short hair and red beard, bears a falcon on his left hand, which wears a glove, and the right, which is wonderfully painted, is holding the bird's hood.

To Holbein's latter years belongs one of the largest and fullest pictures painted by the master in England; namely, King Henry VIII. granting charter to the masters of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, a work still in the guild-house of the London barbers in Monkwell Street, in a hall rather unfavourably lighted on the ground-floor. No work by the master produces at first sight such a divided impression as this, not only from the style of execution, but from the whole arrangement and composition. Holbein's masterly hand is unmistakable in some heads; others again are so unimportant and inferior, and the figure of the King himself is so repulsive, that it is difficult to collect one's thoughts before the picture and to appreciate its excellencies. The mixed impression produced by the picture is noticed by Van Mander in his remarks upon this "unusually splendid work:"—"According to the feeling of some," he writes, "Holbein is said not to have completed the piece himself, but that the deficient parts were painted by some one else. Nevertheless, if this be the truth, it must lead to the conclusion that the completer of the work must have understood how to follow Holbein's manner so judiciously that no painter or artist can from good reasons decide that various hands have been engaged in it." Van Mander has here passed his judgment somewhat too favourably;

[1] "Musées de la Hollande, Amsterdam et la Haye," p. 303.

the want of unity in the picture is distinctly evident. But it is important to us to hear from him, that even in his time the tradition existed that Holbein had not completed the work. The historical dates support this tradition perfectly. The thirty-second year of Henry VIII.'s reign, therefore 1540-41, is the date of the Act of Parliament which invested the hitherto separated barbers and surgeons with common corporation rights.[1] Not until after this of course could the picture in remembrance of this event have been ordered, therefore only a short time before Holbein's death, who besides, as painter to the King, was occupied with other works, and could only slowly complete so large a picture. The composition of the whole certainly belongs to our master; he transferred to the panel the heads of the kneeling foremen of the guild, the greater number being from his own sketches; the traces of pinholes by which this was done are partly to be seen. In many instances he has also executed the hands and the entire figure. A part, however, which has nothing to do with Holbein, is the figure of the King himself. Not even its sketch can belong to the master. Although somewhat behind, it appears by far larger than the other figures. The height reached by the sitting figure of the King would have been sufficient had he been represented standing on the throne, and this was probably Holbein's original intention. At that time, the master of northern Renaissance would no longer have made such a concession to the loyal reverence and submissiveness of the brave London companies, as to depict the King, as the principal person, half as large again as themselves, according to the antique mode of representation. Moreover the form of the King is bad and drawn without understanding, the foreshortenings are a failure, the figure does not recede, and the indifferent and careless arrangement of the costume betrays that Holbein had nothing to do with it. The King sits there like an awkward wooden idol, the sword in his right hand, the charter in his left, the crown on his head, looking straight forward, without reference to the foremen kneeling below. The countenance itself is far better, for here again the type of Holbein's Whitehall picture of the year 1537 furnished the basis, and it has been repeated with tolerable success.

Scarcely one of the other heads is in the original condition. Nevertheless, many of them produce a splendid impression; thus, for instance, the old Dr. John Chamber, who is kneeling foremost at the right hand of the King.[2] The head of Dr. Butts next him has been much retouched, and that of T. Alsop behind them is far feebler. That these three men kneel apart, and at the right hand of the Sovereign, seems to indicate their higher rank. The rest follow at Henry's left hand: T. Vycary, who receives the document with rather feeble hands; and T. Aylef (already known to us in the Household Accounts), who is wearing a black cap. His head indeed, which is the best in the picture in spite of much retouching, as well as his hands and his whole bearing, are

[1] "Statutes of the Realm," iii. p. 794, chap. xlii.

[2] Left from the spectator.

excellent. Next follow N. Symson, E. Harman, a very life-like face with a snub-nose, J. Monforde, a complacent middle-aged man, with a beardless expressive head, and J. Pen, a young man of slender figure. His face and the heads of the two last masters, N. Alcoke and R. Ferries, are completely destroyed. They are all kneeling on a carpet, the execution of which is very good. A second row of seven more heads, two only of which are designated, X. Samon and W. Tylly, are of later introduction; they are badly drawn, so that no single chin is rightly placed, and their dirty yellow hair is very different from the transparent and warm brownish tint of the other heads in spite of all their retouchings.

No particular evidence is afforded of the understanding of art by the honourable guilds in old times, from the manner in which they treated Holbein's unfinished work. A dauber completed it, and did not even spare the parts executed by Holbein. Only behind the King there is a gold embroidered tapestry; the rest of the background is filled with roughly painted flowers and fruits, probably introduced at least many years later. The names are inscribed above the figures in dirty gold colour, and in letters many inches in height, like the inscription in Assyrian reliefs. Above on the right, there was formerly, as is shown by a copy kept in the College of Surgeons in London, executed in the beginning of the seventeenth century,[1] a window through which was seen a view of a Gothic church tower; it is called the old tower of St. Bride's, so that the presentation must have taken place in Bridewell Palace. Subsequently, in place of the window, a great Latin inscription was introduced on a white ground, which destroys the whole harmony. The picture is nothing but a ruin, in which we have to search with difficulty for the traces of Holbein.

Two of the masters of the surgeons' and barbers' guild have been also specially painted by Holbein, and indeed the two of most importance, namely Butts and Chamber, both physicians-in-ordinary to the King. In these portraits they exhibit just the same bearing as that in the great picture at the Barbers' Hall; the same likeness is evidently their foundation, and it may therefore be inferred that the artist was commissioned to take their portraits also separately for their own families at the time that this picture of the ceremony was in process of execution.

The half-length picture of Sir William Butts and the corresponding picture of Lady Butts were in the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866, and are both in the possession of Mr. W. H. Pole Carew. The head of the man[2] is disfigured by coarse retouching, which could be easily removed; the face of his wife also is not entirely free from it. The inscriptions give his age as fifty-nine, and hers as fifty-seven. Unfortunately we do not know the year of Butts' birth; it

[1] This difference also appears in Baron's engraving of 1736.

[2] Old copy in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

is not even recorded on his tombstone at Fulham, where he died in 1545. Sir William Butts is attired in a black cap, dark fur, and gold chain; he is taken almost in profile, looking towards the right; he also appears as is well known in Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth: in the second scene of the fifth act, he is a witness of how the accused Bishop Cranmer is obliged to wait among the servants outside the Council-chamber, and he points out this "strangest sight" to the King from the window. Not only his weight with the Sovereign has thus been immortalized by the poet, but also his good heart, and the fat gentleman with his large chin looks indeed just as benevolent and easy as he is acute and clever. His wife, the masterly sketch from life, whose portrait is in the Windsor Collection,[1] appears in simple attire, with the angular English head-dress, and a fur-trimmed mantle, fine Spanish work on the collar, and flowers at her breast. She is the true picture of a worthy matron of the upper citizen class, and her furrowed, expressive, and almost manly countenance is brought simply and strongly before us by the artist.

Still more important is the portrait of Dr. John Chamber in the Belvedere in Vienna, of which Dr. Waagen[2] says that in execution, modelling, and coldness of general tone, as well as in the excellent hands, it accords more than any other picture of Holbein known to him, with his famous portrait of Morett in the Dresden Gallery. Chamber, eighty-eight years old, according to the inscription, appears almost in profile, in simple black dress trimmed with fur, holding his gloves with both hands, and with his black cap pressed far over his brow; a venerable old man, full of deep seriousness, and of firm character, whose furrowed countenance, especially in the lower part, is worn with work in a manner such as we almost only see in men of the sixteenth century, and scarcely ever in the present day.

This painting is perhaps the latest of those works which placed Holbein at the height of his fame as a portrait-painter. He, the painter of the Court and the aristocracy, now appears before us for the last time depicting a personage belonging to the citizen class. It is one of the greatest characteristics of this great portrait-painter, that they are not distinct classes and styles of men whose portraits succeed with him especially. Every class, every age and sex, is depicted by Holbein in a corresponding manner; a worthy matron like Lady Butts, and youthful ladies like Jane Seymour and Duchess Christina, with all the charm that beauty and nobleness of nature impart; the King and the statesmen, Warham, More, Cromwell, in all the exactness and importance of their character; and equally so the honourable citizen and the simple merchant in his writing-room, such as Gysin and the men of the Steel-yard, or pro-

[1] Engraved by Hollar (p. 1553). The old gentleman, who is here assigned to her as the corresponding picture (1554), is quite different from Butts.

[2] "Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien," i. p. 170. Engraved by W. Hollar.

foundly absorbed thinkers and scholars like Erasmus, who, separated from the outer world, is completely lost in that which he is writing and producing; and, lastly, all the innocence and grace of child-life, as in the two children in his family picture, or in the magnificent little Prince of Wales. "He makes faces, and we merely masks," exclaimed Piazetta, when he saw the Meier Madonna in the possession of Count Algarotti in Venice,[1] and that was only the copy which he saw! In depicting each separate personage, Holbein took the point of view which each required in himself, and gave to each all that belonged to him, so that in looking at his portraits we only think of the individual represented, and can perfectly forget the artist who has brought him before us.

This principal quality of the portrait-painter, to place his own subjectivity subordinate to the object represented, has only belonged to few artists in a like degree. Albert Dürer, however much he strives in portraiture to retain the smallest details, allows the peculiarity of his own nature to appear just as distinctly as the character of the represented. The circle, also, of men in whose portraits he succeeded, was limited. His men and women belong to that small citizen life such as we find in the German Imperial cities, thoroughly national in its nature, honest and kindly, though uncouth and angular, and often pedantic. The Emperor Max, also, when depicted by Dürer, seems included within this circle, for he appears far rather as "the burgomaster of Augsburg" than as the knightly Emperor. "Meister Albrecht" would never have been able to represent King Henry VIII. as Holbein did, nor to penetrate so thoroughly into the depth of the nature of the English statesmen; he could not, moreover, have been sent to paint the bridal portrait of a young and beautiful princess. Even a refined and complicated character like Erasmus succeeded but ill with him.

The other painters, also, of this epoch, whom we admire to the utmost in their portraits, are yet bound by narrower limits. Leonardo da Vinci, whose portraits in many ways show most affinity with those of Holbein, as far as regards their delicate perfection of execution and their acuteness of individualization, is really only at ease in portraiture when he has to represent female characters of a peculiar kind, whose secret inner life he traces tenderly and profoundly, seeking to read it as an enigma. Titian, again, can scarcely depict any but noble natures. Though master of every means to make his figures appear round and lifelike, yet truth in depicting the natural appearance is never his real aim. He does not represent the man himself, but he borrows from him only the idea of a free poetic figure of the heroic style, who seems by the magic of colours to be transported into a higher existence.

So, also, the great portrait-painter of the following century, whom we are most inclined to compare with Holbein, because he laboured on the same soil,

[1] Algarotti, "Lettere sopra Pittura," vi. p. 134.

is the painter entirely of the aristocratic circles, and is in himself aristocratic in his conception. We only understand how fully to estimate Van Dyck's portraits when we learn how he invited to dinner the people who sat to him, in order to be able to observe them in unconstrained social intercourse and in exciting conversation. He did not so much watch those whom he was depicting in the daily routine of their doings and actions, as in society. Holbein depicts men as they are, Van Dyck as they behave. Even in those who have felt most deeply the storms of life, Van Dyck subdues gloominess and care into slight and interesting melancholy. When Holbein depicts a man, he thinks of nothing else but him—he isolates him, he places him before him in unbiassed objective truth. Van Dyck, on the contrary, cannot forbear thinking not merely of the subject of his painting, but also of the spectator, whom he seeks to interest and to fill with sympathy. In this he only does what the people themselves were wont to do, so soon as they appeared before the world. Had, however, Holbein's contemporaries deemed this necessary, his eye would nevertheless have keenly penetrated the veil. Though overladen with ornament and arrayed in festive garments, Holbein has seen them at their work, in the midst of all the cares and troubles of active life. In these men the whole seriousness of their age is stamped—of that grand and agitated epoch in which contests were fought which had been prepared for centuries, and in which the soil was created for the doings of succeeding ages.

In still closer relation to our master than Van Dyck, stands Velasquez, who shares his capacity for exact and absolute truthfulness to life. Yet there seems to be nothing more different than the delicate and careful execution of the paintings of the German masters, and the breadth and boldness of the Spaniard. But that Holbein was capable of this also, when it seemed to him suitable, is shown by his sketches and cursory outlines, and is exhibited in a work such as the cartoon in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, or Holbein's family picture at Basle.

If we look, however, for one among his own contemporaries who shows the most decided affinity with him in portraiture, we can turn to no other than Raffaelle. He, too, combines the utmost individual distinctness with the most delicate taste. He depicts with the greatest sincerity even ugly characteristics, as in the portrait of the squinting prelate Inghirami at Florence; he knows how to raise his portraits, as, for instance, those of the Popes, into a grave historical style. Lastly, Raffaelle, in his picture of Leo X., reaches that perfection so especially admired in Holbein, a perfection exhibited in the faithful execution of subordinate things, of the Prayer-book with miniatures, of the bell on the table, of the mirror on the back of the chair, in which the whole scene is reflected, because all these accessories seemed to produce the tone of feeling suitable to the representation of this personage. "The Portrait studies

of Holbein show his affinity with Raffaelle more distinctly than his compositions," says Rumohr, when speaking of the Basle sketches.

In the year 1543, Holbein painted again his own portrait, as it appears in the miniature in the possession of the Duke of Buccleugh in London, which is scarcely the original, but an old and perhaps contemporaneous copy; the same portrait also appears in the engravings of Vorsterman and Hollar, though in both it is to be seen from the opposite side. Mander and Sandrart both speak of such a portrait. The date is distinctly perceived in the miniature, but only the first figure of the age, 4 . . , is legible. If we study this face and compare it with the youthful portrait in the Basle Museum, we shall perceive the similarity of form in spite of the difference of years. The similarity shows itself also in the expression of the eye, which betokens the distinct observation and the calm self-confidence of the man. The strongly-projecting round chin, which strikes the eye in the Basle portrait and in the head of the boy of fourteen at Berlin, is now grown over with a short crisp beard. Holbein appears in simple black undress attire, wearing a round cap of the same colour; both hands are seen, and the right is holding a pencil. Thus did the master look at the period when he stood at the goal of his labours.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Holbein's end.—The Plague in London.—The master's will.—Dürer's death and that of Holbein.—Comparison between Holbein and Dürer.—Alleged and true followers of Holbein.—Christopher Amberger.—Condition of German art at Holbein's death.—Further course of the Renaissance in Germany.—Conclusion.

OFTEN during the reign of Henry VIII. had desolating pestilences prevailed in London, but the most violent of all occurred at Michaelmas 1543: "Thys yeare was in London a great death of the pestilence," say the chronicles of Hall and Stow.[1] After the constant wars with Scotland, and the feud that had just broken out with France, this new scourge fell upon the people. Holbein had repeatedly experienced the horrors of pestilence, even in his native country—horrors to avert which at that time all human art and precaution seemed in vain. As they are depicted in the beginning of the Decamerone, they again returned universally in the sixteenth century. From the sick to the healthy the malignant poison flew, "just as fire communicates itself with the dry or greasy substances which it approaches." Men sat at the noon-day meal in perfect health, and lay as corpses in the evening. Rarely did those attacked survive the third day; the physicians knew neither help nor counsel. The universal misery arrived at such a pitch that all the bonds of social society were loosened. The feelings of duty and love were benumbed by the fear of death, the sick were avoided by their friends and nearest relatives, and perished without assistance and nursing. There was a lack of human hands to keep the cities clean, to remove the corpses from the streets and to bury the dead. The consecrated ground was too small to receive the masses of dead, which were usually conveyed to their resting-place without sound or music, or funeral train, and which were cast into great ditches without distinction, in layers one over another. Whoever could, fled the place over which the misery had broken out, and those who remained sought refuge in penance and devotion, or stupefied themselves with revelry and wild excesses, to avoid the thought of the misery around them.

[1] Stow: "And a great death of pestilence was at London, and therefore Michelmas terme was adiorned to St. Albons." Hall: "Thys yeare was in London a great death of the pestilence, and therefore Mighelmas terme was adiourdned to saint Albones, and there was it kept to the ende."

Just when the pestilence of 1543 had reached its height, Hans Holbein died, and thus, without doubt, Carel van Mander is right, when he states that the master died of the Plague,[1] though he errs as to the period of his death, as he places it in the year 1554, at a time when there was no plague in London. The will of the master, discovered by Mr. Black in the archives of St. Paul's Cathedral in the year 1861, renders it likewise probable, from its hasty and formless style, that it proceeded from one smitten with the Plague.

It is as follows:—

"In the name of God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghooste, I, Johnn Holbeine, servante of the kinge's majestie, make this my testamente and last will, to wyt, that all my goodes shal be sold and also my horse, and I will that my debtes be payd, to wete, fyrst to Mr. Anthony, the kynges servaunte of Grenwiche, ye summe of ten poundes thurtine shyllinges and sewyne pence sterlinge. And moreover I will that he shal be contented for all other thynges betweene hym and me. Item, I do owe unto Mr. John of Anwarpe, goldsmythe, sexe poundes sterling, wiche I will also shalbe payde unto hym, with the fyrste. Item, I bequeythe for the kypyng of my two chylder wych be at nurse, for every monethe sewyne shyllynges and sex pence sterlynge. In wytnes, I have sealed and sealed this my testament the viith day of October, in the yere of our Lorde God, MivCxliij. Wytnes, Anthoney Snecher, armerer, Mr. John of Anwarpe, goldsmythe before sayd, Olrycke Obynger, merchaunte, and Harry Maynert, paynter."

Beneath in Latin stands the following confirmation:—

"On the 29th November in the aforesaid year of our Lord, John Anwarpe, appointed executor in the testament or last will of John, alias Hans Holbein, recently deceased in the parish of Saint Andrew Undershaft, appeared before Mr. John Croke, Commissary-General, and re-signed the execution of the will, which renunciation was allowed, and the administration of the property left was consigned to the before-mentioned John Anwarpe as sworn in, which was admitted and accepted by him. The right of each intact. Date, &c."

"HOLBENE.—The 29th of the said month, the administration of the property of John, alias Hans Holbene, and recently deceased *ab intestato* in the parish of Saint Andrew Undershaft, was consigned to John Anwarpe as sworn in, and was admitted and accepted by him. The right of each intact. Said day of month, &c."[2]

---

[1] Iselin says that he died of the English sweating sickness. The tidings of Holbein's death by an epidemic may have reached Holbein's home, and they may have thought of the sickness especially prevalent in England.

[2] "xxix° die mensis Novembris anno Domini predict. Johannes Anwarpe, executor nominat in testamento sive ultima voluntate Johannis, alias Hans Holbein, nuper parochie Sancti Andrei Undershafte defuncti, comparuit coram Magistro Johanni Croke, Commissario Generali, ac renunciavit omni executioni hujusmodi testamenti, quam renunciationem dominus admisit deinde commisit administrationem bonorum dicti defuncti prenominato Johanni Anwarpe in forma juris jurato et per ipsum admissa pariter et acceptata. Salvo jure cujuscunque. Dat. &c."

"HOLBENE.—xxix^no die mensis predicti commissa fuit administracio bonorum Johannis, alias Hans Holbenn, parochie Sancti Andrei Undershafte nuper ab intestato defuncti Johanni Anwarpe in forma juris jurato ac per ipsum admissa pariter et acceptata. Salvo jure cujuscunque. Dicto die mensis, &c."

On the publication of this document, which establishes the fact that Holbein died between the 7th October and the 29th November, 1543, eleven years sooner than had been hitherto imagined, the English investigators[1] thought it necessary to furnish accurate proof that this Hans Holbein, servant of the King, could be no other than the great painter. It is now perfectly superfluous to repeat these proofs, for since that time, Herr His-Heusler has discovered the letter of the Basle Council of the year 1545, referring to Holbein's son Philip, in which mention is made of the "late Hans Holbein, his father, our citizen."[2]

The witnesses to the will were all or for the most part countrymen of the painter. We have already mentioned the goldsmith Hans von Antwerp, and his connection with the painter; the merchant Ulrich Obynger is certainly a German from his name, and probably belonged to the Steel-yard; the painter Harry Maynert likewise bears a name that sounds either German or Flemish. Respecting Anthony Snecher, the English investigators have not been able to discover anything, yet his name also sounds foreign, and he may, according to Mr. Frank's supposition, have been one of those "German armourers at Greenwich," whose monthly salary is noted in the Book of his Majesty's household expenses, under this designation, without mention being made of any special name; he is probably identical with Holbein's principal creditor, "Mr. Anthony, the kynge's servaunte, of Grenwiche," mentioned in the will itself.[3] And it is highly characteristic, that here at Holbein's death-bed we find an armourer and a goldsmith, for whose art our master had made such numerous designs.

No executor is expressly mentioned in the testament, but Hans von Antwerp appears as such on the 29th November. Mr. Franks gives the opinion of an English lawyer, that the silent appointment of the executor of a will was allowable by law. It is certainly a matter to be wondered at, that it is not the first-mentioned witness, but the second who appears as executor. But perhaps in this season of pestilence, the first witness had died meanwhile, although nothing is said of it. When Hans von Antwerp declined to be executor, it may have been his intention thus to defend himself from certain duties, which may have belonged to him as executor, though not as mere administrator of the property.

The picture which this testament affords of the outward circumstances of the great painter is not brilliant; he mentions nothing more belonging to him than a horse and some effects, from the sale of which his debts are to be paid,

[1] Mr. Frank's "Archæologia," vol. xxxix.

[2] "Beiträge zür vaterlandischen Geschichte," Basle, vol. viii.

[3] This is also the opinion of Herr His-Heusler, Appendix viii. The English investigators bring forward other conjectures, superfluous, it seems to me, as the addition "of Grenwiche speaks in favour of the above supposition.

and a modest monthly sum left for two children—evidently illegitimate, unless we have recourse to far-fetched explanations. There is no mention made of his family in Switzerland or of his son in Paris; his belongings were already provided for by the bequest of Sigmund Holbein. His honest uncle in Berne, in the simple citizen and artisan-like exercise of his calling as a painter, had obtained a small well-arranged property from the savings of his work, yet a man such as Hans Holbein, for years regarded as the greatest painter of the North, never attained to this. Although those stories of Patin respecting the painter's dissolute life are decidedly to be refuted, it is nevertheless quite sure that Holbein was not in especially comfortable circumstances, as is evidenced, in addition to his debts, by the repeated advance of his salary; his necessities and his appearance may have been very different to that of the guild master in his native country. Iselin's words show that he delighted in splendid attire, and that he never disdained a draught of wine. He kept a horse like Leonardo da Vinci, who had no greater amusement than horses, and, although unwearied in work, Holbein had tasted the enjoyments of love, and rejoiced in the pleasures of life.

More than fifteen years had elapsed since Albert Dürer's death. In his dear old native city, by the side of his wife, in the house which had been the scene of his rich and assiduous toil, he had reached his end. He had early grown old and emaciated in his laborious work. Frau Agnes had latterly scarcely allowed him social intercourse, for which Pirkheimer blames her. Dürer himself never complained of her. Although not yet full of days, he had long ago put his house in order; a year before he had finished the pictures of the four Apostles, and had presented them to his native city as a sacred bequest, in which he once more expressed the deepest feelings of his heart. All earthly matters had been also provided for; his possessions were in well-ordered condition, and he left his wife the value of 6,000 gulden, saved by sedulous diligence. Theoretic and scientific works now occupied him most, but when he closed his eyes, "A Saviour not yet completed, by the hand of Albert Dürer" (Ein Saluator So Albrecht Dürer nit gar ausgemachtt),[1] was standing on his easel. The beautiful hair, the transparent crystal ball in the hand, the luminous blue and red of mantle and dress, all were finished, only not the countenance, as if the master had lingered here because he could not satisfy himself in imparting the highest expression of divine love and greatness to the features of Him whom he had so often painted during his life. When Dürer had worked at this task, it was to him like a religious service. And when in the Holy Week of the year 1528, the truest German heart ceased to beat, the spring sun shone as joyously as ever into the room, and

[1] Wilibald Imhof's List. A. v. Eye. Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürers. The picture is now in the possession of Herr Reichard in Munich. It was sold among rubbish by the Haller family, and was discovered in spite of subsequent retouching.

painted the round panes on the wall, as we see it in Dürer's engraving of St. Hieronymus; the various implements stood brightly and neatly in their places, and a quiet domestic peace was spread over all.

Holbein, on the contrary, died far from his country and from his people. Suddenly, unexpectedly, pitilessly, the avenger Death approached him, just as he himself had depicted in his series of woodcuts. Scarcely was time allowed him to make his testamentary arrangements in a few disjointed words. The pestilence carried him away in the prime of life, and an abundance of plans and hopes were buried with him. And while even at the present day the simple tombstone in the Nuremberg cemetery of St. John's, with its inscription "All that was mortal in Albert Dürer lies under this stone," is a pilgrimage for all friends of German art, a century after Holbein's death the Earl of Arundel could not find the spot in which the master rested, whom he valued above all, and to whom he desired to erect a monument.

The end of the two great German artists is just as different as their whole life. Frequently in the course of this work we have had occasion to compare Dürer with Holbein, for the most part in order to show how Holbein surpassed the Nuremberg master with regard to form. This was necessary in order to place Holbein's peculiarity in a distinct point of view; no intelligent reader will have felt it as a depreciation of Dürer. He and Holbein do not in any degree stand as rivals with regard to each other, but each mutually forms the complement of the other, and the work of the one fills up the measure lacking in the other.

In one respect Holbein does not reach Dürer. Dürer's greatness, like his works, does not belong alone to artistic matters. Added to all that he achieved in all possible branches of art, we find theoretic works and literary productions. He had the power of expressing himself also in language; various remarks and letters of Dürer's afford us an insight into the depth of his being, while Holbein never seems to have felt the necessity of expressing himself otherwise than by means of his art, and his handwriting, however long he lived away from his family and country, is preserved to us only in a few scattered observations on his sketches and drawings. Holbein's life and his creations are completely veiled: in Dürer, on the other hand, the whole man stands forth as perhaps no other figure in the history of art. Not merely for the sake of his art, but for the sake of his whole character, he was loved and honoured by the Emperor Max and by the Elector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, by Pirkheimer and Erasmus, by Luther and Melanchthon, and an almost unexampled esteem was awarded him by his contemporaries. This is the great and essential thing in him, that he experienced within himself the movements and struggles of his age, and that in this respect the man and the artist are one in him. Those three tendencies, the concurrence of which in Germany produced the great historical revolution,—namely, the popular, the humanistic, and the

free religious tendencies,—he acknowledged equally; and as Luther by the combination of these elements was qualified for his work, so Albert Dürer also thus became the Reformer of German art.

For as such he will ever stand before the eyes of posterity. We called Holbein at the beginning of this work the true painter of the German Renaissance. By this we in nowise said that Dürer belonged to the Middle Ages. The essential task of the modern period, none accomplished more decidedly than he; he allowed his personal feelings to assert themselves, and, bursting asunder all the fetters of tradition, they pointed out the path to him and fixed the standard of his works. But it suited not his individuality to enter, after the manner of the Italians, into the joy of that bright world of imagination, and to conceive *beauty of form*. He expressed the power of his character, especially in ideas. Endowed with a power of invention, such as perhaps no other possessed, he brought under his sway a wholly new sphere of representation. The mighty and the terrible, the humorous and the cheerful, the familiar and the kindly, the marvellous and the ordinary; all find a place with him. The entire national life of the period is embodied in his pictures, and no one can understand the personages of the time who does not know them from Dürer's representations. Even that which seems incapable of figurative delineation, he charms within the kingdom of his art; the obscurest enigmas of life he seems to solve, the most vehement struggles of the mind he endeavours to express, characteristically enough beginning his career with the pictures from the Revelation of St. John.

In Dürer, however, as Hotho[1] says, Prospero's threat to rend an oak and peg Ariel in its knotty entrails is accomplished. Dürer, as another writer says,[2] was the Prometheus, who imparted the divine fire to calm, ordinary, and narrow men, such as the petty, limited life in his native country and native city brought before his view, and the art which he found there created them. For a long time there is no trace of linear beauty, or of any ennobling of the forms of the body or the fall of the drapery. On the one side he exhibits Northern adherence to nature, on the other side the unsettled condition of taste belonging to the period of late Gothic decline, which made him seek for all that was motley and strange, rude and quaint. Yet what Dürer's works lacked in beauty they afforded in expression, and he found the suitable vehicle for his mode of representation in engraving and woodcut, in which wealth of invention and power of thought are more easily displayed than a beauty which delights the senses. All deficiencies of form were richly

[1] "Dürer Album." Berlin: G. Schauer.

[2] F. Falke, "Geschichte des modernen Geschmacks," Leipzig, 1866, p. 105. Also A. v. Zahn, "Dürer's Kunstlehre und sein Verhältniss zur Renaissance," Leipzig, 1866; A. Springer, "Der altdeutsche Holzschnitt und Kupferstich. Bilder aus der neueren Kunst geschichte," Bonn, 1867.

counterbalanced by the increased intellectual importance and incomparable popularity of his art. Nothing is more untenable and unjust than the often-repeated lament that Dürer was fettered in his freer development by the depressed circumstances of his home. If he knew the splendour of artist life abroad, and yet did not accept the favourable conditions offered him in Venice, and subsequently in Antwerp, he knew what he was doing, and knew, too, the soil on which he was rooted. His thorough German nature necessitated just as much the greatness as the limits of his art.

He was himself perfectly conscious of these limits. The effort after purity of form was awakened in him, his journey to Venice was not without its influence, and he was the first to create the theoretic basis for the principles of the Renaissance. His own motley and crowded pictures, once his delight, satisfied him no longer in later years, as Melanchthon states from Dürer's own words.[1] He perceived that the simplicity of nature was the highest ornament of art, and he sighed at his weakness that he now no longer could reach the goal which at the close of his life stood distinctly before his view. At length he approached this goal—at least, in *one* work, the four Apostles, in which he did not certainly attain to perfect beauty of form, but to serene and simple grandeur of style.

Where his work ceased, Holbein's began. He carried out practically what Dürer knew theoretically; he possessed from the beginning what Dürer only attained in his last work, and even then only approximately—namely, free feeling for beauty of form. It was not the influence of Italy which led Holbein on this path, although subsequently he may have advanced under the effect of Italian art, but he marked out the goal independently through the medium of Northern art and its realism. Since Hubert Van Eyck, Holbein was the first whose eye was not distorted in his view of nature by the grotesque tastelessness of the Gothic period of decline. He saw things actually as they were, a capacity which, with precocious development, he possessed even as a child, beginning with portraits as he concluded with portraits. Holbein avoided not the utmost extremes of realism; he represented with medical fidelity the leprosy of the poor and suffering at the feet of his Saint Elizabeth; as Christ in the grave, he painted a corpse from reality expressing all the horrors of death. His own child, although in no wise beautiful, he depicted as the Infant Christ in the arms of the Meier Madonna, or as a little Cupid. Even in the smallest trait and the most delicate emotion he imitates nature, bringing the realistic tendency to the highest perfection of which it is capable.

In spite of this, realism does not remain Holbein's ultimate and highest aim, and even his grand importance as a portrait painter, which formed for a

[1] Mel. Ep. li. p. 100. Letter to George von Anhalt.

long time his sole reputation, does not proceed from this alone. His eye was so organized that, like the old Dutch painters, he perceived all the details of nature with the utmost exactness. At the same time, however, he understands also what they did not understand—namely, to draw back a step, and to see that which he represented not only in detail, but also as a whole. Thus there is for him a higher truth than that which exists in the absolute delineation of various things; he recognizes the general laws which lie at their basis, and he passes over the cleft which usually in Northern art lies between the *characteristic* and the *beautiful*. The same picture of St. Elizabeth which contains the natural delineation of fearful sickness, reveals in the form and countenance of the saint the highest ideal beauty. Perfectly individual and yet ideally glorified does the Divine Mother also appear in the famous Madonna picture at Darmstadt. There, and also in the newly-discovered Madonna painting at Solothurn, there is a just balance of the masses, and a linear beauty in the composition, such as had not elsewhere existed out of Italy. Without having made such profound theoretic studies as Dürer—without, for example, understanding anything of anatomy—Holbein adopted purely from his artistic eye the laws of style, the flow of the lines, the treatment of form, which the Italian Renaissance had developed. The solid, compact figures of his earlier works gave place to slender and noble forms. Masterly power in form was linked from the beginning with beauty of colour. While Dürer treated this only as a gay and brilliant addition which pleased the eye, Holbein's paintings are at once conceived in colour.

As he sought a sphere of activity abroad when it was not afforded him at home, so he also adopted foreign elements of culture wherever he met with them. He understood how to derive actual advantage from the study of Italian art, whose influence German and Netherland painters of that time rejected as evil; while these outwardly imitated instead of learned, his own character was strong enough to be able truly to appropriate the foreign element. He stood with regard to Italian Renaissance, as the Renaissance stood to the antique. Whatever creations in this style he saw, were not to supply the place of Nature and to serve as a model instead of her, but they came to the aid of Nature and helped him to understand her more clearly and purely. He acted in accordance with the conviction which Dürer so beautifully conceived in words:[1] "Depart not from nature in order to follow thy own opinion, because thou thinkest to find it better from thyself. For truly art is hidden in Nature, and he who can draw it out, he possesses it." The same position of Holbein with regard to Dürer, viz. that each mutually forms the complement of the other, we shall likewise perceive when we look at their works according to their intellectual purport; but in this respect Holbein holds a second rank compared with the pioneering Dürer, while with regard to form

[1] "Proportionswerk," iii. t. 3b. Quoted by Zahn, p. 84.

he takes the lead and opens new paths. With respect to idea and invention he treads a soil which Dürer had been the first to prepare for the national art. Nevertheless his independence of this master, who exercises such a constraining influence upon his German contemporaries, is very astonishing. Many points in which Dürer is deficient, he brings to perfection. If Meister Albrecht is not to be surpassed in varied epic narrative rich in episode, Meister Hans on the other hand represents the dramatic scene more strikingly and pointedly. He combines with humour that touch of satire which was alien to Dürer. If to him the sphere of the grandly fantastic, the superhuman, and the untangible which Dürer allured into form, was excluded, still the powerful and the terrible, as in the pictures of Death, stood none the less at his command, but he never transgressed the bounds of the picturesque in order to give vent to fancies to which the poet alone can give expression. While in Dürer much that is strange and quaint in form arose from that exuberance of thought and imagination which was not to be restrained, in Holbein no disunion ever appeared between idea and form, between the will and the power, between the urgings of imagination and the means afforded by nature. Purport and result stand in pure harmony.

Lastly, Holbein's creations also grew out of the soil of their age, and proclaim to us all that was agitating it or occupying it. In those numerous designs for woodcuts, that genuinely popular German art, he takes part in the various efforts of humanistic literature, and in the passions and struggles of political and religious matters, he is the herald of the Reformation, though indeed not like Dürer, expressing a positive personal acknowledgment of faith, but all the more decidedly in a negative manner he combats for their cause with cutting irony and bitter satire. Nevertheless this is in nowise his highest artistic aim; but he employs the whole splendour of his power of delineation in free creations of ideal purport and style, the effect of which is influenced by no conditions of time nor national limits. Thus his art is one which, to use the words of a poet of our own day, Herr Geibel, not merely proclaims that which the epoch possesses, but it also produces in anticipation what it lacks.

Of the two masters, therefore, Dürer is greater as a genius, but Holbein, on the other hand, is superior as an artist, or more accurate as a painter. That which Dürer creates is the highest artistic revelation of the specific German mind; Holbein, on the other hand, places the art of his country in unison with the great modern advance of art.

While Albert Dürer not only exercised inestimable influence upon art throughout Germany, but also formed a great number of pupils, who carried his style still further, we can in nowise speak of a school of Holbein. It is true German and Swiss portrait painters produce numerous works which

betray an affinity with Holbein's style, yet it cannot be shown of any single more important artist of the following epoch, that he learned personally from Holbein. It has been frequently asserted that some artists of Switzerland, for instance Nicolaus Manuel of Berne and Hans Asper of Zurich, studied under him, but this is palpably erroneous. The former, older than Holbein, had some influence over him; and the second, an abler portrait painter, coarse and clumsy in form, though excellent in colouring, is wholly unaffected by the taste of the great Basle master. Sandrart mentions a South German artist as probably Holbein's pupil; namely, Christopher Amberger, who subsequently lived at Augsburg. With justice he points to the fact that Amberger "followed the famous artist Holbein, in his manner of painting, and especially in portraiture." And he remarks that he worked much in the neighbourhood of Basle, round about Strasburg. But it is more probable that Amberger was a pupil of Hans Burgkmair, at Augsburg, with whose style his own shows undeniable affinity; yet, if not the pupil, he was the follower of Holbein, he must in any case have studied Holbein's works, and have experienced also direct influence from Italy, especially from Venice and Lombardy. We often find him combining the German character with this modern manner, as in the masterly coloured and well-designed altar-piece of 1554 in Augsburg Cathedral: representing the Holy Virgin surrounded by angels making music, and by the patron saints of Augsburg, a creation which may be numbered among the noblest works of German painting. Often, however, as in the picture of the wise and foolish virgins in St. Anna at Augsburg, of 1560, he is carried into mannerism like most of his contemporaries, from misunderstood imitation of the Italians. We could better appreciate him if those works had not perished which Sandrart praises the most, and which, according to the tendency of the age, must have far more suited an artist nature of that day than true church paintings; namely, those "ingenious inventions and histories" which he painted outside the Augsburg houses, and the twelve great tempera pictures on canvas from the history of Joseph in Egypt, which Sandrart with pain saw already threatening to decay. Truly might this artist rank among Holbein's followers, if he conceived such representations from the Bible, especially from the Old Testament, in this simple human aspect, and depicted them purely as stories, "with unusual understanding and truth, exhibiting passions, affections, desires, and expectations, showing all minute peculiarities of animals, buildings, landscapes, and other things, all executed and devised with masterly power, so that the like has never been achieved by Germans nor by others." Such statements may remind us not to believe too hastily in that universal artistic decay of Germany in the course of the sixteenth century, of which we generally hear. Many of the splendid works have perished, yet what remains affords material enough for a better appreciation of this epoch. What sort of a master Amberger was, is pro-

claimed especially by his portraits. The head of Sebastian Münster, in the Museum at Berlin, is among the highest productions of portrait-painting in all ages, and is scarcely inferior to the works of Holbein himself, whose name has been repeatedly given to Amberger's works.[1]

In England Holbein seems to have stood quite alone, and to have worked in general without pupils or assistants: his artistic style here found no imitators. The best productions in portrait-painting in the latter years of Henry VIII. and under Edward VI. are to be assigned with certainty to Netherland masters; and under the Roman Catholic Mary, Antonio Moor and Joas van Cleve of Antwerp carry the day. That Holbein in his maturest period, when his style had risen to its utmost perfection, remained absent from his native country, was a heavy loss for the national art, which needed such a model.

For we must repeat: above all, we must guard against believing the oft-repeated story of a universal decline in the German art of that day. This idea can only be fostered by those who know not the true artistic life of the period, and who, setting up a foreign standard, seek for it wrongly. Only this is true: that the rich development which had attended German art hitherto was followed by no corresponding advance; he who knows its nature and its history will readily understand the cause.

German art had been in its whole development the art of the citizen classes, it had taken root entirely in city life, and it had grown upon a solid trade-like basis, pursued by the masters of the guilds. The other classes, the disorderly nobles and the rude uncultivated courts, had just as little share in artistic life as they had in national progress. Hence art from the first could not exist here as it had done in Italy, where it was united with the entire life of the nation. For a time, indeed, it seemed as though from the sound and flourishing condition of the separate German cities, a great national life might be developed. At the time when Luther appeared, the rise of Germany rendered other results probable; perfect freedom from the yoke of Rome in a religious and political point of view, national unity and a mighty Imperial power based on the cities, seemed at hand. Yet nothing of all this took place. The Reformation, on the success of which the entire national destiny depended, attained actual victory just as little inwardly as it did outwardly. The stranger who wore the Imperial crown pursued solely his dynastic aims, and had no understanding for German policy. And when in the lower stratum of society a movement broke forth which might have led to the triumph of the national cause, when the peasants appeared with their just and moderate demands, which were nothing else than the necessary conditions of an existence worthy of men, the low spirit of the cities gained the victory over political judgment, and they helped to overthrow the peasants instead of

[1] For instance, the portraits in the Collection of Antiquities at Stuttgart and in the Maximilian Museum at Augsburg.

joining hand in hand with them. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century Germany was divided in a political as well as in a religious point of view; the separate princes and petty nobles had derived advantage at the expense of the whole, the aspiring power of the cities was fettered in its growth, their commercial and political importance fell gradually into decline by the opening of new paths of intercourse with the world, and their subjection in the Smalkaldic war cut off from them the hope of all further progress.

In spite of this we cannot now speak of a true decline in the life of the cities, which did not occur until the Thirty Years' War; it only remained stationary at the point which it had hitherto reached. The same may be said of German art. It is true we must not look for its principal achievements in the sphere of religious representation, for it lies in the nature of modern development that this now no longer occupied the art generally, but only formed a branch of it; nor in the art of a higher style must we seek for it, for a great national life is the necessary condition for this art, and this life was now lacking. And thus, a brilliant genius like Holbein, who burst asunder the fetters of the limited petty art of the guilds, and adopted the grand style of genuine Renaissance, could only solitarily pursue the path he had taken.

Nevertheless the abundance of artistic talent in Germany was in nowise exhausted; it was perhaps here more rich and healthy than it was at this period, with the exception of Venice, throughout Italy, where degeneration and mannerism had followed in the steps of the greatest masters. So long as German art did not quit the class to which it had originally belonged, it exhibited a flourishing life, and an unweakened vigour. Masters with inventive power continued to foster the arts of woodcuting and engraving, which have still in the art-life of Germany the same importance as formerly. When Holbein died, an artist such as Hans Sebald Beham continued the work, and in genuine national conception of reality, though free from all constraint and hardness, depicted daily life and doings; and even in religious subjects—we have only to remember his wonderful small figures of the Apostles—found the true tone of this simple popular style. The same course was also taken by most of the other masters of this class, such as Virgil Solis, even in the following generation, and they carried engraving, as regards its technical execution, to the utmost perfection in their small and delicate works.

In the same manner, those branches of painting flourished which are most closely connected with simple citizen life, as, for instance, portraiture. In the new art-sphere of landscape, an original and skilful master appeared at the end of the century in Elzheimer. Excellent works were produced also in decorative fresco-painting, particularly in house-façades. The Fool's Staircase in Schloss Trausnitz, near Landshut, Tobias Stimmer's house "zum Ritter," in Schaffhausen, and the paintings of many Augsburg dwelling-houses are splendid works of art; in a technical point of view, German fresco-painting has never

produced anything similar. Artists who in their easel-paintings and church pictures exhibit mannerism, here display a splendour of colour, a fresh boldness, and rich joyful imagination.

And like the façade painting, so are the houses themselves in which they appear,—worthy creations of the art of the period. Not until the latter part of the sixteenth century can we trace the architecture of Renaissance in Germany, and it also sprang principally from the soil of civil life, producing princely palaces, town-halls, and dwelling-houses of citizens, displaying a surprisingly noble and healthy taste, often showing more affinity with the productions of Italian early Renaissance than the architecture of Italy itself at the same period, and even successfully preserving, both in design and ornament, many elements of Gothic architecture.

The citizen's house was now the true sphere of art in Germany, not only without, but also within; not only in itself, but also in that which it contained. All that meets the eye here furnishes evidence of a glorious prime of German art-handicraft: the panellings and wooden ceilings of the apartments, as well as the tapestries which covered the walls; the furniture, with its carving and inlaid work, the locks of the doors, the railing of wrought iron which shut off the pasture-land and the fore-courts, the small sculptures and ivory carvings, the vessels of simple glass or clay, and the dazzling goblet of silver and gold. In all these branches of industry, we see the most delicate feeling for art and the purest taste predominant, and we find the intrusion of the grotesque style longer resisted than in other lands. At that time German art-handicraft played a conspicuous part in the European market, while at the present day it is aided by the refuse of other lands. The works of German goldsmiths were sought for everywhere: the ateliers of South German armourers in Augsburg, for instance, received orders from the princes and nobles of foreign countries; even the splendid armour of the French kings, designs for which are to be found in the Cabinet of Engravings at Munich,[1] came from German manufactories. Indeed, this epoch, which ignorance or assumption depreciates as an age of decline in art, possessed an art based on such a healthy foundation that we can only look back to it with envy and astonishment. And we shall soon become still more conscious of this feeling, since the new National Museum at Munich has been opened, where the German art of the Renaissance finds its true exposition.

The artistic life of Germany therefore contained in the utmost degree the capability of producing, under favourable circumstances and at a fitting time, an art of a higher style. Such an art must indubitably have pointed in imitation and study back to Holbein, just as did the champions of a new art-epoch in Italy and the Netherlands; among others, according to Sandrart, Michael Angelo da Caravaggio, the head of the realistic style of Italy. He, it is said,

[1] Discovered and photographically issued by Prof. J. H. von Hefner Alteneck.

received the suggestion for his famous groups of gamblers from the small scene in Holbein's Picture of Death, and the great Peter Paul Rubens esteemed Holbein highly, and studied him assiduously in his youth. But at the time when a master like Rubens gave again a national language to Flemish art, when in Holland a mighty artist like Rembrandt appeared, the Thirty Years' War broke over Germany, destroying all national life, all civilization, and the blossoms as well as the germs of German art.

It was not till the close of the last century that after a long pause a new movement began in the sphere of art. If we look attentively at the masters who now took the right path, namely Asmus Carstens and Carl Friedrich Schinkel, and in some measure also Cornelius, their aim appears to coincide closely with that after which the German art of the sixteenth century strove, and which Holbein had reached. When they wrestled to conceive grand ideas and distinct feelings in pure and beautiful forms, when they studied the creations of classic antiquity and the great masters of the sixteenth century, not imitating them, but learning to see nature from them, they acted in the spirit of the Renaissance. The connection with this spirit is to be perceived throughout, wherever the modern mind is capable of revealing itself by means of the plastic arts.

In the recent development of art in Germany, reactions have occurred, just as in the recent national development of Germany herself. Nevertheless we feel justified in believing that German art is on the point of healthful progress. That, at least, which the art of the sixteenth century lacked in its onward course, and which alone renders it possible for artistic power to produce its highest tasks, namely a great national life, is now more than a mere dream.

INDEX.

A.

Ægidius, Petrus, Holbein's introduction to him by Erasmus, 294, 324.
Aix-la-Chapelle, Holbein's works at, 138.
Allegorical pictures by Holbein, 354.
Alphabet of Death, by Holbein, 203, 283.
Alphabets designed by Holbein, 218.
Altdorfer, Albrecht, his pictures at Augsburg, 23.
Amberger, Christopher, said to have been a pupil of Holbein, 460.
Amerbach, Bonifacius, portrait of, by Holbein, 178; his history, 170; his collection of Holbein's works, 84, 181, 189, 190, 196, 203, 326, 336.
Anatomy, Holbein's ignorance of, 133, 267.
Anne of Cleves, portraits of, by Holbein, 434.
Annunciation of the Virgin, in Holbein's altar of St. Sebastian, 101.
Architecture as treated by Hans Holbein, sen., 50.
Architecture, Holbein's taste for and knowledge of, 102, 133, 163, 207, 419.
Architecture in Augsburg, 23.
Armour, Holbein's designs for, 410.
Art industry, Holbein's designs for, 406.
Arundel Castle, pictures by Holbein at, 302, 303.
Astronomical books illustrated by Holbein, 215.
Augsburg, its school of art, 20, 21; the city of German Renaissance, 22; described, 23—25; its history, 26—30; works of Holbein at, 69, 77, 83, 84; monastery of St. Catherine at, 51; monastery of St. Ulrich, Holbein's portraits of the monks, 79.
Augustus, the Roman Emperor, founder of Augsburg, 24.

B.

Barbara, St., in the altar of St. Sebastian, 100.
Barber-Surgeons' Company, picture for, 444.
Bartolozzi, his engravings after Holbein, 305, 313.
Basle Cathedral, organ-doors by Holbein at, 154.
Basle, decoration of the Town-hall by Holbein, 164—174, 332; iconoclasm at, 325; its social and historical importance, 110; letters from the Town Council to Holbein, 430; schoolmaster's signboard by Holbein at, 113; Holbein's wall-painting of the house "zum Tanz," 161.
Basle, sketch-book of Hans Holbein, sen., at, 47, 48, 50, 57.
Basle, sketches by Holbein at, 78, 81, 83, 84, 91, 104, 116, 117, 121, 124, 127, 130, 133, 137—139, 160, 163, 164, 176, 178, 181, 188, 196, 218, 227, 232, 241, 255, 256, 264, 265, 268, 273, 274, 281, 289, 318, 326, 327.
Beham, his pictures of Death, 257, 462.
Berlin, sketches by Holbein at, 78, 81, 100, 114, 138, 218, 241, 263, 264, 302, 339.
Bernburg, sketches by Holbein at, 81.
Berne, works by Holbein at, 273.
Biblical illustrations, 222, 332, 333, 373.
Boleyn, Anna, portraits of her ascribed to Holbein, 383
Book printing in Basle, 111.
Born, Derich, portrait of, by Holbein, 342.
Bourbon, Nicolaus, portrait of, 367; his poems in praise of Holbein, 235, 272, 369, 370.
British Museum, Holbein's works there, 140, 241, 268, 313, 349, 374.
Brunswick, Holbein's works at, 343.
Brussels, Holbein's works at, 311.
Burgkmair, Hans, his pictures at Augsburg, 23, 30; supposed relationship to Holbein, 36; influence on Holbein, 83, 87, 88; work as a wood engraver, 202; pictures of Death, 258, 266.
Butts, Sir William and Lady, portraits of, by Holbein, 446.

C.

Carew, Sir Nicholas, portrait of, by Holbein, 403.
Catherine, St., Holbein's picture of, 95.
"Cebes, the panel of," by Holbein, 210.
Chamber, Dr. John, portrait of, by Holbein, 447.
Charles V. of Burgundy, his portrait, 73.
Chatsworth, sketch by Holbein at, 344.
Chimney-piece, design by Holbein for, 420.
"Christ the True Light," illustrations for, 243.
Chur, wall-paintings by Holbein at, 285.
Cologne, its school of art, 11.
Copenhagen, sketches at, 77, 81, 99, 203.
Corrozet, Gilles, his verses on Holbein, 236, 269.
Court-painters, *temp.* Henry VIII., 390.
Coverdale's Bible, title-page to, 374, 387.
Cranmer's Catechism illustrated by Holbein, 378.
Cromwell, Sir Thomas, portraits of, by Holbein, 364, 365; his visitation of monasteries, 376, 439; his fall, 440.
Crucifixion of St. Peter, Holbein's picture of, 86.

D.

Dances of Death, by Holbein and others, 133, 245 et seq., 280.
Darmstadt, works of Holbein at, 91, 146.
Dinecker, Jost, his wood-carvings at Augsburg, 30.
Dresden Museum, Holbein's works in the, 82, 139, 146, 149, 241, 302, 303, 311, 314, 315.
Drink-money paid to Albert Dürer's wife, 56.

Dürer, Albert, compared with Holbein, 2, 15, 25, 129, 455; his supposed portrait of Holbein's sister, 71; his pictures of Death, 256, 257; his supposed domestic unhappiness, 329; other notices of him and his works, 200, 226, 230—232, 260, 264, 286, 355, 448, 454.

E.

Eigner, A., his restorations of Holbein's works, 141.
Elizabeth, St., in altar of St. Sebastian, 99.
Elyot, Sir Thomas and Lady, portraits of, 317.
Engelberg, Burkhardt, his works at Augsburg, 31, 51; portrait of him by Holbein, 77.
England, Holbein's first journey to, 294; second visit, 336.
English art in the time of Henry VIII., 301.
Engraving, origin of the art of, 16, 17.
Erasmus, his connection with Holbein, 174, 179, 180, 183, 196, 209, 211, 293—295, 298, 318—320; portraits of him by Holbein and Dürer, 184; his "Praise of Folly" illustrated, 190, 193—195; his notices of Sir T. More, 307; his letter on Holbein's painting of the More family, 323.
Erasmus "in Ghüs," engraving by Holbein, 381.

F.

Female portraits by Holbein, 139, 400.
Fesch, Remigius, his notices of Holbein, 147.
Fisher, Bishop, portrait of him by Holbein, 313.
Flemish art, its influence on Holbein, 45, 46, 89; on German art, 16, 17, 290.
Flemish wood engraving, 200.
"Fountain of Life," painting at Lisbon ascribed to Holbein, 124.
Franck, Hans, his wood engravings, 204.
Frankfort, paintings by Hans Holbein, sen., at, 48, 58; by Hans Holbein, jun., at, 299.
Freiburg, arms of the town engraved from the designs of Holbein, 215.
Freiburg Minster, altar panels in, 135.
Froben, his friendship with Holbein, 77, 209, 222, 326.
Fugger family, their portraits by Holbein, 31, 74, 104; their influence on German art, 87.

G.

Genre pictures by Holbein, 216.
Geography, illustrated by Holbein, 214.
German art, effect of the Reformation on, 1—6; influence of Flemish and Italian art on, 11, 12, 15—17, 44, 461.
German wood engraving, its historical importance, 198.
Godsalve family, portraits of, by Holbein, 315.
Goldsmiths' work, designs for, 409, 439.
Gotha, works of Holbein at, 263.
Gothic art contrasted with Renaissance, 7—9.
Glass painting, its early development, 10; Holbein's designs for, 138, 409.
Graf, Urs, his pictures of Death, 257.
Grien, Hans, his pictures of Death, 257, 266.
Grimm, Herman, on Holbein's correspondence with Erasmus, 293.
Grün, Heinrich, his portrait by Holbein, 80.
Guildford, Sir H. and Lady, portraits of, 313, 314.
Gysins, Jörg, portrait of, by Holbein, 339.

H.

Hagen, C., his works on German art, 3.
Hampton Court, picture by Hans Holbein, sen., at, 58; others by, or ascribed to, Holbein at, 178, 188, 303, 304, 393, 400.
Hanover, works by Holbein at, 241, 302, 343, 432, 433.
Hanseatic League, Holbein employed by, 339.
Henry VII., portraits of, by Holbein, 394.
Henry VIII., his patronage of Sir T. More, 308; of Erasmus, 309; of Holbein, 299, 318, 324, 338, 345, 389, 422, 439, 445; portraits of him by Holbein, 394, 396, 397; clock designed for him by Holbein, 419.
"Henry VIII. in Council," engraving of, 383.
Herbster, portrait of, by Holbein, 90, 103, 116.
Herlen, Fritz, his artistic works, 19, 20.
Hertenstein House, wall-paintings at, 119.
Hezekiah, picture of, by Holbein, 334.
His-Heusler, on Holbein's life and works, 203, 204, 206, 230, 291, 329, 336, 453.
Historical painting, remarks on, 168.
Holbein family, its history, 34—36.
Holbein, Ambrosius, brother of the painter, notices of his life and works, 35, 36, 67, 68, 105, 107, 198, 209, 220, 226, 257, 263; portrait of him by his father in the Basilica of St. Paul, Augsburg, 54; his portrait by Hans Holbein, 70.
Holbein, Bruno, a supposed brother of the painter, notices of, 35, 36.
Holbein, Elsbeth, wife of Hans Holbein, his portrait of her, their domestic relations, 145, 326.
Holbein, Hans, supposed grandfather of the painter, 37—43.
Holbein, Hans, father of the painter, his life and works, 34—45; 47, 52, 53, 55—59, 94, 105, 292; his portrait by himself at Augsburg, 54; his works in connection with his son, 68, 83, 84.
Holbein, Hans, the national quality of his art, 2; compared with Albert Dürer, 2, 15, 25, 455; his birth and parentage, 32, 34, 35, 67; his portrait by his father at Augsburg, 54; his physiognomy, 69; his sketch-books at Berlin, Basle, and Copenhagen, 68; portrait by himself, 197; early works, artistic connection with his father, 83; character and habits, 195; his portraits of his wife and children, 144, 327; supposed unhappiness with his wife, 328; his children and descendants, 331; his small circular and oval portraits, 343, 364; miniature paintings, 370; satirical and religious designs, 378; appointment and works as Court-painter to Henry VIII., 388; considered as a portrait painter, 392, 448; journeys by order of Henry VIII., 427; portraits of himself at Basle, Berlin, and London, 450; his death, 452; his will, 453.
Holbein, Philip, son of the painter, 329.
Holbein, Philip, grandson of the painter, 331.
Holbein, Sigismund, brother of the painter, notices of, 35; his portrait by Holbein, 70; Madonna by him at Nuremberg, 105; his will, 106.
Holl, Elias, his architectural works, 23, 24.
Hollar, Wenzel, his engravings after Holbein, 305, 314, 342, 356, 365, 377.

Howard, Catherine, portrait of her ascribed to Holbein, 443.
Huss, John, his influence on German art, 7, 29.
Huth, Henry, portrait of Sir T. More by Holbein in his possession, 309, 311.

I.

Initials, designs by Holbein for, 207, 283.
Italian art compared and contrasted with German, 2—4, 7, 33, 44, 235, 289, 355, 357; its influence on Holbein, 87, 122, 159.
Italy, supposed journey of Holbein to, 121.

J.

Jameson, Mrs., her "Legends of the Madonna," 155.
John of Antwerp, portrait of, 341, 452, 453.

K.

Kager, Matthäus, his pictures at Augsburg, 23.
Kaisheim, altar-piece by Holbein, sen., at, 49.
Kleberger, Johannes, of Lyons, his publications illustrated by Holbein, 234.
Kratzer, Nicolaus, portrait of, 314, 369.

L.

"Lais Corinthiaca," Holbein's picture of, 289.
Lambeth Palace, portrait of Archbishop Warham at, 312, 316.
Leipzig, works by Hans Holbein, sen., at, 58.
Leland, John, his remarks on Holbein's portrait of Sir Thomas Wyat, 362, 380.
Leonardo Da Vinci, his influence on Holbein's art, 123, 133, 289.
Liegnitz, sketches by Holbein at, 138.
Lisbon, painting of "The Fountain of Life" ascribed to Holbein at, 124.
Lochner, Meister Stephan, artistic works, 11, 12.
"Lomenitlin, the," her portrait by Holbein, 79.
Longford Castle, Holbein's great picture and other works at, 187, 302, 319, 359.
Lucerne, Holbein's residence and works at, 117, 121, 140.
Luther, Martin, his influence on German art, 7, 29; his works illustrated, 222, 227, 232, 242.
Lützelburger, Hans, his wood engravings from the designs of Holbein, 203, 223, 225, 231, 233, 241, 382; his pictures of Death, 265.
Lyons, Holbein's "Pictures of Death" published there, 269, 278.

M.

Madonna at Augsburg, by Holbein, 86.
"Madonna with the Lily of the Valley," by Holbein, at Ragatz, 89.
Madonna at Solothurn, by Holbein, 142.
Madonna, the Meier, by Holbein, at Darmstadt and Dresden, 147, 148, 311.
Madrid, Holbein's works at, 317.
Mantegna, Andrea, his influence on Holbein's art, 122, 130, 158.
Manuel, Nicolaus, his pictures of Death, 256, 258, 260, 261, 273.
Map of the World, by Holbein, 213.
Massys, Quentin, his portrait of Erasmus, 184; his connection with Holbein, 290, 294.
Mathematical books illustrated by Holbein, 215.
Maximilian, Emperor, his influence on German art, 29, 30; Holbein's portrait of him, 71; his orders for wood engravings, 202, 207.
Mediæval art contrasted with Renaissance, 7—9.
Meier, Jacob, Burgomaster of Basle, paintings by Holbein at his house, 165; his letter to Holbein, 336; Holbein's portraits of his family, 103, 114, 153, 165; the Meier Madonna, 154.
Melanchthon, Philip, his portrait by Holbein, 189.
Milan, Duchess of, her portrait by Holbein, 424.
Milan, its school of art, 290.
Miniature painting, its early development, 10; specimens by Holbein, 370.
More, Sir Thomas, Holbein introduced to him by Erasmus, 183; their intercourse, 196, 209, 293, 336, 338; More's "Utopia" illustrated by Holbein, 211; his family life, 307; portraits of him and his family, 310, 311, 318; his death, 385.
Morett, Hubert, portrait of, by Holbein, 404.
Munich, altar of St. Sebastian, and other works by Holbein at, 95, 316, 342.
Munich, works by Holbein, sen., at, 48, 56.

N.

New years gift to the Prince of Wales, 432.
Norfolk, Duke of, his portrait by Holbein, 441.
Northampton, Marquis of, his portrait, 443.

O.

Oberschönefeld, Holbein's works at, 83.
"Offenburgin, the," by Holbein, 291.
Oxford, Holbein's sketches at, 241.

P.

Painters' guild in Basle, 288.
Paris, works of Holbein in the Louvre, 146, 160, 186—188, 268, 302, 311, 312, 349.
Passavant, his references to Holbein, 37, 201, 204.
"Peasants' Dance," by Holbein, 217.
Pertiz, Hans, his portrait by Holbein, 81.
Petri, Adam, his publications illustrated by Holbein, 222, 227, 228, 233, 273.
Petworth, Holbein's works at, 344, 396.
Plague in London in 1543: death of Holbein, 451, 452.
Pordenone, his pictures at Augsburg, 23.
Poyns family, portraits of, by Holbein, 366.
Prague, works by Holbein, sen., at, 56.
"Praise of Folly" illustrated, 190, 213, 241.
Prices paid to Holbein and others for pictures, 47, 52, 55, 288, 292, 332, 335, 427, 439, 441, 443.
Printers' devices by Holbein, 221.

R.

Ragatz, the Madonna with the Lily of the Valley, by Holbein, at, 89.
Reformation, the, its influence on German art and Holbein's works, 2, 4—6, 28, 29, 222, 276, 287, 325, 334, 358, 373, 460.
Rehoboam, Holbein's picture of, at Basle, 332.
Renaissance art, influence on German art and Holbein's works, 3, 7—9, 22, 25, 103, 407, 421, 463.
Revelation of St. John, illustrated, 226.
Reverdino, his skill as an engraver, 235.
Richl, W. H., his remarks on art, 22, 25.

Richmond, Henry, Duke of, and his wife, portraits of, by Holbein, 384.
Roper, Margaret, portrait of, 319, 322, 323.
Rubens, his opinion of Holbein, 245, 464.
Rumohr, Baron von, remarks on Holbein's sketch-books and engravings, 68, 127, 201, 293, 290.

S.

Samuel and Saul, Holbein's picture at Basle, 333, 356.
Satirical pictures by Holbein, 241, 260, 276, 375, 377.
Scheuffelin, Hans, his picture of Death, 257.
Schmid, Franz, the son-in-law of Holbein, 145.
Schnaase, Herr, his works on German art, 3.
Schongauer, Martin, artistic works, 17—21, 45, 46.
Schulz, his copy of the Darmstadt Madonna, 152.
Schwartz, the Burgomaster of Augsburg, his history, 91, 92; votive portrait of him by Holbein, 77, 92, 98; his epitaph, 93.
Sebastian, St., altar of, at Munich, 95.
Seymour, Queen Jane, tankard designed for her by Holbein, 418; her death, 422.
Seymour, Sir Edward, portrait of, 402.
Shakespeare, his reference to the "Dance of Death," 279, 285.
"Solomon and the Queen of Sheba," Holbein's painting of, 356.
Solothurn, altar-piece at, 141, 157, 158.
Steel-yard, Holbein's portraits of its German merchants, 336, 338, 339, 343; festive decoration in honour of Anna Boleyn, 345, 348.
St. Petersburg, Holbein's works at, 116.
Suffolk, Duke of, Holbein's portraits of his wife and sons, 371.
Surrey, Earl of, his portrait of, by Holbein, 441.
Swabian art, 15, 17, 19.
Syff, Andreas, son-in-law of Holbein, 331.

T.

Tankards and drinking cups designed by Holbein, 416.
Title-pages, Holbein's designs for, 207, 223, 229, 307, 373, 409.
Travelling in the sixteenth century, 297.
Trechsel family, their publications illustrated by Holbein, 234, 269.
"Triumph of Riches" and "Triumph of Poverty," by Holbein, 348.
Tuke, Sir Bryan, portrait of, by Holbein, 316.
Turin, Holbein's works at, 188.

U.

Ulm, its school of art, 20, 21.
"Utopia," Sir Thomas More's, illustrated by Holbein, 212, 298, 307.

V.

Vanzelles, Jean de, his preface to the Lyons' edition of Holbein's "Pictures of Death," 270.
Vienna, sketches by Holbein at, 82, 90, 138, 188, 203, 263, 302, 343, 358, 364, 400.
Virchow, his remarks on Holbein's works, 100.
Van der Weyden, his artistic works, 14, 17, 19.
Van Eyck, Hubert, his artistic works, 12—15.
Van Eyck, jun., his artistic works, 13, 14.
Von der Rosen, Kunz, his portrait by Holbein, 71.
Von Hutten, Ulrich, his acquaintance with Holbein, 174.
Von Leyden, Lucas, his picture of Death, 258.
Von Meckenen, Israel, his engravings of the works of Holbein's father, 46.
Von Sandrart, Joachim, his notices of Hans Holbein and his father, 2, 35, 70, 104, 117, 128, 130, 147, 148, 155, 245, 349, 463.
Von Zurich, Hans, portrait of, by Holbein, 342.

W.

Waagen, Dr., his works on German art, and Holbein's works, 3, 20, 95, 103, 121, 147, 149, 290, 316, 317, 322, 344, 355.
Wagner, Lienhard, his portrait by Holbein, 81.
Waldenses, the, effect of their persecution on German art, 6, 7.
Wales, Edward, Prince of, son of Henry VIII., portraits of, by Holbein, 433.
Wall-painting, its early development, 10; its practice by Holbein, 118, 160, 393, 463.
Walther, Ulrich, portrait of himself and family, by Hans Holbein, sen., 52.
Warham, Archbishop, his life; portrait of, by Holbein, 312, 316, 339.
Wax reliefs from Holbein's "Pictures of Death," at Berlin, 285.
"Wheel of Fortune," picture of, by Holbein, 344.
Wickliffe, effect of his doctrines on German art, 29.
Wilhelm, Meister, his artistic works, 11.
Wilton, Holbein's portrait of Cromwell at, 364.
Windsor Castle, works by Holbein at, 188, 303—305, 311—315, 321, 341, 342, 361, 366, 368, 371, 396, 400, 426, 433, 441, 443.
Winn, Charles, copy of Holbein's painting of More's family in his possession, 321.
Wohlgemut, Michael, his pictures of Death, 256.
Wolff, Thomas, his publications illustrated by Holbein, 222, 224.
Wolsey, Cardinal, his love of art and science, 300, 336.
Wood engraving, designs by Holbein for, 16, 198, 205, 380.
Wyat, Sir H., portrait of, by Holbein, 311, 361.
Wyat, Sir T., portraits of him by Holbein, 311, 360.

Z.

Zeitblom, Bartholomäus, his artistic works, 20.
Zucchero, his praise of Holbein, 348, 426.
"Zum Tanz," the house at Basle, painted by Holbein, 161.

LONDON: R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS.

00023087

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018